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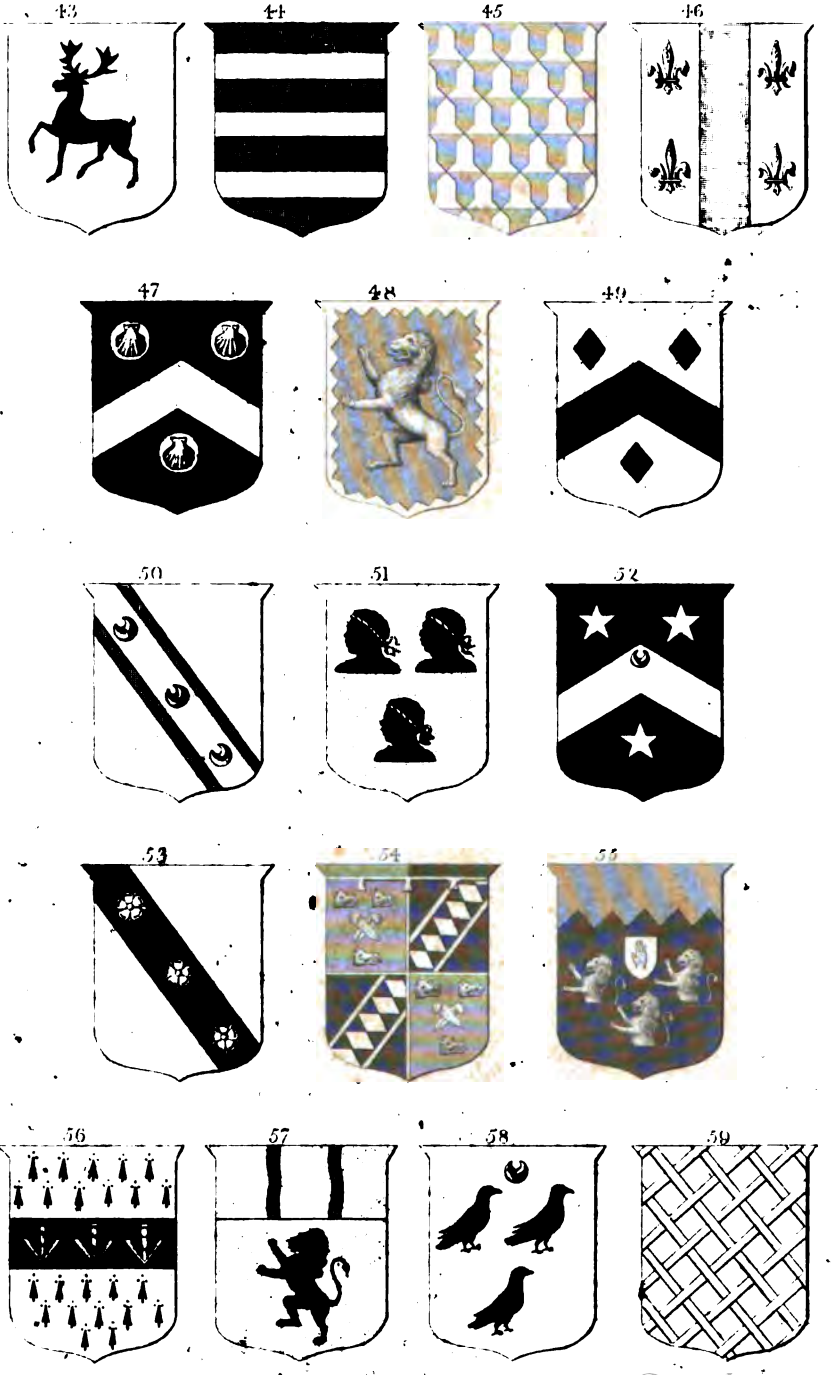

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THE

CHURCH HISTORY OF BRITAIN,

FROM

THE BIRTH OF JESUS CHRIST

UNTIL

THE YEAR MDCXLVIII.

ENDEAVOURED

BY THOMAS FULLER, D.D.,

PREBENDARY OF SARUM, &c. &c.

AUTHOR OF "THE WORTHIES OF ENGLAND," "THE HISTORY OF THE HOLY WAR," "PISGAH-SIGHT OF PALESTINE," "ABEL REDIVIVUS," &c. &c.

THIRD EDITION,

CONTAINING THE LAST CORRECTIONS OF THE AUTHOR.

WITH A PREFACE AND NOTES,

BY JAMES NICHOLS,

EDITOR OF FULLER'S "HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE," "HOLY AND PROFANE STATE," &c.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

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THE

CHURCH HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

BOOK IX.

CONTAINING THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

SECTION IV.

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THE

CHURCH HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

BOOK IX.

SECTION IV.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

TO MR. JAMES BOVEY, OF LONDON, MERCHANT.

ONE (if not the only) good which our Civil War hath produced, is, that, on the ransacking of studies, many manuscripts, which otherwise would have remained concealed, and useful only for private persons, have been printed for the public benefit; amongst which, some may suspect the following letter of archbishop Grindal to be one.

But, to clear that scruple, I must avow, that a reverend person * was proprietary of an authentic copy thereof before the thing PLUNDER was owned in England; and may, I shall well hope, notwithstanding his gray hairs, remain so, after it is disclaimed.

1. *A Petition, in the Name of the whole Convocation, for the Restitution of Archbishop Grindal.* 23 Elizabeth. *A.D.* 1580.

KNOW that a Parliament and Convocation being this year called, the latter appeared rather a trunk than a body, because Edmund Grindal, archbishop of Canterbury, groaning under the queen's displeasure, was forbidden access to the Convocation. Whereupon, it began sadly, (not to say sullenly,) without the solemnity of a sermon, abruptly entering on the small business they had to do. Some hotspurs therein motioned, that they should refuse to meet

* Dr. James Usher, archbishop of Armagh.

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together till their company were completed, and the archbishop restored unto them. But the gravity of the rest soon retrenched this distemper; and at last all agreed that Toby Matthew, dean of Christ-Church, commanding a pure and fluent pen, should, in the name of the Convocation, draw a humble supplication to her Majesty for the restitution of the archbishop to his place, which was done according to the tenor following:—

Serenissimæ ac potentissimæ reginæ Elizabethæ, Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ reginæ, fidei defensatrici, &c.—Etsi majestatem regiam sive verbo, sive scripto, interpellare (serenissima princeps Elizabetha) non decere nisi rariùs, non licere nisi gravioribus de causis, arbitramur; tamen cùm præcipiat apostolus, ut, dum tempus habeamus, benefacimus omnibus, maximè verò domesticis fidei, committere nullo modo possumus quin illud hoc tempore a tuâ celsitate humiliter contendamus, quod nobis ad petendum utile et necessarium toti ecclesiæ et reipublicæ ad obtinendum salutare et fructuosum, tuæ denique majestati ad concedendum, perfacile et honorificum sit futurum. Quanquam igitur acerbissimè dolemus et contristamur, reverendissimum patrem Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, post tot annos, in tantam tamque diuturnam majestatis tuæ offensionem incidisse; tamen valdè vehementer speramus, nos veniam adepturos, si pro uno multi, pro archiepiscopo episcopi, pro tanto præsule tot ministri, seriò et suppliciter intercedamus. Quòd si deprecantium authoritas in petitione valeret, hæc causa jamdudum a nobilibus viris; si voluntas, ab amicissimis; si experientia, a prudentissimis; si religio, a reverendissimis; si multitudo, a plurimis: sic ut nostræ partes nullæ nunc aliæ videantur, quàm ut orationem cum illorum rationibus, nostras preces cum illorum petitionibus supplicissimè ac demississimè conjungamus.

Ut enim Cæsar Octavius jucundissimus propterea fuisse scribitur, quòd apud eum, quoties quisque voluit, dixit, et quod voluit, dum humiliter; sic ex infinitis illis virtutibus, quibus regium tuum pectus abundè cumulatur, vix ulla vel majestati tuæ honorificentior, vel in populum tuum gratiosior existit, quàm in admittendis hominibus facilitas, in causis audiendis lenitas, prudentia in secernendis, in satisfaciendis pietas et clementia. Nihil est enim tam populare quàm bonitas; atque principes ad præpotentem Deum nullâ re propiùs accedunt, quàm offensionibus deponendis, et obliviscendis injuriis, non dicimus SEPTIES, SED SEPTUAGIES SEPTIES. *Nam si decem millia talentorum dimittantur nobis, nonne nos fratribus, conservis, subditis, centum denarios condonabimus? Liceat enim nobis illud Christi præceptum ad istud institutum, bonâ tuâ cum pace, accommodare. Præsertim cùm hortetur apostolus, ut mansuetudo nostra nota sit omnibus; Christusque jubeat, ut misericordes simus sicut*

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Pater noster Cœlestis misericors est. Vinum in vulnus infundere salutare est, et salutarius oleum; Christus utrumque adhibuit. Judicium cantare, domino jucundum est, ac jucundius misericordiam; David utrumque perfecit. Gratiosa est in omnibus hominibus clementia, in proceribus gratiosior, in principe verò gratiosissima. Gloriosa est regi mansuetudo, reginæ gloriosior, virgini verò gloriosissima: si non semper, at sæpius; si non in omnes, at in pios; si non in vulgus, at in magistratus, at in ministros, at in eum qui, in tam sublimi loco constitutus, magnâ apud nos authoritate, magnâ apud alios existimatione, summâ in sacratissimam tuam majestatem fide et observantiâ præditus; ut non sæpè in vitâ deliquisse, sed semel tantùm in vitâ displicuisse videatur, idque non tam præfractâ voluntate, quam tenerâ conscientiâ, cujus tantam esse vim, magni authores, et optimi quique viri scripserunt, ut quicquid, eâ vel reclamante, vel errante, vel hæsitante, fiat, non leve peccatum esse statuerint. Ac ut, quod verum est, ingenuè et humiliter attendamus; et illud omnium quod unum agitur, vel necessario silentio, vel voluntariâ oblectatione obruamus. Si laudabile est, vitam non modò ab omni crimine, sed suspicione criminis, liberam traduxisse, traduxit; si honestum, religionem ab omni non modò papisticâ corruptelâ, sed a schismaticâ pravitate, integram conservare, conservavit; si Christianum, non modò propter justitiam persecutionem passum esse, sed per cæteras nationes propter evangelium oberrasse et passus est, et oberravit.

Quæ cùm ita sint, regina clementissima, omnes hæ nostræ voces ad celsitudinem tuam profectæ, hoc unum demississimè et, quam fieri potest, subjectissimè comprecantur, idque per singularem naturæ tuæ bonitatem, per ante-actæ tuæ vitæ consuetudinem, per pietatem regiam in subditos, per charitatem Christianam in inimicos, perque eam, quâ reliquos omnes et privatos et principes excellis, lenitatem; ut velis majestatem tuam mansuetudine, justitiam misericordiâ, iram placabilitate, offensionem indulgentiâ mitigare; et archiepiscopum mœrore fractum et debilitatum, non modò extollere jacentem, sed ecclesiam ipsi, ipsum ecclesiæ, tuis civibus, suis fratribus, exteris nationibus, denique piis omnibus tandem aliquando restituere. Quod si fecerit majestas tua, vel potiùs cùm fecerit, (quod enim summè cupimus, summè etiam sperare jucundum est,) non dubitamus quin illum reverendissimum patrem, supplicem et abjectum, non tam ad pedes, quàm ad nutus tuos perpetuò sis habitura. Ita celsitati tuæ persanctè pollicemur, nobis neque in ecclesiâ constituendâ curam, neque in religione propagandâ studium, neque in schismatibus tollendis diligentiam, neque in hoc beneficio præcipuè recolendo memoriam, neque in ferendo quas debemus gratias, gratam animi benevolentiam ullo unquam tempore defuturam. Dominus Jesus

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majestatem tuam, ad reipublicæ tranquillitatem, ad ecclesiæ conservationem, ad suæ veritatis amplificationem, omni fœlicitatis genere diutissimè prosequatur.

This petition, though presented with all advantage, found no other entertainment than delays, which ended in a final denial; it being daily suggested to the queen, that Grindal was a great patron of prophesyings, now set up in several parts of the land; which, if permitted to take place, would in fine prove the bane of the church and commonwealth.

2. *The Model and Method of Prophesying.*

These prophesyings were pretended to be grounded on the apostle's precept: "For, ye may all prophesy one by one, that all may learn, and all be comforted," 1 Cor. xiv. 31; but so, as to make * it out, they were fain to make use of human prudential additions, modelling their prophesyings as followeth:—

(1.) The ministers of the same precinct, by their own appointment, (not strictly standing on the old division of deaneries,) met at the principal place therein.

(2.) The junior divine went first into the pulpit, and for half an hour, more or less, as he could with clearness contract his meditations, treated upon a portion of scripture, formerly by a joint agreement assigned unto him. After him, four or five more, observing their seniority, successively dilated on the same text.

(3.) At last a grave divine, appointed on purpose, as father of the Act, made the closing sermon, somewhat larger than the rest, praising the pains and performance of such who best deserved it; meekly and mildly reproving the mistakes and failings of such of those, if any were found in their sermons. Then all was ended as it was begun, with a solemn prayer; and, at a public refection of those ministers together, (with many of the gentry repairing unto them,) the next time of their meeting was appointed, text assigned, preachers deputed, a new moderator elected, or the old one continued; and so all were dissolved.

This exercise proved, though often long, seldom tedious; and people's attentions, though travelling far, were little tired, because entertained with much variety.

3. *The Inconveniences of Prophesyings detected or suspected.*

However, some inconveniences were seen, and more foreseen, by wise (or, at least, suspected by fearful) men, if these prophecies might generally take place in the land.

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 512.—EDIT.

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(1.) Many modest ministers, and those profitable preachers in their private parishes, were loath to appear in this public way; which made them undeservedly slighted and neglected by others.

(2.) Many young men, of more boldness than learning, readiness than solidity, carried away the credit, to the great disheartening of those of more age and ability.

(3.) This consort of preachers kept not always time and tune amongst themselves, much jarring of personal reflections often disturbing their harmony.

(4.) Many would make impertinent excursions from their text, to inveigh against the present discipline and government of the church; such preachers being more plausible to the people, generally best pleased with them who manifest their displeasure against the present authority.

(5.) A wise person was often wanting to moderate the moderator, partially passing his censures rather according to affection than judgment.

(6.) People factiously cried up, some one minister, some another, to the disgrace of God's ordinance.

(7.) These prophesyings, being accounted the fairs for spiritual merchandises, made the weekly markets for the same holy commodities, on the Lord's day, to be less respected, and ministers to be neglected in their respective parishes.

(8.) In a word, the queen was so perfectly prepossesed with prejudice against these prophesyings, (as if they foretold the rise of schism and faction,) that she was implacably incensed against archbishop Grindal, as the principal patron and promoter thereof.

However, the good archbishop, to vindicate himself and state the usefulness of these prophesyings, wrote a large letter to the queen; and although we cannot exactly tell the just time thereof,* yet, knowing it will be welcome to the pious reader at any time, here we present the true copy thereof.

4. *The most remarkable Letter of Archbishop Grindal, in Defence of Prophecies and Church-jurisdiction.*

"With most humble remembrance of bounden duty to your Majesty. It may please the same to be advertised, that the speeches which it pleased you to deliver unto me when I last attended on your Highness, concerning the abridging the number of preachers, and the utter subversion of all learned exercises and conferences amongst the ministers of the church, allowed by the bishops and ordinaries, have exceedingly dismayed and discomforted me; not so

* To the day and month, being confident this was the year.

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much for that the said speeches sounded very hardly against my own person, being but one particular man, and not so much to be accounted of; but, most of all, for that the same might tend to the public harm of God's church, (whereof your Majesty by office ought to be *nutricia,)* and also the heavy burden of your conscience before God, if they should be put to strict execution. It was not your Majesty's pleasure then (the time not serving thereto) to hear me at any length concerning the said two matters then expounded. I thought it therefore my duty, by writing, to declare some part of my mind unto your Highness, beseeching the same with patience to read over this which I now send written with my own rude, scribbling hand, which seemeth indeed to be of more length than it is: for I say with Ambrose, *ad Valentinianum Imperatorem: Scribo manu meâ quod sola legas.*

"Madam, first of all, I must and will, during my life, confess that there is no earthly creature to whom I am so much bounden as to your Majesty, who (notwithstanding mine insufficiency, which commendeth your grace the more) hath bestowed upon me so many and so great benefits, as I could never hope for, much less deserve. I do therefore, according to my bounden duty, with all thanksgiving, bear towards your Majesty a most humble, thankful, and faithful heart, and that knoweth He that knoweth all things. Neither do I intend ever to offend your Majesty in any thing, unless, in the cause of God or his church, by necessity of office and burden laid upon me, and burden of conscience, I shall thereunto be enforced; and in these cases, which I trust in God shall never be urged upon me, if I should use dissembling silence, I should very ill requite so many your Majesty's and so great benefits. For in so doing, both you might fall into peril towards God, and I myself into endless damnation. The prophet Ezekiel termeth us ministers of the church *speculatores*, and not *adulatores*. If we, therefore, see the sword coming by reason of any offence towards God, we must of necessity give warning, else the blood of those that perish will be required at our hands. I beseech your Majesty thus to think of me, that I do not conceive any ill opinion of you, although I cannot assent unto those two Articles then expounded. I do, with the rest of all your good subjects, acknowledge that we have received, by your government, many and most excellent benefits,—as, amongst others, freedom of conscience, suppression of idolatry, sincere preaching of the gospel, with public peace and tranquillity.

"I am also persuaded, that ever, in these matters which you seem to urge, your meaning and zeal is for the best. The like hath happened to many of the best princes that ever were, yet have [they] not refused afterwards to be better informed, and instructed out of God's

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word. King David, so much commended in the scriptures, had no evil meaning when he commanded the people to be numbered; he thought it good policy, in so doing, to understand what forces he had in store to employ against God's enemies, if occasion so required. Yet afterwards, saith the scripture, his own heart struck him, and God, by the prophet Gad, reprehended him for his offence; and gave him, for the same, choice of three hard penances,—that is to say, famine, war, and pestilence. Good king Hezekiah, of courtesy and good affection, showed to the ambassadors of the king of Babylon the treasures of the house of God, and of his own house; and yet the prophet Isaiah told him that God was therewith displeased. The godly king Jehoshaphat, making league with his neighbour king Ahab, and of like good meaning, no doubt, was likewise reprehended by Jehu the prophet in this form of words: *Impio præbes auxilium, et iis qui oderunt Dominum amicitiâ jungeris.* Ambrose, writing to Theodosius the emperor, useth these words: *Novi pietatem tuam erga Deum, lenitatem in homines, oblectatus sum beneficiis tuis, &c.* And yet, for all that, the said Ambrose doth not forbear in the same epistle to persuade the said emperor to revoke an ungodly edict, wherein he had commanded a godly bishop to re-edify a Jewish synagogue pulled down by the Christian people.

"And so, to come to the present case, I may very well use to your Highness the words of Ambrose above written, *Novi pietatem, &c.* But surely I cannot marvel enough how this strange opinion should once enter into your mind,—that it should be good for the church to have few preachers. Alas, madam, is the scripture more plain in any thing, than that the gospel of Christ should be plentifully preached? and that plenty of labourers should be sent into the Lord's harvest, which, being great and large, standeth in need, not of a few but of many workmen? There was appointed to the building of Solomon's material temple artificers and labourers, besides three thousand overseers; and shall we think that a few preachers may suffice to the building and edifying of the spiritual temple of Christ, which is his church? Christ, when he sent forth his disciples and apostles, said unto them, *Ite, prædicate Evangelium omni creaturæ;* but all God's creatures cannot be instructed in the gospel, unless all possible means be used to have multitudes of preachers and teachers to preach unto them. *Sermo Christi inhabitet in vobis opulenter*, saith St. Paul, Colossians iii. 16; and 2 Timothy iv. 2: *Prædica sermonem, insta tempestivè intempestivè, argue, increpa, exhortare, &c.;* which thing cannot be done without often and much teaching and preaching. To this agreeth the practice of Christ's apostles: *Qui constituebant per singulas ecclesias presbyteros*, Acts xiv. 23. St. Paul likewise writeth to Titus, i. 5: *Hujus rei gratiâ, reliqui*

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te in Cretâ, ut quæ desunt pergas corrigere, et constituas oppidatim presbyteros. And afterwards describes how the same presbytery were to be qualified, not such as we are compelled to admit for mere necessity, unless we should have a great many of churches utterly desolate; but such, indeed, as were able to exhort, *per suam doctrinam, et contradicentes convincere.* And in this place, I beseech your Majesty to note one thing necessary to be noted, which is this: If the Holy Ghost prescribeth expressly that preachers should be placed *oppidatim*, how can it then well be thought that three or four preachers may suffice for a shire?

"Public and continual preaching of God's word is the ordinary means and instrument of the salvation of mankind. St. Paul calleth it 'the ministry of reconciliation' of man unto God. By the preaching of God's word, the glory of God is increased and enlarged, faith nourished, and charity increased. By it the ignorant are instructed, the negligent exhorted and incited, the stubborn rebuked, the weak conscience comforted, and to all those that sin of malicious wickedness the wrath of God is threatened. By preaching, also, due obedience to God and Christian princes and magistrates is planted in the hearts of subjects: for obedience proceedeth of conscience, conscience is grounded upon the word of God, and the word of God worketh his effect by preaching; so as generally, where preaching wanteth, obedience faileth.

"No prince ever had more lively experience hereof than your Majesty hath had in your time, and may have daily. If your Majesty comes to the city of London, never so often, what gratulations, what joy, what concourse of the people is there to be seen! Yea, what acclamations and prayers to God for your long life, and other manifest significations, are there to be heard of inward and unfeigned love, joined with most humble and hearty obedience, are there to be heard! Whereof cometh this, madam, but of the continual preaching of God's word in that city? whereby that people hath been plentifully instructed in their duty towards God and your Majesty. On the contrary, what bred the rebellion in the north? Was it not papistry and ignorance of God's word, through want of often preaching in the time of that rebelling? Were not all men of all states, that made profession of the gospel, most ready to offer their lives for your defence? Insomuch that one poor parish in Yorkshire, which, by continual preaching, hath been better instructed than the rest, (Halifax, I mean,) was ready to bring three or four thousand able men into the field, to serve you against the said rebels. How can your Majesty have a more lively trial and experience of the effects of much preaching, or little or no preaching? The one worketh most faithful obedience, the other working most unnatural disobedience and rebellion.

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"But it is thought that many are admitted to preach, and few able to do it well. That unable preachers be removed, is very requisite, if ability and sufficiency may be rightly weighed and judged; and therein I trust as much is and shall be done as can be. For, both I for my own part, (let it be spoken without any ostentation,) I am very careful in allowing of such preachers only as be able both for their knowledge in the scriptures, and also for testimony of their godly life and conversation; and, beside that, I have given very great charge to the rest of my brethren, the bishops of this province, to do the like. We admitted no man to the office of preaching, that either professeth papistry or puritanism. The graduates of the universities are only admitted to be preachers; unless it be some few, who have excellent gifts of knowledge in the scriptures, joined with good utterance and godly persuasions. I myself procured above forty learned preachers and graduates within less than these six years, to be placed within the diocess of York, beside those I found there; and there I left them: the fruits of whose travail in preaching your Majesty is like to reap daily, by most assured dutiful obedience of your subjects in those parts.

"But, indeed, this age judgeth hardly, and nothing indifferently, of the ability of preachers of our time, judging few or none to be able in their opinion; which hard judgment groweth upon divers ill dispositions of men. St. Paul doth command the preaching of Christ crucified [to] be *absque eminentiâ sermonis*; but, in our time, many have so delicate ears, that no preaching can satisfy them unless it be sauced with much sweetness and exornation of speech; which the same apostle utterly condemneth, and giveth this reason, *Ne evacuetur crux Christi*.

"Some there be also, that are mislikers of the godly Reformation in religion now established; wishing, indeed, that there were no preachers at all; and so, by depraving of ministers, impugn religion, *non aperto Marte, sed in cuniculis*; much like to the popish bishops in your father's time, who would have had the English translation of the Bible called-in, as evil-translated, and the new translation thereof to be committed to them, which they never intended to perform.

"A number there is, and that exceeding great, whereof some are altogether worldly-minded, and altogether bent covetously to gather worldly goods and possessions, serving all carnal, vain, dissolute, and lascivious life. *Voluptatis amatores, magis quam Dei; et semetipsos dediderunt ad patrandum omnem immunditiem cum aviditate*, Eph. iv. 19. And because the preaching of God's word (which to all Christians' conscience is sweet and delectable) to them, having *cauterizatas conscientias*, is bitter and grievous; (for, as St.

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Ambrose saith, *super Psalmum* cxix.: *Quomodo possunt verba Dei dulcia esse in faucibus tuis, in quibus est amaritudo?)* there they wish also that there were no preachers at all; but because they dare not directly condemn the office of preaching, so expressly commanded by God's word, for that the same were open blasphemy; they turn themselves altogether, and with the same meaning as others do, to make exceptions against the persons of them that be admitted to preach.

"But God forbid, madam, that you should open your ears to any of these wicked persuasions, or any way to diminish the preaching of Christ's gospel; for that you would ruinate altogether at length. *Cum defecerit prophetia, dissipabitur populus*, saith Solomon, Proverbs xxix. 18. Now, where it is thought that the reading of godly Homilies, set forth by public authority, may suffice, (I continue in the same mind I was [in] when I attended upon your Majesty,) the reading of Homilies hath his commodities; but it is nothing comparable to the office of preaching. The godly preacher is learned in the gospel. *Fidelis servus qui novit*, who can apply his speech to the diversity of times, places, and hearers, which cannot be done in Homilies. Exhortations, reprehensions, and persuasions, are uttered with more affections to the moving of the hearers in sermons, than in Homilies.

"Besides, Homilies were devised by godly bishops in your brother's days, only to supply necessity, by want of preachers; and are, by the statute, not to be preferred, but to give place to sermons, wheresoever they may be had, and were never thought in themselves to contain alone sufficient instruction for the church of England. For it was then found, (as it is found now,) that this church of England hath been, by appropriations, and that not without sacrilege, spoiled of the livings which at the first were appointed to the office of preaching and teaching; which appropriations were first annexed to abbeys, and after came to the Crown, and now are disposed to private men's possessions, without hope to reduce the same to the original institution. So that at this day, in my opinion, where one church is able to yield sufficient living to a learned preacher, there are, at the least, seven churches unable to do the same, where there be ———* souls, (the more is the pity!) there are not seven pounds a-year reserved for the minister. In such parishes, as it is not possible to place able preachers for want of convenient stipend, if every flock might have a preaching pastor, which is rather to be wished than hoped for, then were reading of Homilies

* The word not being easily legible, I have left a blank, (as sometimes before and after,) preferring to refer the sense to the judicious reader's own conjecture, than to impose my guess upon him.

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altogether unnecessary. But to supply that want of preaching God's word which is the food of the soul, growing upon the necessities before-mentioned, both in your brother's time, and in your time also, certain Homilies have been devised, that the people should not altogether be destitute of instruction; for it is an old proverb, 'Better a loaf than no bread.'

"Now, for the second point, which is concerning the learned exercises and conferences amongst the ministers of the church: I have consulted with divers of my brethren the bishops, who think of [it] the same as I do,—a thing profitable to the church, and therefore expedient to be continued: and I trust your Majesty will think the like, when your Majesty shall have been informed of the matter and order thereof, what authority it hath of the scriptures, what commodity it bringeth with it, and what discommodities will follow if it be clean taken away.

"(1.) THE AUTHORS of this exercise are the bishops of the diocess where this same is used, who, by the law of God, and by the canons and constitutions of the church now in force, have authority to appoint exercise to their inferior ministers for increase of learning and knowledge in the scriptures, as to them seemeth most expedient, for that pertaineth *ad disciplinam clericalem*. THE TIME appointed for this exercise is once in a month, or once in twenty or fifteen days, at the discretion of the ordinary. The time of this exercise is two hours; the place, the church of the ——— appointed for the assembly. THE MATTER entreated of is as followeth: Some text of scripture, before appointed to be spoken, is interpreted in this order: First. The occasion of the place is showed. Secondly. The end. Thirdly. The proper sense of the place. Fourthly. The property of the words, and those that be learned in the tongues showing the diversity of interpretations. Fifthly. Where the like phrases are used in scripture. Sixthly. Places of scripture that seem to repugn are reconciled. Seventhly. The arguments of the text are opened. Eighthly. It is declared what virtues and vices are therein couched, and to which of the commandments they do appertain. Ninthly. How the like hath been wrested by the adversary, if occasion so require. Tenthly, and Lastly. What doctrine of faith and manners the said text doth contain. The conclusion is with a prayer for your Majesty and all estates, (as is appointed by the book of Common-Prayer,) and a Psalm.

"(2.) THESE ORDERS following are also observed by the said exercise: First: Two or three of the gravest and best learned pastors are appointed of the bishops to be Moderators in every assembly. No man may speak unless he be first allowed by the bishop; with this proviso, that no layman be suffered to speak at

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any time. No controversy of this present time and state shall be moved and dealt withal. If any attempt the contrary, he is put to silence by the Moderator. None is suffered to glance openly or covertly at persons public or private; neither yet any one to confute one another. If any man utter a wrong sense of scripture, he is privately admonished thereof, and better instructed by the Moderators and other his fellow-ministers. If any man use immoderate speeches, or unreverend gesture or behaviour, or otherwise be suspected in life, he is likewise admonished as aforesaid. If any man do vilify or break these orders, he is presented to the bishop to be corrected.

"(3.) THE GROUND of this or like exercise is of great and ancient authority; for Samuel did practise such like exercises in his time at Naioth in Ramah, and Bethel, 1 Sam. x. 5—13; xix. 18—24. So did Elizeus the prophet at Jericho, 2 Kings ii. 5—22; which studious persons in those days were called *filii prophetarum*, 'the disciples of the prophets,' that, being exercised in the knowledge and study of the scriptures, they might be able men to serve in God's church as that time required. St. Paul also doth make express mention, 1 Cor. xiv. 1—40, that the like in effect was used in the primitive church, and giveth order for the same, that two or three should speak, (by course, he meaneth,) and the rest shall keep silence. That exercise in the church in those days St. Paul calleth *prophetia*, and the speakers *prophetas*,—terms very odious in our days to some, because they are not rightly understood; for, indeed, *prophetia*, in that and like places of the same Paul, doth not (as it doth sometimes) signify prediction of things to come, (which thing, or which gift, is not now ordinary in the church of God,) but signifieth thereby the assent and consent of the scriptures. And, therefore, doth St. Paul attribute unto these that be called *prophetæ* in that chapter, *doctrinam ad ædificationem, exhortationem, et consolationem*. This gift of expounding and interpreting the Scriptures was, in St. Paul's time, given unto many by a special miracle without study; so was also by miracle the gift to speak strange tongues which they had never learned. But now, miracles ceasing, men must attain to the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin tongues, &c., by travail and study: God giveth the increase. So must men also attain by the like means to the gifts of expounding and interpreting the scriptures; and, amongst other helps, nothing is so necessary as these above-named exercises and conferences amongst the ministers of the church; which in effect are all one with the exercises of students in divinity in the universities, saving that the first is done in a tongue understood, to the more edifying of the unlearned hearers.

"(4.) Howsoever report hath been made to your Majesty concern-

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ing these exercises, yet I and others of York, whose names are noted as followeth,—(i.) Cantuariensis; (ii.) London; (iii.) Winc.; (iv.) Bathon.; (v.) Lichfield; (vi.) Gloucester; (vii.) Lincoln; (viii.) Chester; (ix.) Exon.; (x.) Meneven. als. David's;—hereof as they have testified unto me by their letters, have found by experience that these PROFITS and commodities following have ensued of them: (i.) The ministers of the church are more skilful, and more ready in the scriptures, and more apt to teach their flocks. (ii.) It withdraweth them from idleness, wandering, gaming, &c. (iii.) Some, afore suspected in doctrine, are brought to the knowledge of the truth. (iv.) Ignorant ministers are driven to study, if not for conscience, yet for shame and fear of discipline. (v.) The opinion of laymen touching the ableness of the clergy is hereby removed. (vi.) Nothing by experience beateth down popery more than that. (vii.) Ministers, as some of my brethren do confess, grow to such knowledge by means of those exercises, that where afore were not able ministers, not three, now are thirty able and meet to preach at Paul's Cross, and forty or fifty besides, able to instruct their own cures: so, as it is found by experience the best means to increase knowledge in the simple, and to continue it in the learned, only backward men in religion, and contemners of learning in the countries abroad, do fret against it; which, in truth, doth the more commend it.

"(5.) The DISSOLUTION of it would breed triumph to the adversary, and great sorrow and grief to the favourers of religion, contrary to the counsel of Ezekiel; (xiii. 3—22;) who saith, *Cor justi non est contristandum;* and although some have abused this good and necessary exercise, there is no reason that the malice of a few should prejudice all. Abuses may be reformed, and that which is good may remain. Neither is there any just cause of offences to be taken, if divers men make divers senses of one sentence of scripture, so that all the senses be good and agreeable to the analogy and proportion of faith; for otherwise we must needs condemn all the ancient fathers, and divers of the church, who most commonly expound one and the same text of scripture diversely, and yet all to the good of the church. And therefore doth Basil compare the scriptures to a well, out of which the more a man draweth, the better and sweeter is the water. I trust when your Majesty hath considered and weighed the premisses, you will rest satisfied; and judge, that no such inconveniences can grow of such exercises as these, as you have been informed, but rather the clean contrary.

"And, for my own part, because I am well assured by reasons, and also by arguments taken out of the holy scriptures, by experience, the most certain seal of sure knowledge, that the said exercises

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for the interpretation and exposition of the scriptures, and for the exhortation and comfort drawn out of the same, are both profitable to increase knowledge amongst ministers, and tend to the edifying of the hearers; I am enforced with all humility and yet plainly to profess, that I cannot with safe conscience, and without the offence of the Majesty of God, give mine assent to the suppressing of the said exercises; much less can I send out any injunction for the utter and universal subversion of the same. I say with St. Paul, 'I have no power to destroy, but only to edify;' and, with the same apostle, 'I can do nothing against the truth, but with the truth.' If it be your Majesty's pleasure, for this or any other cause, to remove me out of this place, I will with all humility yield thereunto, and render again unto your Majesty that which I have received of the same. I consider with myself, *quòd terrendum est incidere in manus Dei viventis.* I consider also, *quòd qui facit contra conscientiam (divinis in rebus) œdificat ad gehennam.* And what shall I win if I gained (I will not say, a bishopric, but) the whole world, and lose my own soul? Bear with me, I beseech you, madam, if I choose rather to offend your earthly Majesty, than to offend the heavenly Majesty of God.

"And now, being sorry that I have been so long and tedious to your Majesty, I will draw to an end, most humbly praying the same, that you would consider these short petitions following. The First, that you would refer all these ecclesiastical matters which touch religion, or the doctrine or discipline of the church, unto the bishops and divines of the church of your realm, according to the example of all Christian emperors and princes of all ages: for, indeed, they are to be judged, as an ancient father writeth, *in ecclesiâ seu synodo, non in palatino.* When your Majesty hath questions of the laws of your realm, you do not decide the same in your court or palace, but send them to your judges to be determined. Likewise, for the duties in matters in doctrine or discipline of the church, the ordinary way is to defer the decision to the bishops and other head ministers of the church. Ambrose to Theodosius useth these words: *Si de causis pecuniariis comites tuos consulis, quantò magis, in causâ religionis, sacerdotes Domini æquum est consulas!* And likewise to the emperor Valentinian, Epist. 32: *Si de fide conferendum est, sacerdotum debet esse justa collatio; sic enim factum est Constantino augustæ memoriæ principi, qui nullas leges ante præmisit, sed liberum dedit judicium sacerdotis.* And in the same place, the same father saith, that Constantius the emperor, son to Constantine the Great, began well, by reason he followed his father's steps at the first, but ended ill, because he took upon him *difficile intra palatinum judicare*, and thereby fell into Arianism,—

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a terrible example! The said Ambrose, so much commended in all histories for a godly bishop, goeth further, and writeth to the said emperor in this form: *Si docendus est episcopus a laico, quid sequitur? Laicus ergo disputet, et episcopus audiat a laico. At certè, si vel Scripturarum seriem Divinarum, vel vetera tempora retractemus, quis est qui abundat in causâ fidei, inquam fidei, episcopos solere de imperatoribus Christianis, non imperatores de episcopis judicare?* Would God your Majesty would follow this ordinary! You should procure to yourself much quietness of mind, and better please God, avoid many offences, and the church should be more peaceable and quietly governed, much to the comfort and quietness of your realm.

"The second petition I have to make to your Majesty is this,—that when you deal in matters of faith and religion, or matters that touch the church of Christ, which is the spouse bought with so dear a price, you would not use to pronounce so resolutely and peremptorily, *quasi ex authoritate*, as you may do in civil and extern matters; but always remember, that, in God's cause, the will of God, and not the will of any earthly creature, is to take place. It is the antichristian voice of the pope: *Sic volo; sic jubeo; stet pro ratione voluntas.* In God's matters, all princes ought to bow their sceptres to the Son of God, and to ask counsel at his mouth what they ought to do. David exhorteth all kings and rulers to serve God with fear and trembling. Remember, madam, that you are a mortal creature. Look not only, as was said to Theodosius, upon the purple and princely array wherewith you are apparelled, but consider withal what it is that is covered therewith. Is it not flesh and blood? Is it not dust and ashes? Is it not a corruptible body, which must return to her earth again? God knoweth how soon! Must you not one day appear *ante tremendum tribunal Crucifixi, ut recipias ibi prout gesseris in corpore, sive bonum sive malum?* 2 Cor. v. 10. And although you are a mighty prince, yet remember that He that dwelleth in heaven is mightier, as the Psalmist saith, *Terribilis est Is qui aufert spiritum principum, terribilis super omnes reges*, Psalm lxxvi. 12. Wherefore I beseech you, madam, *in visceribus Christi*, when you deal in these religious causes, set the Majesty of God before your eyes; laying all earthly majesty aside, determine with yourself to obey his voice, and, with all humility, say unto him, *Non meâ sed tua voluntas fiat!*

"God hath blessed you with great felicity in your reign, now many years; beware you do not impute this same to your own deserts or policy, but give God the glory; and, as to instruments and means, impute your said felicity, First, to the goodness of the cause which you set forth; I mean, Christ's true religion; and,

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Secondly, to the sighs and groans of the godly in fervent prayer to God for you, which have hitherto as it were tied and bound the hands of God, that he could not pour out his plagues upon you and your people, most justly deserved. Take heed that you never think of declining from God, lest it be verified of you which is written of Joash, 2 Chronicles xxvi. 16, who continued a prince of good and godly government for many years together, and afterwards, *cum corroboratus esset, elevatum est cor ejus in interitum suum, et neglexit Deum.** You have done many things well; but unless you persevere to the end, you cannot be blessed. For if you turn from God, then will he turn his merciful countenance from you; and what remaineth then to be looked for, but only a horrible expectation of God's judgment, and a heaping-up of God's wrath against the day of wrath! But I trust in God your Majesty will always humble yourself under his mighty hand, and go forward in the godly and zealous setting-forth of God's true religion; always yielding true obedience and reverence to the word of God,—the only rule of faith and religion. And if you so do, although God hath just cause many ways to be angry with you and us for our unthankfulness, yet I doubt nothing but, for his own name's sake, he will still hold his merciful hand over us, shield and protect us under the shadow of his wings, as he hath hitherto done. I beseech God, our heavenly Father, plentifully to pour his principal Spirit upon you, and always direct your heart in his holy fear.—Amen, amen."

What could be written with more spirit and less animosity, more humility and less dejection? I see, a lamb in his own—can be a lion in God's and his church's—cause.† Say not, that *orbitas* and *senectus* (the two things which made the man speak so boldly to the tyrant) ‡ only encouraged Grindal, in this his writing; whose necessary boldness did arise, partly from confidence in the goodness of the cause for which,—partly from the graciousness of the queen to whom,—he made his address. But, alas! all in vain. Leicester had so filled her Majesty's ears with complaints against him, there was no room to receive his petition.

5. *Lambeth-house, Grindal's Guilt.*

Indeed, Leicester cast a covetous eye on Lambeth-house, alleging as good arguments for his obtaining thereof as ever were urged by Ahab for Naboth's vineyard. Now, Grindal, though generally condemned for remissness in this kind, (parting with more from his see than ever his successors thanked him for,) stoutly opposed the alienating of this his principal palace, and made the Leicestrian party to

* This was recorded concerning Uzziah, and not Joash.—EDIT. † See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 513.—EDIT. ‡ PLUTARCH'S "Morals."

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malice him; but more hereof hereafter.* Mean time may the reader take notice, that a great scholar and statesman,† and no enemy to the hierarchy, in his worthy "Considerations about Church Government," (tendered to king James,) conceiveth, that such prophesyings which Grindal did favour might be so discreetly cautioned and moderated, as to make them, without fear of faction, profitable for advancing of learning and religion. But so jealous were some bishops of that age of these prophesyings, (as having too much presbyterian analogy and classical constitution therein,) they decried the motion of them as schismatical.

6. *The Death of Cope and Bullock. Popish Locusts swarm into England.*

I find no mortality of protestant worthies this year; but amongst the catholics much moan for the death of Alan Cope, Harpsfield's great correspondent, and agent for those of his religion at Rome, where he died, and was buried in the English College; and George Bullock, bred in St. John's in Cambridge, and after lived in Antwerp, in the monastery of St. Michael's.

Now began priests and Jesuits to flock faster into England than ever before; having exchange of clothes, and names, and professions. He who on Sunday was a priest or Jesuit, was, on Monday, a merchant; on Tuesday, a soldier; on Wednesday, a courtier, &c.; and, with the shears of equivocation, (constantly carried about him,) he could cut himself into any shape he pleased. But, under all their new shapes, they retained their old nature; being akin, in their turbulent spirits, to the wind pent in the subterranean concavities, which will never be quiet, until it hath vented itself with a state-quake of those countries wherein they abide. These distilled traitorous principles into all people wheresoever they came, and endeavoured to render them disaffected to her Majesty; maintaining, that she neither had nor ought to have any dominion over her subjects, whilst she persisted in a heretical distance from the church of Rome.

7. *Necessary Severity of the Parliament against them. A.D.* 1581.

Hereupon the parliament, which now met at Westminster, January 16th, was enforced, for the security of the state, to enact severe laws against them: First. That it should be treason to draw any from that faith established in England, to the Romish religion. Secondly. That it should be treason to be reconciled to the Romish religion. Thirdly. That to maintain or conceal any such person longer than twenty days, should be misprision of treason. Fourthly.

* In Grindal's character at his death. A.D. 1583, p. 59. † Sir Francis Bacon.

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That saying mass should be two hundred marks' penalty, and one year's imprisonment. Fifthly. Hearing mass should be one hundred marks' penalty, and one year's imprisonment. Sixthly. Absence from the church one month, finable at twenty pounds. Seventhly. All they shall be imprisoned who will not or cannot pay the forfeiture. Eighthly. It was provided, that such should pay ten pounds a-month, who kept a schoolmaster in their house, who repaireth not to church. Where, by the way, we may mention, that some since conceive themselves to have discovered a defect in this law, because no order is taken therein against popish schoolmistresses. And although schoolmaster may seem of the common gender, and inclusive of both sexes; yet, by the letter of the law, all she-teachers (who did mischief to little children) evaded the punishment. Thus, when authority hath carefully shut all doors and windows imaginable, some little offenders will creep through the crannies thereof.

8, 9. *Many against Money-Mulcts for Conscience. Others conceive the Proportion of the Fine unconscionable.*

When sovereigns have made laws, subjects sometimes take the boldness to sit in judgment upon them; to commend them for just, or condemn them for cruel; as here it came to pass. Some (and those far enough from all popery) misliked the imposing of money-mulcts on men's consciences. If the mass were lawful, let it freely be permitted; if unlawful, let it wholly be prohibited. It is a sad case to make men pay dear for their damnation, and so sell them a license to do that which the receivers of their money conceive to be unlawful. It is part of the character of the whore of Babylon, (which protestants generally apply to Rome,) that she traded, or made a mart of the souls of men, Rev. xviii. 13; as this was little better.

Others, not disliking a pecuniary penalty, yet conceived the proportion thereof unreasonable. Twenty pounds a-month! a vast sum, (especially as exacted by lunary months, consisting of twenty-eight days, and so making thirteen months in the year,) enough to shatter the containment of a rich man's estate. They commended the moderation of the former statute, which required twelve-pence a-Sunday of all such as could not give a reasonable excuse of their absence from church. That did smart, yet did not fetch blood; at the worst, did not break bones. Whereas now twenty pounds a-month, paid severally by every recusant for himself, and as much for his wife, (who, though one flesh in divinity, yet are two persons in law,) held so heavy as to cripple their estates. And as the rich hereby were almost undone, so the poor papists, who also had souls to save, passed wholly unpunished, paying nothing, because

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unable to pay all the penalty. And, although imprisonment was imposed by law on persons not solvable, yet officers were unwilling to cast them into gaol, where they might lie, and fill the gaols, and rot, without hopes of enlargement.

10. *Arguments pro and con, whether Jesuits are to be put to Death.*

Larger were the debates, both then and since, in discourse and writing, about the capital punishment, in taking away the lives of Jesuits: some being zealous for the vigorous execution of those laws, and others as earnest for the confining only of Jesuits close prisoners during their life; conceiving it conducing most to the tranquillity of the kingdom. But see their reasons:—

(1.) It is safest for England with vigour and rigour to inspirit the laws, and put Jesuits to death. Their breath is contagious to English air, whose appearance in any protestant state is as sure a presage, as the playing of porpoises above water, that foul weather is to follow therein.

(2.) It would render the reputation of our state lighter in the balance of the best friends thereof, if it should enact severe laws against offenders, and then hang those laws up, (like forfeits in a barber's shop,) only to be looked on and laughed at, as never put in execution. What was this but to make the sword of justice (which ought always to be kept keen and sharp) but to be like fencers' swords, when they play in jest-earnest, having the edge dunted, [dinted,] and the point buttoned up? Might not felons and murderers, even with some justice, promise much mercy unto themselves, (whose offences are terminated in spoiling or killing

(1.) It is safest for England to keep Jesuits in perpetual durance, without taking away their lives. All sinners are not devils, and all devils are not Beelzebubs. Some priests and Jesuits are of a milder temper, and better metalled, who by moderation may be melted into amendment.

(2.) The point and edge of the sword of justice (understand, the law itself) may remain as sharp as it was before; only the arm may and ought to strike with less strength, and use more moderation, in inflicting such severe punishments. The most wholesome laws would be poison, (justice, hot in the fourth degree, is cruelty,) if enforced at all times, and on all persons, to the utmost extremity. Let the law stand unrepealed, only some mitigation be used in the execution thereof.

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of particular persons,) if priests and Jesuits, public incendiaries of the state, have such mercy indulged unto them?

(3.) Favour in this kind indulged to Jesuits would be generally misinterpreted to proceed, not from her Majesty's pity, but either from her fearfulness, as not daring longer to enrage the popish party; or from her guiltiness, who, out of remorse of conscience, could not find in her heart to execute such cruel laws as she had enacted.

(4.) This, in all probability, will be the most effectual course to extirpate Jesuitism out of the land. For, their superiors beyond the seas, seeing all such as they send hither impartially cut off by the hand of justice, will either out of pity forbear, for the future, to thrust more men into the jaws of death; or else such subject Jesuits out of policy will refuse to be sent by them on unavoidable destruction.

(3.) Princes ought not to be affrighted from doing what is good and honourable in itself, with the scarecrows of people's misinterpretations thereof. If such misconstructions of her Majesty's mercy be taken up wilfully, let such persons bear the blame and shame of their voluntary and affected errors. If they be only ignorant mistakes of ingenuous persons, time will rectify their judgments, and beget in them a better opinion of her Majesty's proceedings. However, better it is that the queen's lenity should hazard such misconstructions thereof, than that otherwise she should be certainly censured for cruelty, and the state taxed as desirous to grow fat by sucking the blood of catholics.

(4.) It will rather be the way to continue and increase the same. The blood of martyrs, whether real or reputed, is the seed of that church (true or false) in maintenance whereof they lose their lives. We know, clamourousness and multitude do much in crying up matters; and herein the papists (at home and beyond the seas) will play their parts, to roar out such men for martyrs. A succession of Jesuits to be sent over will never fail, seeing that service amongst erroneous judgments will never want volunteers, where merit of heaven is the believed wages thereof.

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(5.) The dead do not bite; and, being despatched out of the way, are forgotten. Whereas if Jesuits be only condemned to perpetual durance, their party abroad will be restless in plotting and practising their brethren's enlargement. It is safer, therefore, to take away *subjectum conatûs*, "the subject and object of their endeavours," by ridding them quite out of the way, that their complices may despair to relieve them. For, though prisoners may be rescued with much might, dead men cannot be revived without miracle.

(5.) The greater rage moveth to the greater revenge, and the greater apprehended injury causeth the greater rage. It will rather sharpen the edge of popish zeal, more earnestly to revenge their deaths, than to rescue them from durance.

(6.) No precedent could ever yet be produced of any priest or Jesuit, who was converted with imprisonment. It is therefore but just, that they who will not be mended with the gaol should be ended with the gallows.

(6.) Though the instance cannot be given of any priest or Jesuit, who hath totally renounced his religion, yet some have been made semi-converts, so far as to disclaim the treacherous part and principles thereof. This is most visible in the secular priests; the queen's lenity so working on many of them, that, both in writing and preaching, they have detested and confuted all such traitorous practices, as against the laws of God.

(7.) The rather, because no Jesuit is put to death for his religion, but rebellion. They are never examined on any article of their faith, nor are their consciences burdened with any interrogatories touching their belief; but only practices against the state are charged upon them.

(7.) The death of Jesuits in such cases may fitly be styled, "*the child* of their rebellion," but "*the grandchild* of their religion;" which is removed but a degree farther. For their obedience to their superiors putteth them on the propagation of their religion, and by all means to endeavour the same; which causeth them, out of an erroneous conscience, to do that which rendereth them offenders to our state. Now, in all ages, such as have

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suffered for their consciences, not only immediately and in a direct line, but also at the second hand and by implication,—receive pity from all such as behold their sufferings, (whether as a debt due, or as an alms given unto them, let others dispute,) and therefore such putting of Jesuits unto death, will but procure unto them a general commiseration.

These, and many other reasons, too many and tedious to be here inserted, were brought, and bandied on both sides, every one censuring as they stood affected.

11, 12. *The Execution of this Law moderated. Worst of Offenders escape best.*

In the execution of these laws against Jesuits, queen Elizabeth embraced a middle and moderate way. Indeed, when a new rod is made, some must be whipped therewith, though it be but *in terrorem* of others. When these statutes were first in the state or magisteriality thereof, they were severely put in practice on such offenders as they first lighted on. But some years after, the queen and her judges grew remiss in the execution thereof. Witness the only confining of many of them to Wisbeach Castle, where they fell out amongst themselves. And in king James's days, this dormant law against Jesuits only awakened, some once in four or five years, to show the world that it was not dead; and then fairly fell asleep again, being very sparingly put in execution against some notorious offenders.

The worst was, the punishment happened heaviest on those who were the least offenders. For, whereas the greatest guilt was in the senders, all the penalty fell on the messengers; I mean, on such novices who, sent hither at their superiors' commands, and who, having lost their sight beyond the seas, (by blind obedience,) came over to lose their lives in England. Now, Jesuitism is a weed, whose leaves, spread into our land, may be cut off; but the root thereof is out of reach, as fixed in Rome, and other foreign parts. For, in the mean time, their superiors, staying at Rome, ate, slept, wrote, railed, complained of persecution; making of faces, and they themselves crying out, "O!" whilst they thrust the hands of others of their own religion into the fire.

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13, 14. *The Acts of a silent Convocation. Query, on whom the Law was first hanselled.*

A loud parliament is always attended with a silent Convocation; as here it came to pass. The activity of the former in church-matters left the latter nothing to do.* Only this account I can give thereof out of our records: First. Archbishop Grindal appeared not at all therein; age, blindness, and disgrace keeping the good father at home. Secondly. John Aylmer, bishop of London, was appointed his *locum-tenens*, or "deputy." Thirdly. This Convocation began in St. Paul's, January 17th, (where it continued without any removal,) with reading the Litany *vulgari sermone*, "in the English tongue." Fourthly. The bishops commended three, (namely, Dr. Humfries, dean of Winchester; Dr. George † Day, dean of Windsor; and Dr. Goodman, dean of Westminster,) to the inferior clergy, to choose one of them for their Referendary or Prolocutor. Fifthly. Dr. Day was elected, and presented for that office. Sixthly. Motion was made of drawing-up some articles against the dangerous opinions of "the Family of Love," a sect then much increasing; but nothing was effected. Seventhly. At several sessions they met, and prayed, and conferred, and prorogued their meeting, and departed. Lastly. The clergy granted a subsidy, (afterwards confirmed by the Parliament,) and so, March 25th, the Convocation was dissolved.

Now, can I not satisfy myself, on my strictest inquiry, what Jesuit or priest had the first hansel of that severe statute made against them. Indeed, I find a priest, John Pain by name, executed at Chelmsford, March 31st, (which was but thirteen days after the dissolution of the Parliament,) for certain speeches by him uttered; but cannot avouch him for certainly tried on this statute. More probable it is, that Thomas Ford, John Shert, and Robert Johnson, priests, executed at London May 28th, were the first-fruits of the state's severity.

15. *The Death of Bishop Berkeley.*

No eminent clergyman protestant died this year, save Gilbert Berkeley, bishop of Bath and Wells, May 8th; who, as his arms do attest, was allied to the ancient and honourable family of the Berkeleys.

16—18. *A Meeting of the Presbyterians at Cockfield. Another at Cambridge. The Activity of the Presbyterians. A.D.* 1582.

The presbyterian party was not idle all this while, but appointed a meeting at Cockfield, (Mr. Knewstubs's cure,) in Suffolk, where

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 513.—EDIT. † So called by mistake in Records; otherwise his name was William.

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three-score ministers of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire, met together, "to confer of the Common-Prayer Book, what might be tolerated, and what necessary to be refused in every point of it, —apparel, matter, form, days, fastings, injunctions," &c. Matters herein were carried with such secrecy, that we can see no light thereof, but what only shineth through one crevice,—in a private letter one thus expressing himself to his friend: "Concerning the meeting, I hope all things were so proceeded in as yourself would like of, as well for reverence to other brethren as for other matters. I suppose, before this time, some of the company have told you by word, for that was permitted unto you." *

We are also at as great a loss, what was the result of their meeting at the Commencement at Cambridge, July 2nd; this being all we find thereof in a letter of one to his private friend: "Concerning the Commencement, I like well the motion, desiring it might so come to pass, and that it be procured to be as general as might be; which may easily be brought to pass, if you at London shall so think well of it, and we here may understand your mind, we will, we trust, as we can, further it. Mr. Allen liketh well of the matter." †

The year proved very active, especially in the practices of presbyterians, who now found so much favour, as almost amounted to a connivance at their discipline. For, whilst the severity of the state was at this time intended to the height against Jesuits, some lenity of course, by the very rules of opposition, fell to the share of the nonconformists, even on the score of their notorious enmity to the Jesuitical party.

19. *Beza's Letter to Travers in the Behalf of Geneva.*

The city of Geneva was at this time reduced to great difficulties by the Savoyard, her potent adversary, and forced to purchase peace on dear and bitter terms; saving that extremity sweetens all things, and her present condition was incapable of better conditions. Hereupon Mr. Beza, the tongue and pen of that state to foreign parts, addressed himself by letter to Mr. Walter Travers, whom I may term the neck (allowing Mr. Cartwright for the head) of the presbyterian party, the second in honour and esteem, then chaplain to the lord treasurer; and of whom more hereafter. The tenor of the letter is here inserted, subscribed by Beza's own hand, (and in my possession,) which, though it be of foreign extraction, carries much in it of English concernment.

Gratiam et pacem a Domino.—Si quoties tui et C. nostri sum recordatus, mi frater, toties ad te scripsissem, jampridem esses

* Mr. Pigg, in his letter to Mr. Field, dated May 16th. † *Idem, ibidem.*

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literis meis obrutus. Nullus enim dies abit quin de vobis vestrisque rebus solicitè cogitem, quod ita postulare non amicitia modò vetus nostra, sed etiam rerum ipsarum de quibus laboratis magnitudo videatur.

Sed cùm in ea tempora nos incidisse viderem, quibus silere me quàm nobis scribere præstaret, silentium adhuc mihi invitissimo indixi. Nunc verò quum illum quorundam ardorem audiam per Dei gratiam deseruisse, nolui hunc nostrum absque meis ad te literis pervenire, quibus eundem esse me qui fui testarer, et abs te peterem, ut me vicissim de rebus vestris certiorem facere ne graveris. Sed et alia sese præbuit scribendi occasio; hujus, videlicet, reipublicæ maximæ imò tantæ difficultates, ut, nisi aliundè sublevetur, parva nobis admodum tuendæ in consueto statu ecclesiæ ac scholæ spes supersit: quod ita esse vel ex eo cognôsses quòd hæc planè in verecunda consilia capere cogamur. Nam concessæ quidem nobis sunt per Dei gratiam aliquæ induciæ; sed parùm, ut apparet, firmæ futuræ, et tantis veluti redemptæ sumptibus ut in æris etiam alieni veluti freto jactati non temerè naufragium metuamus.

Amabo te igitur, mi frater, et precibus assiduis nos juvare perge, et si quid præterea apud nonnullos authoritate vales, quantum nos ames in Domino, quâcunque honestâ ratione poteris, ostende. Scripsi verò etiam ego vestris plerisque proceribus, et episcoporum quoque collegium ausi sumus communibus literis hac de re compellare. Verùm quod sit mearum literarum pondus futurum vel ex eo conjicio, quod cùm Oxoniensi Scholæ superiore vere meam sim observantiam, misso venerandæ planè vetustatis Novi Testamenti Græco-Latini codice, testatus, qui publicæ bibliothecæ consecraretur, ne literulam quidem inde accepi, ex quâ meam hanc voluntatem ipsis non ingratam fuisse cognoscerem. Cujusmodi etiam quiddam apud unum et alterum ex prioribus vestris sum expertus. Sed hoc, quæso, inter nos dictum esto. Ego verò frustra etiam quidvis tentare, quàm officio in hanc rempub., ecclesiam, ac scholam deesse tam necessario tempore malui. Benè vale, mi carissime frater. Dominus Jesus tibi magis ac magis, et omnibus ipsius gloriam seriò cupientibus, benedicat.

Tuus BEZA,

alienâ jam manu sæpè uti coactus, suâ ipsius vacillante.

GENEVÆ, *Octobris,** 1582.

"GRACE and peace from the Lord.—If as often, dear brother, as I have remembered thee and our Cartwright, so often I should have written unto thee, long since you had been overwhelmed with my letters. For there not passes a day wherein I do not carefully

* The figure of the day not legible.

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think both of you and your matters; which not only our ancient friendship, but also the greatness of those affairs wherein you take pains, seemeth so to require. But seeing, I perceive, we are fallen into those times wherein my silence may be safer for you than my writing, I have, though most unwillingly, commanded myself silence hitherto. But now seeing that I hear, that the heat of some men by God's grace is abated, I would not have this my friend come to you without my letters, that I may testify myself still the same unto you what formerly I was, and that I may request of you not to think much at his return to certify me of your affairs. Also another occasion of writing offereth itself, namely, the great straits of this commonwealth; yea, so great, that, except it be relieved from other parts, very small hope remaineth unto us to maintain the church and university in the former state thereof. That these things are so, you may know from hence,—that we are forced to adventure on these bold and unmannerly courses for our support. For by God's grace a kind of peace is granted unto us; but, as it seems, not likely to last long, and that also purchased at so great a price, that, tossed as it were in the sea of a great debt, we have great cause to fear shipwreck therein.

"I beseech thee therefore, my brother, both proceed to help us with thy daily prayers; and besides, if you have any power to prevail with some persons, show us, by what honest means you may, how much you love us in the Lord. I also have written to most of your noblemen, and we have been bold with our public letters to acquaint your college of bishops of this matter: but what weight my letters are likely to bear, I can guess by this,—that, when last spring I testified my respects to the University of Oxford, by sending them a New Testament Greek and Latin, truly of venerable antiquity, which should be kept in their public library, I did not so much as receive the least letter from them, whereby I might know that this my good-will was acceptable to them. And some such requital also I have found from one or two of your noblemen; but this I pray let it be spoken between us alone. For my part, I had rather try any thing, though in vain, than to be wanting in my duty to this state, church, and university, especially in so necessary a juncture of time. Farewell, my dear brother; the Lord Jesus every day more and more bless thee, and all that earnestly desire his glory.

"Thine, BEZA,

"Often using another man's hand, because of the shaking of my own.

"GENEVA, *October*, 1582."

We must not let so eminent a letter pass without some observations upon it. See we here the secret sympathy betwixt England

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and Geneva, about discipline; Geneva helping England with her prayers, England aiding Geneva with her purse.

20. *Geneva's Suit was coldly resented.*

By "the college of bishops" here mentioned by Beza, we understand them assembled in the last Convocation. Wonder not that Geneva's wants found no more pity from the episcopal party, seeing all those bishops were dead who, formerly exiles in the Marian days, had found favour and relief in Geneva; and now a new generation arose, having as little affection as obligation to that government. But, however it fared with Geneva at this time, sure I am that, some years after,* preferring her petition to the prelacy, (though frequent begging makes slender alms,) that commonwealth tasted largely of their liberality.

21. *Why the rigorous Pressing of Subscription was now remitted.*

Whereas mention is made of "the heat of some abated," this relateth to the matter of subscription, now not pressed so earnestly as at the first institution thereof. This remissness may be imputed, partly to the nature of all laws: for, though knives (if of good metal) grow sharper (because their edge thinner) by using; yet laws commonly are keenest at the first, and are blunted in process of time, in their execution: partly it is to be ascribed to archbishop Grindal's age and impotency, who in his greatest strength did but weakly urge conformity; partly to the earl of Leicester's interposing himself patron-general to non-subscribers, being persuaded, as they say, by Roger lord North, to undertake their protection.†

SECTION V.

TO DANIEL HARVEY, ESQUIRE, HIGH SHERIFF OF SURREY.

I AM sufficiently sensible of the great distance and disproportion betwixt my meanness and your worth, as at all other times, so now especially, whilst you are a prime officer in public employment. Despairing, therefore, that my pen can produce anything meet for your entertainment, I have endeavoured in this Section to

* *Vide annum* 1602, parag. 11, book x. sect. i. p. 168.

† See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 507.—EDIT.

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accommodate you with company fittest for your converse, being all no meaner than statesmen, and most of them Privy Counsellors, in their several letters about the grand business of conformity.

God in due time bless you and your honourable consort with such issue as may be a comfort to you, and a credit to all your relations!

1. *A Form of Discipline considered of by the Brethren in a solemn Synod, with the several Decrees thereof.*

VERY strongly Leicester, (though at the Council-table politicly complying with the rest of the lords, and concurring always with their results when sitting in conjunction with them,) when alone, engaged his affections in favour of the nonconformists, and improved his power, at this time very great, with the queen to obtain great liberty for them. Hence it was that many bishops, active in pressing subscription in their diocess, when repairing to court were checked and snibbed by this great favourite, to their no small grief and discouragement. Heartened thereat, the brethren, who hitherto had no particular platform of discipline amongst themselves, (as universally owned and practised by their party,) began, in a solemn council held by them, (but whether at Cambridge or London, uncertain,) to conclude on a certain form, as followeth in these their decrees, faithfully translated out of their own Latin copy. The title thereof, *videlicet*,

"THESE BE THE THINGS THAT (DO SEEM) MAY WELL STAND WITH THE PEACE OF THE CHURCH.

"THE DECREES.—Let no man (though he be an university-man) offer himself to the ministry, nor let any man take upon him an uncertain and vague ministry, though it be offered unto him. But such as be called to the ministry by some certain church, let them impart it unto that classis or conference whereof themselves are, or else to some greater church-assembly: and if such shall be found fit by them, then let them be commended by their letters unto the bishop, that they may be ordained ministers by him. Those ceremonies in the Book of Common-Prayer which, being taken from popery, are in controversy, do seem that they ought to be omitted and given over, if it may be done without danger of being put from the ministry. But if there be any imminent danger to be deprived, then this matter must be communicated with the classis in which that church is; that by the judgment thereof it may be determined what ought to be done. If subscription to the Articles of Religion and to the Book of Common-Prayer shall be again urged, it is

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thought that the Book of Articles may be subscribed unto, according to the statute thirteenth Elizabeth; that is, unto such of them only as contain the sum of Christian faith, and doctrine of the sacraments. But for many weighty causes, neither the rest of the Articles in that book, nor the Book of Common-Prayer, may be allowed; no, though a man should be deprived of his ministry for it. It seemeth that churchwardens and collectors for the poor might thus be turned into elders and into deacons, when they are to be chosen. Let the church have warning, fifteen days before, of the time of election, and of the ordinance of the realm; but especially of Christ's ordinance, touching appointing of watchmen and overseers in his church, who are to foresee that none offence or scandal do arise in the church; and if any shall happen, that by them it may be duly abolished. And touching deacons of both sorts, (*videlicet*, men and women,) the church should be monished what is required by the apostle, and that they are not to choose men of custom and of course, or for their riches, but for their faith, zeal, and integrity; and that the church is to pray (in the mean time) to be so directed that they make choice of them that be meet. Let the names of such as are so chosen be published the next Lord's day; and, after that, their duties to the church, and the church's towards them, shall be declared. Then let them be received into the ministry to which they are chosen, with the general prayers of the whole church. The brethren are to be requested to ordain a distribution of all churches, according to these rules (in that behalf) that are set down in the synodical discipline, touching classical, provincial, comitial, or of commencements and assemblies for the whole kingdom.

"The classes are to be required to keep acts of memorable matters, which they shall see delivered to the comitial assembly, that from thence they may be brought by the provincial assembly: Also they are to deal earnestly with patrons, to present fit men, whensoever any church is fallen void in that classis. The comitial assemblies are to be monished to make collections for relief of the poor and of scholars, but especially for relief of such ministers here as are put out for not subscribing to the Articles, tendered by the bishops, also for relief of Scottish ministers and others; and for other profitable and necessary uses. All the provincial synods must continually aforehand foresee, in due time, to appoint the keeping of their next provincial synods; and for the sending of chosen persons, with certain instructions, unto the national synod, to be holden whensoever the parliament for the kingdom shall be called at some certain set time every year." *

* Under Mr. Wight's hand, (a man of the brotherhood,) cited by BISHOP BANCROFT, his "Dangerous Positions," p. 46.

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See we here the embryo of the presbyterian discipline, lying as yet (as it were) in the womb of episcopacy; though soon after it swelled so great, that the mother must violently be cut before the child could be delivered into the world, as to the public practice thereof.

2. *Several Observations on these Decrees.*

Many observables in these decrees offer themselves to our consideration.

(1.) That they were written in Latin, (whereof they had two elegant penners, Cartwright and Travers,) showing themselves no enemies to that tongue, which some ignorant sectaries afterward condemned for superstitious; counting every thing Romish which was Roman, and very cordials to be poison if lapped-up in Latin.

(2.) Probably, as artists hang a curtain before their works whilst yet imperfect, so these synodists thought fit in Latin as yet to veil their decrees from vulgar eyes; seeing nothing can be projected and perfected together. Yea, the repetition of those words "doth seem," and "it seemeth," carrying something of uncertainty in them, showeth these decrees as yet admitted but as probationers, expecting confirmation on their good behaviour.

(3.) The election of the people is here made the essence of a call to a pastoral charge, to which the presentation of the most undoubted patron is called-in but *ad corroborandum*. As for institution from the bishop, it was superadded, not to complete his ministerial function in point of conscience, but legally to enable the minister to recover his maintenance from the detainers thereof.

(4.) Partial subscription is permitted to the Articles of Religion; namely, only to the doctrinal part thereof; but none to those wherein discipline is mentioned, especially to the clause at the end of the twentieth Article; "The church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies," &c., accounted by the brethren the very sting in the tail of the locusts.

(5.) Those words, "If subscription shall be urged again," plainly intimate, that the reins of episcopal government were but loosely held, and the rigour thereof remitted, for the reasons by us forealleged.

(6.) That churchwardens, and collectors for the poor, are so quickly convertible, even in their opinion, into elders and deacons, only with a more solemn and public election, shows the difference betwixt those officers to be rather nominal than real.

(7.) By women-deacons here mentioned, we understand such widows whom the apostle appointeth in the primitive church, to

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attend strangers and sick people; and who, Mr. Cartwright affirmeth,* ought still to be continued, although, he confesseth, "there be learned men that think otherwise."

(8.) Their "comitial assemblies," kept in the universities at the Commencements, (wisely they had an eye on the two eyes of the land,) were conveniently chosen, as safely shadowed under a confluence of people. See we here, though the matter of their discipline might be *jure divino*, human prudence concurred much in the making thereof, as in ordering a national synod always to run parallel with the parliament.

(9.) Mention being made of "relieving Scottish ministers," if any ask what northern tempest blew them hither, know they quitted their own country about this time, upon refusal of conformity, and found *benevolence* in England a better livelihood than a *benefice* in Scotland.

(10.) The grand design driven on in these decrees was, to set up a discipline in a discipline, presbytery in episcopacy; which (as appears in the preface) they thought "might well stand with the peace of the church;" but this peace proved but a truce, this truce but a short one, before both parties brake into irreconcilable hostility.

Thus, it is impossible to make a subordination in *their* practices *who* have an opposition in their principles. For, though such spheres and orbs which agree in one centre may proportionably move one within another; yet such as are eccentrical can never observe equal distance in their motion, but will sag aside to grind and grate one the other. But enough hereof at this time, having jetted-out a little already into the next year; no offence, we hope, seeing it makes our History more entire in this subject.

3, 4. *A blasphemous Heretic reclaimed. The Character of Mr. Henry Smith.*

This year, Robert Dickons, a Leicestershire youth, (but, it seems, apprentice at Mansfield, in Nottinghamshire,) having parts and pregnancy above his age and profession, arrived at such a height of profaneness as not only to pretend to visions, but to account himself Elijah, sent from God to perfect some defects in the prophecy of Malachi. But, by God's blessing on the endeavours of Mr. Henry Smith, (whom his uncle, Mr. Briant Cave, this year sheriff of Leicestershire, employed therein,) this heretic was reclaimed,† renouncing his blasphemies, by subscription under his own hand; and, for aught I find to the contrary, lived peaceably and painfully the remainder of his life.

This is that Henry Smith, born at Withcock in Leicestershire,

* In his "Admonitions," p. 163, sect. 2.

† See MR. SMITH'S sermon "Of the lost Sheep found."

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of a worshipful family, (and elder brother to sir Roger Smith, still surviving,) bred in Oxford, and afterwards became that famous preacher at St. Clement's Danes in London, commonly called "the silver-tongued" Smith,—being but one metal, in price and purity, beneath St. Chrysostom himself. Yea, whereas generally the sermons of those days are now grown out of fashion, (such is our age's curiosity and affectation of novelty,) Smith's sermons keep up their constant credit, as appears by their daily impressions, calculated for all times, places, and persons: so solid, the learned may partly admire—so plain, the unlearned may perfectly understand—them. The wonder of his worth is increased by the consideration of his tender age, dying very young * about fifty years ago.

5—7. *The Death of Richard Bristow, of Nicholas Harpsfield, and of Gregory Martin.*

I find three of such who seemed pillars in the Romish church deceased this year. First.. Richard Bristow, born in Worcestershire, bred in Oxford, in Exeter-College; whence he fled beyond the seas, and by cardinal Allen was made overseer of the English college, first at Douay, then at Rheims. He wrote most in English, *humili quidem stylo*, (saith one of his own opinion,†) but very solidly; for proof whereof, let his books against Dr. Fulke be perused. For the recovery of his health, he was advised to return into his native land, and died quietly near the city of London.

The Second. Nicholas Harpsfield, bred first in Winchester school, then New-College in Oxford, where he proceeded doctor of law, and afterward became archdeacon of Canterbury. Under king Edward VI. he banished himself; under queen Mary he returned, and was advanced; and, under queen Elizabeth, imprisoned for denying her supremacy. Yet such was his mild usage in restraint, that he had the opportunity to write much therein; and amongst the rest his "Ecclesiastical History," no less learnedly than painfully performed; and, abating his partiality to his own interest, well-deserving of all posterity. He wrote also "Six Dialogues," in favour of his religion; but (because in durance) he durst not set it forth in his own, but under the name of Alan Cope. Yet lest truth should be concealed, and friend defraud friend of his due praise, he caused these capital letters to be engraved at the end of his book: A. H. L. N. H. E. V. E. A. C., hereby mystically meaning, *Auctor Hujus Libri Nicholaus Harpesfeldus. Edidit Verò Eum Alanus Copus.* He died this year at London, in prison, after twenty years' restraint, leaving behind him the general reputation of a religious man.

* About the year 1600, as I am informed by his brother. † PITZÆUS *De illustribus Angl. Scriptoribus.*

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The Third. Gregory Martin, born at Maxfield in Sussex, bred with Campian in St. John's-College in Oxford; tutor to Philip earl of Arundel, eldest son to Thomas duke of Norfolk. Afterwards he went beyond the sea, and became divinity professor in the College of Rheims, died there October 28th, and is buried, with a large epitaph, under a plain monument.

8, 9. *Letter-History best History. Objection against Letters' Want of Date, answered.*

I shall now withdraw myself, or at leastwise stand-by a silent spectator, whilst I make room for far my betters to come forth and speak in the present controversy of church-government. Call it not cowardice, but count it caution in me, if desirous in this difference to lie at a close-guard, and offer as little play as may be on either side,* whilst the readers shall behold the masters of defence on both sides engaged therein in these following letters of state. Baronius, the great Roman Annalist, was wont to say, *Epistolaris historia est optima historia*, "That is the best history which is collected out of letters." How much of the Acts of the Apostles (especially for the regulation of time) is contained in the Epistles of St. Paul! Of the primitive history, the most authentical part is what is gathered out of the letters of the Fathers; and, in like manner, the true estate of ecclesiastical affairs in the days of queen Elizabeth may be extracted out of the following dispatches and their returns, exhibiting the inclinations of their authors in pure naturals, without any adulterated addition, and therefore the surest for others' instruction, and safest for my own protection.

But one thing I must clear in our entrance thereon, in excuse that these letters are dateless as to the day and month; a great omission, which I have seen in many originals, whose authors so minded the matter that they neglected the time, the present dispatching of them being date enough to their purpose, though now the want thereof leaves posterity at a loss. A blue coat without a badge is but a white coat in effect; as nothing informing the beholder to what lord the bearer thereof doth relate: and as little instructive (will some say) are these letters as to the point of chronology. But be it known, that no reader's stomach can be so sharp set on the criticalness of chronology, but that, being fed with the certainty of the year, he will not be famished with the uncertainty of the month or day. Indeed, as such whose names are casually omitted in the register may recover the truth of their age by a comparative computation of *their* years *who* were born about the same time; so, by the mixture and comparing of these dateless letters with those having date of secular

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 515.—EDIT.

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affairs, I could competently have collected and inserted the time, save that I loathe to obtrude any thing conjectural on the reader's belief. But we must begin with the ensuing petition as the groundwork of all the rest:—

10. *The Petition of the Kentish Ministers.* *A.D.* 1583.

THE MINISTERS OF KENT TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

"MAY it please your Honours, of your great and wonted favour towards the distressed, to consider these following: Whereas we have been called to subscribe in the county of Kent to certain Articles propounded by my Lord's Grace of Canterbury unto the ministers and preachers. The First, concerning her Majesty's authority. The Second, concerning no contrariety to the word of God in the Book of Common-Prayer and administration of the sacraments, the Book of ordering bishops, priests, and deacons. And the Third, that we believe all things in the Book of the Articles of Religion to be agreeable to the word of God. Whereupon all have most willingly offered to subscribe unto the other two. And being pronounced in the open court *contumaces reservatâ pœnâ*, and so referred to answer at law the 11th and 13th of February; (which we feared would be prosecuted with much trouble, and no resolution to our consciences;) we, amongst the rest, repaired with that careful avoiding, that we could, of offence to his lordship's Grace; to whom when we had the first day made known some of our doubts concerning the first book only, (many more in number, and as great in weight, concerning the first and second, and some concerning the third, remaining besides,) we have—upon our refusal, and record taken by public notary, of one point only, from every particular refuser, which moved him thereunto, and one place of scripture adjoined, without collection or the reason of the same—been suspended from our ministry; by which occasion, as we fear, that that account which hath been made of the consequence of our cause, both in public sermons and pronouncing of sentence against us,—namely, that, in denying to subscribe to the two aforesaid Articles, we separated ourselves from the church, and condemned the right service of God in prayer, and administration of the sacraments in the church of England, and the ministry of the same, and disobeyed her Majesty's authority,—hath been intimated to your Honours. So we think it our bound duties, most humbly on our knees to beseech your Honours to know and make manifest in our behalf to her Majesty that which we before the Lord in simplicity protest: We, in all reverence, judge of the authority which is established, and the persons who * were authors of those books, that

* In the whole of this correspondence, and of that between Whitgift and his noble friends, I have substituted *who* for *which*, in every instance in which the latter relative was applied to a person.—EDIT.

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they did not only speak, but also did highly to the glory of God promote, the true religion of God, and the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ; and that we so esteem of those books, and there is nothing in them to cause us to separate ourselves from the unity of the church, which, in the execution of our ministry, in participation of the public prayers and sacraments, we have in our own example testified, and by public doctrine maintained; and that the ministry of the word preached, and public administration of the sacraments exercised in this land according to authority, is, as touching the substance of it, lawful and greatly blessed of God: And, Lastly, that we have and always will show ourselves obedient to her Majesty's authority in all causes, ecclesiastical and civil, to whomsoever it be committed; and, therefore, that as poor but most faithful subjects to her Majesty, and ministers of Jesus Christ ——— the great cause we have in hand, and which consequently (as we under your Honours' correction judge) the necessary reformation of many things in the church according unto God's word, may have that sufficient hearing, as all causes of our refusal to subscribe may be known, and equally out of God's word judged of; and the lamentable state of the churches to which we appertain, with the hard condition of us, may, in that manner that your Honours' most excellent wisdom shall find expedient in the pity of Jesus Christ, for the mean time be relieved. The Lord Almighty vouchsafe, for Jesus Christ's sake, long to continue, and bless your Honours' wisdom and counsel to the great glory of God, and the happy government of her Majesty, and flourishing estate of this church of England!

"Your Honours' daily and faithful orators,

"THE MINISTERS OF KENT,

"Who are suspended from the execution of their ministry."

The lords of the council sent this petition, with another bill of complaint exhibited unto them, against Edmund Freake, bishop of Norwich, unto the archbishop of Canterbury. What his answer was thereunto, the reader may inform himself out of the following letter:—

11. *The Archbishop's Letter in Answer thereof.*

TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL.

"MOST HONOURABLE,

"UPON Sunday last, in the afternoon, Master Beal brought unto me, in your lordships' names, two supplications, or bills of complaint exhibited unto your lordships; the one by certain ministers of Suffolk, against their diocesan there; the other by some of Kent against myself, with this further message,—that it was your desires I should

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come to the court on Sunday next. It may please your good lordships to be advertised, that it seemeth something strange to me, that the ministers of Suffolk, finding themselves aggrieved with the doings of their diocesan, should leave the ordinary course of proceeding by law, (which is to appeal unto me,) and extraordinarily trouble your lordships in a matter not so incident (as I think) to that most honourable Board; seeing it hath pleased her Majesty her own self in express words to commit these causes ecclesiastical to me, as to one who is to make answer to God, to her Majesty in this behalf, my office also and place requiring the same.

"In answer of the complaint of the Suffolk men of their ordinary's proceeding against them, I have herewith sent to your lordships a copy of a letter which I lately received from his lordship; wherein I think that part of their bill to be fully answered, and his doings to have been orderly and charitable. Touching the rest of their bill, I know not what to judge of it, neither yet of what spirit it cometh. But, in some points, it talketh (as I think) modestly and charitably. They say, they are no Jesuits sent from Rome to reconcile, &c. True it is, neither are they charged to be so; but, notwithstanding, they are contentious in the church of England, and by their contentions minister occasion of offence to those who are seduced by Jesuits, and give the arguments against the form of public prayer, used in this church, and by law established, and thereby increase the number of them, and confirm them in their wilfulness. They also make a schism in the church, and draw many other of her Majesty's subjects to a misliking of her laws and government in causes ecclesiastical, so far are they from persuading them to obedience, or at least if they persuade them to it in the one part of her authority, that is in causes civil; they dissuade them from it as much in the other, that is, in causes ecclesiastical: so that, indeed, they pluck down with the one hand that which they seem to build with the other. They say, that they have faithfully travailed in persuading to obedience, &c., and have therein prevailed, &c. It is but their own testimony. I think it were hard for them to show whom they converted from papistry to the gospel. But what stirs and dissensions they have made amongst those who professed the gospel before they were taught by them, I think it to be apparent. It is notorious that in king Edward's time, and in the beginning of her Majesty's reign, for the space of divers years, when this self-same book of public prayers was uniformally used, and by all learned preachers maintained, and impugned by none, the gospel mightily prevailed, took great increase, and very few were known to refuse to communicate with us in prayer and participation of the sacraments. But since this schism and division, the contrary

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effect hath fallen out: and how can it otherwise be, seeing we ourselves condemn that public form and order of prayer and administration of the sacraments, as in divers points contrary to the word of God, from which (as in like manner condemning the same) the papists do absent themselves? In the latter part of their bill containing the reasons why they cannot submit themselves to observe the form prescribed by the book in all points, I wonder either at their ignorance or audacity. They say, that the learned writers of our time have showed their mislikings of some of our ceremonies. The most learned writers in our times have not so done, but rather reproved the mislikers. Those few that have given contrary judgment therein, have done more rashly than learnedly, presuming to give their censures of such a church as this is, not understanding the fruits of the cause, nor alleging any reason worth the hearing; especially one little college in either of our universities containing in it more learned men than in their cities. But if the authority of men so greatly move them, why make they so small account of those most excellent and learned Fathers who were the penners of the book? whereof divers have sealed their religion with their blood, which none yet have done of the impugners of the book. The pope (say they) hath changed his *Officium B. Mariæ, &c.* And so it is: neither is there any man that doubteth, but the Book of Common-Prayer may also be altered, if there appear good cause why to those in authority. But the pope will not suffer that *Officium B. Mariæ, &c.*, to be preached against, or any part thereof, till it was by public order reformed; neither will he confess that he hath reformed it in respect of any errors, but such only as did creep into the said book through private men's affections, without authority. Therefore, that argument is against them, and only used by them (as it seemeth) in contempt: the rest is frivolous, and argueth their presumption in writing this to so honourable a Board of so worthy and godly a book, which hath a hundred learned men to justify it, for one that will impugn it. And thus much concerning them, which I have written rather to satisfy your lordships, than that I thought the matter worthy my labour.

"The complaint which those of Kent, being of my own diocess, and by oath bound to me in canonical obedience, have exhibited unto your lordships, doth make me more to wonder, that they, most of them being unlearned and young, (such as I would be loath to admit into the ministry, if they were not already admitted thereunto, much less to allow as preachers,) dare presume to bring my doings against them into question before your lordships, seeing I have done nothing but that which God, the law, her Majesty, and my duty forceth me unto, dealing with them not as an arch-

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bishop with the inferior sort of the clergy, nor as a master of a college with his fellows, nor as a magistrate with his inferiors, but as a friend and a brother; which, as I think, hath so puffed them up, and caused them to be so presumptuous. They came to me unsent for, in a multitude, which I reproved, because it imported a conspiracy, and had the show of a tumult or unlawful assembly. Notwithstanding, I was content to hear their complaint; I spent with them the whole afternoon, from two of the clock till seven, and heard their reasons; whereof some were frivolous and childish, some irreligious, and all of them such as gave me occasion to think that they rather sought quarrel against the book than to be satisfied; which indeed is true, as appeareth by some of their own confessions, which I am able to show when I shall be thereunto urged. The two whole days following, I spent likewise for the most part in dealing severally with them; requiring them to give unto me the chief and principal of their reasons which moved them not to subscribe; meaning to hear them in the rest, if I could have satisfied them in it, or else not to spend any further time; which reasons (if I may so term them) they gave unto me, and I have, and mean to make known when occasion shall serve. Whereas they say in their bill, that the public administration of the sacraments in this land is, as touching the substance of it, lawful, &c., they say no more than the papists themselves do confess, and in truth they say nothing in effect to that wherewith they are charged. And yet therein they are contrary to themselves, for they have pretended matter of substance against the book. But of what spirit cometh it, that they, being no otherwise than they are, dare, to the greatest authority in this land next to her Majesty, so boldly offer themselves thus to reason and dispute, as in their bill they vaunt, against the state established in matters of religion, and against the book so learnedly and painfully penned, and by so great authority from time to time confirmed? It is not for me to sit in this place, if every curate within my diocess or province may be permitted so to use me; neither is it possible for me to perform the duty which her Majesty looketh for at my hands, if I may not, without interruption, proceed in execution of that which her Highness hath especially committed unto me. The gospel can take no success, neither the number of papists be diminished, if unity be not procured; which I am not in doubt in short time to bring to pass, without any great ado or inconvenience at all, if it be not hindered. The number of those who refuse to subscribe is not great; in most parts of my province, not one; in some, very few; and in some, none; whereof many also and the greater part are unlearned, and unworthy the ministry. In mine own little diocess in Canterbury threescore preachers and above

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have subscribed; whereas there are not ten worthy the name of preachers who have as yet refused, and most of them also not allowed preachers by lawful authority; and so I know it to be in all other diocesses within my province, the diocess of Norwich only excepted; wherein, nevertheless, the number of the disordered is far less than the number of such as are obedient and quietly-disposed. Now, if these few disordered (whom the church may well spare, having meeter men to place in their rooms) shall be countenanced against the best, the wisest in all respects, the worthiest and in effect the whole state of the clergy; it will not only discourage the dutiful and obedient persons, but so increase the schism, that there will never hereafter be hope of appeasing the same. This disordered flocking together of them at this time from divers places, and gadding from one to another, argueth a conspiracy amongst them, and some hope of encouragement and of prevailing; which I am persuaded is not meant, nor shall ever be by me willingly consented unto. Some of them have already (as I am informed) bruited abroad, that your lordships have sent for me to answer their complaints; and that they hope to be delivered; wherein I know they report untruly, as the manner is. For I cannot be persuaded that your lordships have any such intent as to make me a party, or to call my doings into question, which from her Majesty are immediately committed unto me, and wherein, as I suppose, I have no other judge but herself. And forasmuch as I am by God and her Majesty lawfully, without any ordinary, or extraordinary, or unlawful means, called to this place and function, and appointed to be your pastor, and to have the greatest charge over you in matters pertaining to the soul; I am the more bold to move and desire you to aid and assist me in matters belonging to my office; namely, such as appertain to the quietness of the church, the credit of religion established, and the maintenance of the laws made for the same. And here I do protest and testify unto your lordships, that the three Articles, whereunto they are moved to subscribe, are such as I am ready by learning to defend in manner and form as they are set down, against all mislikers thereof in England or elsewhere. And thus desiring your lordships to take this my answer in good part, and to forbear my coming thither in respect of this advantage that may be taken thereof by these wayward persons, I beseech Almighty God long to prosper you.

"Your good lordships' in Christ,

"JOHN CANTUAR."

12. *The Character of Mr. Beal, who brought the Bills.*

Who this Mr. Beal was, who brought these letters, is worthy our inquiry. I find his Christian name Robert, his office clerk of the

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Council, his abilities very great, as may appear by the public negotiations wherein he was employed; for he was joined with sir William Winter, *anno* 1576, in a commission to the Zealanders, about their reprisals; and again, *anno* 1583, he was sent to the queen of Scots, sharply to expostulate with her concerning some querulous letters. Well knew queen Elizabeth what tools to use on knotty timber; our author* giving Mr. Beal this character, that he was *homo vehemens, et austerè acerbus*, "an eager man, and most austerely bitter." His affections were wholly presbyterian, and I behold him as one of the best friends (of the second magnitude) that party had. What he wanted in authority, he had in activity on their sides. And what influence sometimes the hands have on the head (I mean, notaries on the judges themselves) at Council-board, others may conjecture. He either compiled or countenanced a book made against the bishops; and the reader may receive a further confirmation of his character herein from the following complaint:—

13. *Archbishop Whitgift's Letter, complaining of Beal's insolent Carriage towards him.*

TO THE LORD TREASURER.

"MY SINGULAR GOOD LORD,

"I HAVE borne much with Mr. Beal's intemperate speeches, unseemly for him to use, though not in respect of myself, yet in respect of her Majesty whom he serveth, and of the laws established, whereunto he ought to show some duty. Yesterday he came to my house, as it seemed, to demand the book he delivered unto me. I told him that the book was written to me, and therefore no reason why he should require it again; especially, seeing I was assured that he had a copy thereof, otherwise I would cause it to be written out for him. Whereupon he fell into very great passions with me (which I think was the end of his coming) for proceeding in the execution of his Articles, &c.; and told me, in effect, that I would be the overthrow of this church, and a cause of tumult,—with many other bitter and hard speeches, which I heard patiently, and wished him to consider with what spirit he was moved so to say. For I said, 'It cannot be by the Spirit of God, because the Spirit of God worketh in men humility, patience, and love; and your words declare you to be very arrogant, proud, impatient, and uncharitable. Moreover, the Spirit of God moveth men to hear the word of God with meekness, &c.; and you have almost heard with disdain every sermon preached before her Majesty this Lent, gibing and jesting

* CAMDEN in his *Elizabetha*, p. 359.

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openly thereat even in the sermon-time, to the offence of many, and especially at such sermons as did most commend her Majesty and the state, and moved the auditory to obedience;' which he confessed and justified, accusing some of the preachers of false doctrine, and wrong allegations of scripture, &c. Then he began to extol his book; and said we were never able to answer it, neither for the matter of divinity, nor yet of law. I told him, as the truth is, that there was no great substance in the book, that it might be very soon answered, and that it did appear neither his divinity nor law to be great. I further wished him to be better advised of his doings; and told him, indeed, that he was one of the principal causes of the waywardness of divers, because he giveth encouragement to divers of them to stand in the matter; telling them that the Articles shall be shortly revoked by the Council, and that my hands shall be stopped, &c.; which saying is spread abroad already in every place, and is the only cause why many forbear to subscribe; which is true, neither could he deny it. All this while I talked with him privately in the upper part of my gallery, my lord of Winchester, and divers strangers, being in the other part thereof. But Mr. Beal beginning to extend his voice that all might hear, I began to break off; then he, being more and more kindled, very impatiently uttered very proud and contemptuous speeches, in the justifying of his book, and condemning of the orders established, to the offence of all the hearers. Whereunto (being very desirous to be rid of him) I made small answer; but told him that his speeches were intolerable, that he forgat himself, and that I would complain of him to her Majesty; whereof he seemed to make small account, and so he departed in great heat. I am loath to hurt him, or to be an accuser; neither will I proceed therein further than your lordship shall think it convenient. But I never was abused more by any man at any time in my life, than I have been by him since my coming to this place, in hardness of speech for doing my duty, and for all things belonging to my charge. Surely, my lord, this talk tendeth only to the increasing of the contention, and to the animating of the wayward in their waywardness, casting out dangerous speeches, as though there were likelihood of some tumult in respect thereof. Whereas, in truth, (God be thanked!) the matter groweth to greater quietness than I think he wisheth, and will be soon quieted if we be let alone, and they not otherwise encouraged. It seemeth, he is some way discontented, and would work his anger on me. The tongues of these men taste not of the Spirit of God. Your lordship seeth how bold I am to impart unto you my private causes. Truly, if it were not that my conscience is settled in these matters, and that I am fully persuaded of the necessity of these proceedings in respect of the

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peace of the church, and due observation of God's laws, and that I received great comfort at her Majesty's hand, (as I did most effectually at my last being at the court,) and that I were assured of your lordship's constancy in the cause, and of your unmovable good-will towards me, I should be hardly able to endure so great a burden; which now, I thank God, in respect of the premisses, seemeth easy unto me, neither do I doubt but God will therein prosper me. Thus, being desirous to impart this matter to your lordship, to whose consideration I leave it, I commit you to the tuition of Almighty God.

"JOHN CANTUAR."

Nor have I aught else to say of this Mr. Beal, but that afterwards I find one of his name and quality dying 1601,* and buried in London at Alhallows-in-the-Wall, who by all probability should be the same person. Now, that the presbyterian party was not unfriended at the Council-board, but had those there who, either out of dictates of conscience, or reasons of state, or reflections on their private interests, endeavoured to mitigate the archbishop's proceedings against them, let their ensuing letter to him be perused.

14. *The Privy Counsellors' Letter to the Archbishop in Favour of the Nonconformists.*

"AFTER our hearty commendations to both your lordships: although we have heard of late times sundry complaints, out of divers countries of this realm, of some proceedings against a great number of ecclesiastical persons;—some parsons of churches, some vicars, some curates, but all preachers; whereby some were deprived of their livings, some suspended from their ministry and preaching; yet we have forborne to enter into any particular examination of such complaints, thinking that, howsoever inferior officers, as chancellors, commissaries, archdeacons, and such like, whose offices are of more value and profit by such like kind of proceedings, might in such sort proceed against the ministers of the church; yet your lordship, the archbishop of that province of Canterbury, have, beside your general authority, some particular interest in the present jurisdiction of sundry bishoprics vacant. And you also, the bishop of London, both for your own authority in your diocess, and as head-commissioner ecclesiastical, would have a pastoral ——— over the particular officers, to stay and temper them in their hasty proceedings against the ministers, and, especially, against such as do earnestly profess and instruct the people against the

* Robert Beal, esq.—STOW's "Survey of London," p. 183.

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dangerous sects of papistry. But yet of late, hearing of the lamentable estate of the church in the county of Essex; that is, of a great number of zealous and learned preachers there suspended from their cures, the vacancy of the place, for the most part, without any ministry of preaching, prayers, and sacraments; and in some places of certain appointed to those void rooms, being persons neither of learning nor of good name, and, in other places of that county, a great number of parsons occupying the cures being notoriously unfit, most for lack of learning, many charged or chargeable with great and erroneous faults, and drunkenness, filthiness of life, gamesters at cards, haunting of ale-houses, and such like; against whom we hear not of any proceedings, but that they are quietly suffered to the slander of the church, to the offence of good people, yea, to the famishing of them for lack of good teaching; and, thereby, dangerous to the subverting of many weaklings from their duties to God and the queen's Majesty, by secret Jesuits and counterfeit papists. And having thus in a general sort heard out of many parts of the like of this lamentable estate of the church; yet, to the intent we should not be deceived with the generality of reports, we sought to be informed of some particulars, namely, of some parts of Essex; and, having received the same credibly in writing, we have thought it our duties to her Majesty and the realm, for the remedy hereof, without intermeddling ourselves with your jurisdiction ecclesiastical, to make report unto your lordships, as persons that ought most specially to have regard thereto, as we hope you will; and, therefore, have sent you herewith, in writing, a catalogue of the names of persons of sundry natures and conditions; that is, one sort, being reported to be learned, zealous, and good preachers deprived and suspended, and so the cures not served with meet persons. The other sort, a number of persons, having cures, being in sundry sorts far unmeet for any offices in the church, for their many defects and imperfections, and so, as it seems by the reports, have been and are suffered to continue without reprehension or any other proceedings against them, and thereby a great number of Christian people untaught: a matter very lamentable in this time. In a third sort, a number having double livings with cure, and so not resident upon their cures, but yet enjoying the benefit of their benefices without any personal attendance upon their cures. Against all these sorts of lewd, and evil, and unprofitable, corrupt members, we hear of no inquisition, nor of any kind of proceeding to the reformation of those horrible offences in the church; but yet of great diligence, yea, and extremity, used against those that are known diligent preachers. Now, therefore, we, for the discharge of our duties, being by our vocation under her Majesty bound to be careful that

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the universal realm may be well governed, to the honour and glory of God, and to the discharge of her Majesty, being the principal governor over all her subjects under Almighty God, do most earnestly desire your lordships to take some charitable consideration of these causes, that the people of the realm may not be deprived of their pastors, being diligent, learned, and zealous,—though in some points ceremonial they may seem doubtful only in conscience, and not of wilfulness; nor that their cures be suffered to be vacant without good pastors, nor that such as be placed in the rooms of cures be insufficient for learning, or unmeet for their conversation. And though the notes which we send you be only of parsons belonging to Essex, yet we pray you to look into the rest of the country in many other dioceses; for we have and do hear daily of the like in generality in many other places; but we have not sought to have their particulars so manifestly delivered of other places as of Essex, or, rather, to say the truth, of one corner of the country. And we shall be most glad to hear of your cares to be taken for remedy of these enormities, so as we be not troubled hereafter, or hear of the like complaints to continue: and so we bid your good lordships right heartily farewell.

"Your lordships' loving friends,

"WILL. BURLEIGH, GEORGE SHREWSBURY,
AMBROSE WARWICK, ROBERT LEICESTER,
CHARLES HOWARD, JAMES CROFT,
CHRIST. HATTON, FRANCIS WALSINGHAM."

Amongst these Privy Counsellors, I miss one who was mainly material; namely, sir Francis Knowles, treasurer of the queen's household, and knight of the garter; father-in-law to the earl of Leicester, and no less considerable in himself than in his relations. This knight, being bred a banished man in Germany during the reign of queen Mary, and conversing with Mr. Calvin at Geneva, was never after fond of episcopacy: and, though now casually absent from the Council-Board, was a great patron of the nonconformists. But see the archbishop's answer to their letter.

15. *The Archbishop's Answer to the Privy Counsellors' Letter.*

"It may please your good lordships to be advertised, that I have received your letters of the twentieth of this month, with a schedule inclosed therein, concerning certain ministers in Essex; whereunto as yet I cannot make any full answer, by reason of the absence of my lord of London, to whom the letter is also directed, and the parties therein named best known as being in his diocess. Nevertheless, in the mean time, I thought it my part to signify

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unto your lordships, that I hope the information to be in most parts unjust. Certain men, being in and about Maldon, because they cannot have such among them as by disorderliness do best content their humours, did not long since in like manner, in a generality, make an information to the same effect; which coming to mine and others' hands of the ecclesiastical commission, we did direct our letters to some of the principal of them by name, requiring them to exhibit unto us at the beginning of this next term, now next ensuing, the names of such offensive ministers as they thought to be touched with such dishonest conversation, together with their proofs thereof, promising on our parts to see the same redressed accordingly. It seemeth by this which is exhibited now to your lordships, they have prevented the time, hoping thereby to alter the course. Whereunto it tendeth, I leave to your lordships' consideration. Surely if the ministers be such as this schedule reporteth, they are worthy to be grievously punished. And for my own part, I will not be slack or remiss, God willing, therein. But if that fall out otherwise upon trial, and that they or many of them, in respect of their obedience to her Majesty's laws, be thus depraved by such as impugn the same, then I doubt not but your lordships will judge those amusers * to deserve just punishment. This I can assure your lordships of, that my lord of London affirmed in my hearing, that, not long since upon that occasion, that none or few at his or his archdeacons' visitations had at any time, by the churchwardens or sworn men, been detected or presented for any such misdemeanours as are now supposed against them. Of the preachers, who are said to be put there to silence, I know but few. Notwithstanding, I know those few to be very factious in the church, contemners in sundry points of the ecclesiastical laws, and chief authors of disquietness in that part of the country; and such as I for my part cannot (doing my duty with a good conscience) suffer without their further conformity to execute their ministry. But your lordships, God willing, shall have a more particular answer to every point of your letter, when my lord of London (who is now at his house in the country) and I shall meet and have conferred thereupon. In the mean time, I trust, that neither there nor elsewhere within this province, either by myself or others of my brethren, any thing is or shall be done, which doth not tend to the peace of the church, the working of obedience to laws established, the encouragement of the most, the godliest, and most learnedest ministers in this church of England, and to the glory of God; to whose protection I commit your good lordships."

* Query, *accusers?*—EDIT.

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Now, although we find sir Christopher Hatton (for company's sake, as we humbly conceive it) amongst the Privy Counsellors, subscribing for moderation to nonconformists, yet we take him to be a zealous stickler for the pressing church-ceremony. And although I look on the words of the Jesuit * as a mere scandal, when he saith, that this Hatton was *animo catholicus*, "a papist in his heart;" yet I know him to be no favourer of the presbyterian party, but a great countenancer of Whitgift's proceedings against them, as appears by the following address of the archbishop unto him.

16. *The Archbishop's gratulatory Letter to Sir Christopher Hatton.*

TO SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON.

"RIGHT HONOURABLE,

"I GIVE you most hearty thanks for that most friendly message which you sent unto me by your man, Mr. Kemp; I shall think myself bound unto you therefore as long as I live. It hath not a little comforted me, having received not long since unkind speeches where I least looked for them, only for doing my duty in the most necessary business which I have in hand. I marvel how it should come to pass, that the self-same persons will seem to wish peace and uniformity in the church, and to mislike of the contentious and disobedient sort, yet cannot abide that any thing should be done against them, wishing rather the whole ministry of the land to be discountenanced and discouraged, than a few wayward persons (of no account in comparison) suppressed and punished. Men in executing the laws according to their duties were wont to be encouraged and backed by such; but now it falleth out clean contrary. Disobedient, wilful persons (I will term them no worse) are animated, laws contemned, her Majesty's will and pleasure little regarded, and the executors thereof in word and deed abused. Howbeit these overthwarts grieve me, yet, I thank God, they cannot withdraw me from doing that duty in this cause which, I am persuaded, that God himself, her Majesty, the laws, and the state of this church and commonwealth, do require of me. In respect whereof, I am content to sustain all these displeasures, and fully resolved not to depend upon man, but upon God and her Majesty. And therefore your Honour, in offering me that great courtesy, offered unto me as great a pleasure as I can desire. Her Majesty must be my refuge; and I beseech you that I may use you as a means when occasion shall serve, whereof I assure myself, and therein rest.

"JOHN CANTUAR."

* PETER RIBADENEIRA in his "Appendix to Sanders," p. 41.

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As for the lord Burleigh, such was his moderation, that both parties beheld him as their friend, carrying matters not with passion and prejudice, but prudently, as became so great a statesman. He was neither so rigid as to have conformity pressed to the height, nor so remiss as to leave ministers to their own liberty. He would argue the case, both in discourse and by letters, with the archbishop. Amongst many of the latter kind, let not the reader grudge to peruse this here inserted.

17. *The Treasurer's Letter to the Archbishop, for some Indulgence to the Ministers.*

"It may please your Grace, I am sorry to trouble you so often as I do; but I am more troubled myself, not only with many private petitions of sundry ministers recommended for persons of credit, and for peaceable persons in their ministry, and yet, by complaints to your Grace and other your colleagues in Commission, greatly troubled; but also I am daily now charged by counsellors and public persons to neglect my duty, in not staying of those your Grace's proceedings, so vehement and so general against ministers and preachers; as the papists are thereby greatly encouraged, and all evil-disposed persons amongst the subjects animated, and thereby the queen's Majesty's safety endangered. With these kind of arguments I am daily assailed: against which I answer, that I think your Grace doth nothing but, being duly examined, tendeth to the maintenance of the religion established, and to avoid schism in the church. I also have for example showed, by your papers sent to me, how fully the church is furnished with preachers, and how small a number there are that do contend for their singularity. But these reasons do not satisfy all persons; neither do I seek to satisfy all persons but with reason and truth. But now, my good lord, by chance I have come to the sight of an instrument of twenty-four articles of great length and curiosity, formed in a Romish style, to examine all manner of ministers in this time without distinction of persons; which articles are entitled, *apud Lambeth, Maii*, 1584, to be executed *ex officio mero, &c.* And upon this occasion I have seen them: I did recommend unto your Grace's favour two ministers, curates of Cambridgeshire, to be favourably heard; and your Grace wrote to me that they were contentious, seditious, and persons vagrant maintaining this controversy; wherewith I charged them sharply, and they both denied those charges, and required to be tried, and so to receive punishment. I answered, that your Grace would so charge them, and then I should see afterwards what they should deserve; and advised them to resort to your Grace, comforting them that they should find favourable proceedings, and so I hope upon my former

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commendations the rather. What may be said to them, I know not; nor whether they have been so faulty as your Grace hath been informed, do I know; neither do I mean to treat for to favour such men; for pardon I may speak upon their amendment. But now, they coming to me, I offer how your Grace proceeded with them. They say, they are commanded to be examined by the register at London; and I asked them whereof: they said, of a great number of articles; but they could have no copies of them. I answered, that they might answer to the truth: they said that they were so many in number, and so divers, as they were afraid to answer them for fear of captious interpretation. Upon this I sent for the register, who brought me the articles; which I have read, and find so curiously penned, so full of branches and circumstances, that I think the Inquisitions of Spain use not so many questions to comprehend and to entrap their preys. I know your canonists can defend these with all their particles. But surely, under your Grace's correction, this juridical and canonical siftener of poor ministers, is not to edify and reform. And, in charity, I think they ought not to answer to all these nice points, except they were very notorious offenders in papistry or heresy. Now, good my lord, bear with my scribbling. I write with testimony of a good conscience. I desire the peace of the church. I desire concord and unity in the exercise of our religion. I fear no sensual and wilful recusant. But I conclude, that, according to my simple judgment, this kind of proceeding is too much savouring the Romish Inquisition, and is rather a device to seek for offenders than to reform any. This was not that charitable instruction that I thought was intended if these poor ministers should in some few points have any scrupulous conceptions———to be removed; this is not a charitable way, to send them to answer to your common register, upon so many articles at one instant, without commodity of instruction by your register, whose office is only to receive their answers; by which the parties are first subject to condemnation before they be taught their errors. It may be, I say, that canonists may maintain this proceeding by rules of their laws; but though *omnia licent, omnia non expediunt.* I pray your Grace bear this, (and perchance a fault,) that I have willed them not to answer these articles, except their consciences may suffer them; and yet I have sharply admonished them, that if they be disturbers in their churches, they must be corrected. And yet upon your Grace's answer to me *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*, neither will I put *falcem in alterius messem.* My paper teacheth me to make an end. Your Grace must pardon my hasty writing, for that I have done this *raptim* and without correction.

"Your Grace's at command,

"WILLIAM BURLEIGH."

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One may say, "Is not the hand of Mr. Travers in all this?" who, being the Lord Burleigh's chaplain, by him much respected, and highly affected to the Geneva-discipline, was made the mouth of the ministers, to mediate to his lord in their behalf. But, it seems, the archbishop had set up his resolution, (called "constancy" by some, "cruelty" by others, as they stand affected,) whose unmovableness herein will appear by his following letter.

18. *The Return of the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Lord Treasurer's Letter.*

TO THE LORD TREASURER.

"My singular good lord, in the very beginning of this action, and so from time to time, I have made your lordship acquainted with all my doings, and so answered all objections and reasons to the contrary, as I persuade myself no just reply can be made thereunto. I have likewise, by your lordship's advice, chosen this kind of proceeding with them, because I would not touch any for not subscribing only, but for breach of order in celebrating of divine service, administering the sacraments, and executing other ecclesiastical functions, according to their fancies, and not according to the form of law prescribed; which neither your lordship nor any other seemed to mislike, but to wish and require. And therefore I am much troubled at your last letters, which seem so to be written as though your lordship had not been in these points already answered. The complaints which your lordship saith are made of me and other my colleagues, have hitherto been general, and therefore cannot otherwise be answered but by a bare denial. But if any man shall charge me or them with particularities, I doubt not but we are and shall be ready to answer them, and to justify our doings. My proceedings are neither so vehement nor so general against ministers and preachers as some pretend; doing me therein great injury. I have divers times satisfied your lordship therein. If any offence be, it is in bearing too much with them, and using of them so friendly; which causeth them thus, contrary to their duties, to trouble the church, and to withstand me their ordinary and lawful judge. The objection of encouraging the papists, &c., hath neither probability nor likelihood. For how can papists be animated by urging of men to subscribe against the pope's supremacy, and to the justifying of the Book of Common-Prayers, and Articles of Religion, which they so greatly condemn? But papists, &c., are animated, because they see these kind of persons, who herein after a sort come in with them, so greatly———so many borne with, and so animated and maintained in their disordered doings against both God's laws and man's, and against their chief governors both civil and

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ecclesiastical. This, I say, encourageth the papists, and maketh much for them. The other is but a fallacy, *a non causâ ad causam*. O my lord, I would to God some of those who use this argument, had no papists in their families, and did not otherwise also countenance them! whereby, indeed, they receive encouragement, and do become too malapert. Assure yourself, the papists are rather grieved at my proceedings, because they tend to the taking away of their chief argument; that is, that we cannot agree among ourselves, and that we are not of the church because we lack unity. And I am credibly informed, that the papists give encouragement to these men, and commend them in their doings; hereof I have also some experience. But if these reasons and sundry others notwithstanding, some will not be satisfied thereby, I am sure your lordship thinketh it not convenient to yield unto their wills, but unto their reasons. Touching the twenty-four articles, which your lordship seemeth so to mislike, as written in a Romish style, smelling of a Romish Inquisition, &c., I cannot but greatly marvel at your lordship's vehement speeches against them, I hope without cause. The men are preachers, peaceable, your lordship saith; and that they are orderly, and observe the books, as some of them say of themselves; and you think it not meet that, being such persons, they should be deprived for not subscribing only. Wherein I have yielded unto you; and therefore have caused these articles to be drawn according to law, by the best-learned in the laws, (who, I dare say, hate the Romish doctrine, and the Romish Inquisition,) to the intent I may truly understand whether they are such manner of men or no as they pretend to be; which I also take to be the ordinary course in other courts, as in the Star-chamber and other places. Sure I am, it is most usual in the Court of the Marches" (Arches rather) * "whereof I have the best experience. And without offence be it spoken, I think these articles more tolerable, and better agreeing with the rule of justice and charity, and less captious, than those in other courts; because their men are often examined at the relation of a private man, concerning private crimes, *et de propriâ turpitudine;* whereas here men are only examined of their public actions in the public calling and ministry, and much more in the cause of heresy; because the one toucheth life, and the other not. And therefore I see no cause why our judicial and canonical proceedings in this point should be misliked. Your Lordship writeth that the two for whom you write are peaceable persons, that they deny the things wherewith they are charged, and desire to be tried, &c. Now they are to be tried, why do they refuse it? *Qui malè*

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 514.—EDIT.

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agit, odit lucem. Indeed, they show themselves to be such as I have before showed to your lordship,—the most troublesome persons in all that country: and one of them, Mr. Brown, is presented for his disorders by the sworn men of the parish, as I am informed by the official there. Wherefore I beseech your lordship not to believe them against me, (either their own words, or testimony of any such as animate them in their disobedience, and count disorder order, and contention peace,) before they be duly and orderly tried according to that law which is yet in force, and will hardly, in my opinion, in these judicial actions be bettered, though some abuse may be in the execution thereof, as there; ay, elsewhere, also, and that peradventure more abundantly. Your lordship saith, These articles are a device rather to seek for offenders, than to reform any. The like may be said of the like orders in other courts also; but that were the fault of the judge, not of the law. And I trust your lordship hath no cause to think so evil of me. I have not dealt with any as yet, but such as have given evident tokens of contempt of orders and laws: which my acts remaining on record will testify: and though the register do examine them, (as I think other officers do in other courts likewise, and the law doth allow of it,) yet are they repeated before a judge, where they may reform, add, or diminish, as they think good. Neither hath there been any man thus examined, or otherwise dealt with, who hath not been conferred with, or might not have been if he would: these two especially. And if they have otherwise reported to your lordship, they do but *antiquum obtinere*, which is to utter untruths: a quality wherewith these kind of men are marvellously possessed, as I, on my own knowledge and experience, can justify against divers of them. I know your lordship desireth the peace of the church, and unity in religion: but how is it possible to be procured, (after so long liberty and lack of discipline,) if a few persons so meanly qualified, as most of them are, shall be countenanced against the whole estate of the clergy, of greatest account both for learning, years, stayedness, wisdom, religion, and honesty? and open breakers and impugners of the law, young in years, proud in conceit, contentious in disposition, maintained against their governors, seeking to reduce them to order and obedience? *Hæc sunt initia hæreticorum, et ortus atque conatus schismaticorum malè cogitantium, ut sibi placeant, ut præpositum superbo tumore contemnant; sic ab ecclesiâ receditur, sic altare profanum collocatur foris, sic contra pacem Christi et ordinationem atque unitatem Dei rebellatur.* For my own part, I neither have done nor do any thing in this matter, which I do not think, in my conscience and duty, I am bound to do, which her Majesty hath with earnest charge committed unto me, and which I

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am not well able to justify to be most requisite for this state and church, whereof, next to her Majesty, though most unworthy, or, at least, most unhappy, the chief is committed unto me; which I will not by the grace of God neglect, whatsoever come upon me. Therefore I neither care for the honour of the place, (which is *onus* to me,) nor the largeness of the revenues, nor any other worldly thing. I thank God, in respect of doing my duty, neither do I fear the displeasure of man, nor the evil tongues of the uncharitable, who call me 'tyrant, pope, knave,' and lay to my charge things which I never thought. *Scio hoc enim opus esse diaboli, ut servos Dei mendacio laceret, et opinionibus falsis gloriosum nomen infamet, ut qui conscientiæ suæ luce clarescunt, alienis rumoribus sordidentur.* So was Cyprian himself used, and other ancient and godly bishops; to whom I am not comparable. The day will come, when all men's hearts shall be opened; in the mean time, I will depend on Him who never forsakes those that put their trust in him. If your lordship shall keep those two from answering according to the order set down, it will be of itself a setting-at-liberty of all the rest, and of undoing of all that which hitherto hath been done. Neither shall I be able to do my duty according to her Majesty's expectation. And therefore I beseech your lordship to leave them unto me; I will not proceed against them, till I have made you privy to their answers, and further conferred with you about them, because I see your lordship so earnest in their behalf: whereof also they have made public boasts, (as I am informed,) which argueth what manner of persons they are. I beseech your lordship to take not only the length, but also the matter, of this letter in good part, and to continue to me as you have done; whereof I doubt not. For assuredly if you forsake me, (which I know you will not after so long trial and experience, with continuance of so great friendship,) especially in so good a cause, I shall think my coming to this place to have been for my punishment; and my hap very hard, that when I think to deserve best, and in a manner to consume myself, to satisfy that which God, her Majesty, the church, requireth of me, I should be so evil rewarded. *Sed meliora spero.* And I know your lordship doth all, as you are persuaded, for the best. I beseech God long to bless and preserve you.

"JOHN CANTUAR."

It seems the lord treasurer took exceptions at some passages herein. I dare not say with those,—That the letter was brought to him when he was indisposed with the fit of the gout, which made him so offended. But, whatsoever was the cause of his passion, see some signs thereof in what followeth.

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19. *The Lord Treasurer's smart Letter to the Archbishop.*

"I HAVE received your Grace's long letter, answering sundry speeches, as I think, delivered by your chaplain, Doctor Cozens; and I perceive you are sharply moved to blame me, and clear yourself. I know I have many faults, but I hope I have not given such cause of offence as your letter expresseth. I deny nothing that your Grace thinketh meet to proceed in, with these whom you call factious; and therefore there is no controversy between you and me, expressed in your letter. The controversy is passed in your Grace's letter in silence; and so I do satisfy. Your Grace promised me to deal, I say, only with such as violated order, and to charge them therewith, which I allow well of. But your Grace, not charging them with such faults, seeketh by examination to urge them to accuse themselves; and then I think you will punish them. I think your Grace's proceeding is, I will not say, 'rigorous or captious,' but I think it is scant charitable. I have no leisure to write more, and therefore I will end; for, writing will but increase offence, and I mean not to offend your Grace. I am content that your Grace, and my lord of London, where I hear Brown is, use him as your wisdoms shall think meet. If I had known his fault, I might be blamed for writing for him; but when by examination only it is meant to sift him with twenty-four articles, I have cause to pity the poor man.

"Your Grace's as friendly as any,

"WILLIAM BURLEIGH."

Short but sharp. I see though anger only "resteth in the bosom of fools," Eccles. vii. 9; it may light on the breast of a wise man. But no fear that these friends will finally fall out, who alternately were passionate and patient. So that now it came to the turn of Whitgift to be calm, as he expressed himself in the following return.

20. *The Archbishop's calm Letter to the half-angry Treasurer.*

TO THE LORD TREASURER.

"MY SINGULAR GOOD LORD,

"GOD knoweth how desirous I have been from time to time to satisfy your lordship in all things, and to have my doings approved to you. For which cause, since my coming to this place, I have done nothing of importance without your advice. I have risen early, and sat up late, to write unto you such objections and answers as on either side were used. I have not the like to any man: and shall I now say I have lost my labour? or shall my just dealing with two of the most disordered ministers in a whole diocess, (the obstinacy and contempt of whom, especially of one of them, you yourself would not bear in any subjected to your authority,) cause you so to

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think and speak of my doings, yea, and of myself? No man living should have made me believe it. Solomon saith, 'An old friend is better than a new;' and I trust your lordship will not so lightly cast off your old friends for any of these new-fangled and factious sectaries, whose fruits are to make divisions wheresoever they come, and to separate old and assured friends. Your lordship seemeth to charge me with breach of promise, touching my manner of proceeding, whereof I am no way guilty; but I have altered my first course of depriving them for not subscribing only, justifiable by the law and common practice both in the time of king Edward and from the beginning of her Majesty's reign, and chosen this only to satisfy your lordship. Your lordship also objecteth, that it is said, I took this course for the better maintenance of my book. My enemies say so, indeed; but I trust my friends have a better opinion of me. What should I seek for any confirmation of my book after twelve years, or what should I get thereby more than already? * And yet if subscription may confirm it, it is confirmed long ago by the subscription of all the clergy almost in England before my time, even of Brain also, who now seemeth to be so wilful. Mine enemies, and tongues of this slanderous and uncharitable sect, report, that I am revolted and become a papist, and I know not what; but it proceedeth from their lewdness, not from any desert of mine; and I disdain to answer to any such notorious untruths, which the best of them dare not avouch to my face. Your lordship seemeth further to burden me with wilfulness. I am sure that you are not so persuaded of me. I will appeal to your own conscience. There is difference betwixt wilfulness and constancy. I have taken upon me the defence of the religion and rights of the church of England, to appease the sects of schisms therein, and to reduce all the ministers thereof to uniformity and due obedience: herein I intend to be constant, and not to waver with every wind; the which also my place, my person, my duty, the laws, her Majesty, and the goodness of the cause doth require of me; and wherein your lordship and others (all things considered) ought in duty to assist and countenance me. It is strange that a man in my place, dealing by so good warranties as I do, should be so encountered; and, for not yielding, to be counted wilful. But I must be contented: *Vincit qui patitur;* and if my friends forsake me herein, I trust God will not, neither the law, nor her Majesty who hath laid the charge on me, and are able to protect me. But of all other things it most grieveth me, if your lordship should say, that two ministers fare the worse because your lordship hath sent them. Hath your lordship ever had any cause so to think of me?

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 514.—EDIT.

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It is needless for me to protest my heart and affection toward you above all other men; the world knoweth it; and I am assured, that your lordship nothing doubteth thereof. I have rather cause to complain to your lordship of yourself, that, upon so small an occasion, and in the behalf of two such, you will so hardly conceive of me; yea, and, as it were, countenance persons so meanly qualified in so evil a cause against me, your lordship's so long-tried friend, and their ordinary. That hath not so been in times past; now, it should least of all be. I may not suffer the notorious contempt of one of them especially, unless I will become Æsop's block, and undo all that which hitherto have been done. Well, because I would be loath to omit any thing whereby your lordship might be satisfied, I have sent unto you herein enclosed certain reasons to justify the manner of my proceedings; which I marvel should be so misliked in this cause, having been so long practised in the same, and never before this time found fault with. Truly, my lord, I must proceed this way, or not at all: the reasons I have set down in this paper. And I heartily pray your lordship not to be carried away, either from the cause or from myself, upon unjust surmises and clamours, lest you be the occasion of that confusion which hereafter you would be sorry for. For mine own part, I desire no further defence in these occasions, neither of your lordship nor any other, than justice and law will yield unto me. In my own private affairs, I know I shall stand in need of friends, especially of your lordship; of whom I have made always an assured account. But in these public actions, I see no cause why I should seek for friends; seeing they to whom the care of the commonwealth is committed ought, of duty, therein to join with me. To conclude, I am your lordship's assured; neither will I ever be persuaded, but you do all even of hearty good-will towards me.

"JOHN CANTUAR."

21. *Sir Francis Walsingham a good Friend to Nonconformists. His Letter to the Archbishop in Favour of Nonconformists.*

Now, amongst all the favourers of the presbyterians,* surely honesty and wisdom never met more in any than in sir Francis Walsingham; of whom it may be said, (abate for the disproportion,) as of St. Paul, "Though poor, yet making many rich." Having but one only daughter, (whose extraordinary handsomeness, with a moderate portion, would considerably prefer her in marriage,) he neglected wealth in himself; though I may say, he enriched many, not only his dependents, but even the English nation, by his pru-

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 507.—EDIT.

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dent steering of state-affairs. How he interceded to qualify the archbishop, for a semi-nonconformist, we learn from his following letter:—

"It may please your Grace to understand, that this bearer, Mr. Leverwood, of whom I wrote unto your Grace, hath been here with me; and finding him very conformable, and willing to observe such orders as are appointed to be used in the church, as your Grace shall partly perceive by certain articles subscribed with his own hand, and herein enclosed, I willed him to repair unto your Grace; and in case these articles may be allowed, then I pray your Grace to be his good lord, and that with your good-will and favour he may proceed in his suit; upon knowledge whereof I do mean to deal further therein with her Majesty thereof for him, as I have already begun to do, upon the good report I heard of the man, before your Grace's message sent to Mr. Nicasius for the stay thereof. And so I humbly take my leave.

"Your Grace's at command,

"FRANCIS WALSINGHAM."

What this letter effected, the next will inform us.

22. *The Archbishop's Answer to Secretary Walsingham's Letter.*

"Right Honourable,

"I thank you heartily for your letter, written unto me in the behalf of Leverwood; wherein I perceive the performance of your honourable speeches to myself, in promising to join with me against such as shall be breakers of the orders of the church established, and movers of contentions therein. Upon that, and other like speeches of yours with me at your last being at Lambeth, I have forborne to suspend or deprive any man already placed in any cure or charge, for not subscribing only, if hereafter he would promise unto me in writing the observing of the Book of Common-Prayer, and the orders of the church by law set down: and I do now require subscription to the said Articles, of such only as are to be admitted to the ministry and to ecclesiastical livings, wherein I find myself something eased of my former troubles: and as yet none, or very few, of the last-named persons do refuse to subscribe to the said Articles, though some of them have been accounted heretofore very precise. I also very well remember that it was her own wish and desire, that such as hereafter should be admitted to any living should in like manner be tied to the observing the orders; which as it hath already wrought some quietness in the church, so I doubt not but that it will in time perfect the same. And I cannot break that order in one, but other will look for the like favour, to the renewing

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and increasing of the former atheism, not yet already extinguished. Wherefore I heartily pray you to join with me herein. Touching the Articles enclosed in your letter, whereunto Leverwood hath subscribed; they are of no moment, but such as may easily be deluded. For whereas he first saith, that he will willingly subscribe as far as the law requireth at his hand; his meaning is, that the law requireth no such subscription; for so I am informed that some lawyers (therein deceived) have persuaded him and others: and in saying that he will always in the ministry use the Book of Common-Prayer, and none else; his meaning is, that he will use but so much of the book as pleaseth him, and not that he will use all things in the book required of him. I have dealt with him in some particularities, which he denieth to use, and therefore his subscription is to small purpose. I would, as near as I can, promise, that none should hereafter come into the church to breed new troubles. I can be better occupied otherwise. And God would bless our labours more amply, and give better success to the word so commonly and diligently preached, if we could be at peace and quietness among ourselves, which I most heartily wish, and doubt not to bring to pass by God's grace; the rather through your good help and assistance, whereof I assure myself; and so, with my hearty prayers, &c.,

"JOHN CANTUAR."

23—25. A Transition to other Matter. Good Grindal's Death. A Plea for Grindal's Poverty.

Thus have we presented to the reader some select letters out of many in my hand, passing betwixt the highest persons in church-matters. I count it a blessing that Providence hath preserved such a treasure unplundered, esteem it a favour in such friends as imparted them unto me, and conceive it no ungrateful act in our communicating the same to the reader. And now we (who hitherto according to good manners have held our peace, while such, who were far our betters, by their pens spake one to another) begin to resume our voice, and express ourselves as well as we may in the following history.

By the changing of EDMOND into JOHN CANTUAR., it plainly appears, that, as all these letters were written this year, so they were indited after the sixth of July, (and probably about December,) when bishop Grindal deceased; * our English Eli, for office, (highest in spiritual promotion,) age, (whereby both were blind,) and manner of his death, thus far forth as heart-broken with sorrow. Grindal's grief proceeded from the queen's displeasure, undeservedly;

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 514.—EDIT.

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procured by the practices of his malicious enemies. There want not those who will strain the parallel betwixt Eli and Grindal in a fourth respect, both being guilty of dangerous indulgence and lenity to offenders. Indeed, Grindal, living and dying sole and single, could not be cockering to his own children; but as a father of the church, he is accused for too much conniving at the factious disturbers thereof. Sure I am, he was an impartial corrector of men's vicious conversations: witness his sharp reproving of Julio, the Italian physician, for marrying another man's wife; which bitter but wholesome pill the physician himself not being able to digest, incensed the earl of Leicester, and he the queen's Majesty, against the good archbishop. But all was put on the account of Grindal's nonconformity, for favouring the factious meetings, called "prophesyings." Grindal, sensible of the queen's displeasure, desired to resign his place, and confine himself to a yearly pension; not, as some may pretend, that it was against his conscience to keep it; but because above his impotent age to manage so great a charge. The place was proffered to Whitgift; but he, in the presence of the queen, utterly refused it: yet, what he would not snatch soon after fell into his hands by Grindal's death.

Whoso beholds the large revenues conferred on Grindal, the long time he enjoyed them, (bishop of London, archbishop of York and Canterbury, above eighteen years,) the little charge encumbering him, dying a single man, will admire at the mean estate he left behind him. Yea, perchance they will erroneously impute this to his prodigality, which more truly is to be ascribed to his contempt of the world, unwilling to die guilty of much wealth; not to speak of fat servants made under a lean master. The little he had, as it was well-gotten, was well-bestowed, in pious uses on Cambridge and Oxford, with the building and endowing of a school at St. Bees in Cumberland, where he was born. Yea, he may be beheld as a benefactor to the English nation, for bringing tamarisk first over into England. As the inventors of evil things are justly taxed by the apostle, Rom. i. 23; so the first importers of good things deserve due commendation; that plant being so sovereign to mollify the hardness of the spleen; a malady whereof students (betrayed thereunto by their sedentary lives) too generally do complain.

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SECTION VI.

TO THE

MASTERS, WARDENS, AND ALL THE MEMBERS OF THE HON. COMPANY OF MERCERS, OF LONDON.

As it would be a sin of omission in me, (so much obliged to your Society,) should no share in my History be allowed unto you; so I should commit a great incongruity, if assigning it any where else than in the reign of queen Elizabeth; whose great-grandfather sir Godfrey Boleyn, 1458, mayor of London, is generally believed one of your Company: so that the crowned maiden-head in your arms may, in some sort, seem prophetical, presaging such a queen-virgin should be extracted from one of your Society, as the Christian world could not parallel in all particulars.

Indeed, much of credit is imported in your very name. For, seeing all buyers and sellers are "mercers" *a mercando*, custom hath confined and fixed the term eminently on your Corporation, as always the prime chapmen of our nation, in which respect you have the precedency of all other Companies.

I will detain you no longer from better customers, wishing you sound wares, quick vent, good prices, sure payment; one commodity alone excepted, I mean the truth itself: this buy and sell it not, Prov. xxiii. 23; purchase it on any terms, but part with it on no conditions.

1. *Warning to Sabbath-breakers.*

ABOUT four o'clock in the afternoon on the Lord's day, January 13th, a sad accident happened in Paris-Garden, on the south-side of Thames, over against London. Whilst multitudes were beholding the baiting of the bear, the old under-propped scaffolds, overladen with people, suddenly fell down, killed eight outright, hurt and bruised many more, to the shortening of their lives.* The assertors of the strict observation of the sabbath vigorously improve this (as

* HOLINSHED, p. 1353.

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well they may*) against them who profane the Lord's day, which afterwards (the joyful effect of a doleful cause) was generally kept with more carefulness.†

2. *Robert Brown first appears.*

Robert Brown began at this time to broach his opinions. He was born in Rutlandshire, of an ancient and worshipful family, (one whereof founded a fair hospital in Stamford,) nearly allied to the lord treasurer Cecil.‡ He was bred for a time in Cambridge, (I conceive in Corpus-Christi-College,) but question whether ever a graduate therein. He used some time to preachat Bene't church, where the vehemency of his utterance passed for zeal among the common people, and made the vulgar to admire, the wise to suspect him. Dr. Still, afterwards master of Trinity, (out of curiosity or casually present at his preaching,) discovered in him something extraordinary, which he presaged would prove the disturbance of the church, if not seasonably prevented. Some years after, Brown went over into Zealand, to purchase himself more reputation from foreign parts. For a smack of travel gives a high taste to strange opinions, making them better relish to the licorish lovers of novelty. Home he returns with a full cry against the church of England, as, having so much of Rome, she had nothing of Christ in her discipline. Norfolk was the first place whereon Brown (new-flown home out of the Low Countries) perched himself, and therein in the city of Norwich; a place which then spake little more than *medietatem linguæ*, having almost as many Dutch strangers as English natives inhabiting therein. Brown, beginning with the Dutch, soon proceeded to infect his own countrymen, for which he was confined, as the following letter of the lord treasurer Burleigh to bishop Phreke [Freake] of Norwich will inform us:—

"After my very hearty commendations to your lordship: whereas I understand that one Brown, a preacher, is, by your lordship and others of the ecclesiastical commission, committed to the custody of the sheriff of Norfolk, where he remains a prisoner, for some matters of offence uttered by him by way of preaching; wherein I perceive, by sight of some letters written by certain godly preachers in your lordship's diocess, he hath been dealt with and by them dissuaded from that course he hath taken. Forasmuch as he is my kinsman, if he be son to him whom I take him to be, and that his error seemeth to proceed of zeal rather than of malice, I do therefore wish he were charitably conferred with and reformed; which course I pray

* See the "Appeal of Injured Innocence," p. 521.—Edit. † Dr. Bound.
‡ Camden's "Britannia" in Lincolnshire.

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your lordship may be taken with him, either by your lordship or such as your lordship shall assign for that purpose; and in case there shall not follow thereof such success as may be to your liking, that then you would be content to permit him to repair hither to London, to be further dealt with as I shall take order for upon his coming: for which purpose I have written a letter to the sheriff, if your lordship shall like thereof. And so I bid your lordship right heartily farewell.

"From the court at Westminster, this 21st of April, 1581.

"Your lordship's very loving friend,

"WILLIAM BURLEIGH."

Brown, being thus brought up to London, by the advice of his friends was wrought to some tolerable compliance; and, being discharged by the archbishop of Canterbury, was by the lord treasurer sent home to his father, Christopher Brown, at Tolethorp, in Rutland, esquire: one, I assure you, of ancient and right worshipful extraction, having myself seen a charter granted by king Henry VIII., (the 16th of July, in the 18th of his reign,) and confirmed by Act of Parliament, to Francis Brown, father to the aforesaid Christopher, giving him leave to put on his cap, in the presence of the king or his heirs, or any lord spiritual or temporal in the land, and not to put it off but for his own ease and pleasure.* But let us see the lord treasurer's letter, in the behalf of Brown, to his father:—

"AFTER my very hearty commendations: Understanding that your son, Robert Brown, had been sent for up by my lord bishop of Canterbury, to answer to such matters as he was to be charged withal, contained in a book made by him, and published in print (as it was thought) by his means; I thought good, considering he was your son and of my blood, to send unto my lord of Canterbury in his behalf, that he might find what reasonable favour he could show him; before whom I perceive he hath answered in some good sort; and although I think he will not deny the making of the

* Our historians record a similar instance in the days of queen Mary, to whom, says bishop Burnet, "Ratcliffe, earl of Sussex, had done the most considerable service of all those noblemen who had assisted the queen. For to him she had given the chief command of her army; and he had managed it with that prudence, that others were thereby encouraged to come in to her assistance: So an unusual honour was contrived for him,—that he might cover his head in her presence: which passed under the Great Seal, October 2nd; he being the only peer of England on whom this honour was ever conferred, as far as I know." In Tindal's notes upon Rapin, it is added, "Courcy, baron of Kinsale in Ireland, enjoys this privilege of sitting covered in the royal presence, by a grant made from king John to the famous Courcy, earl of Ulster. The present baron asserted this ancient right of his family in the reigns of the late and the present king."—EDIT.

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book, yet by no means will he confess to be acquainted with the publishing or printing of it. He hath besides yielded unto his lordship such further contentment, as he is contented (the rather at my motion) to discharge him; and therefore, for that he purposeth to repair to you, I have thought good to accompany him with these my letters, and to pray you, for this cause or any his former dealings, not to withdraw from him your fatherly love and affection, not doubting but with time he will be fully recovered and withdrawn from the relics of some fond opinions of his; which will be the better done, if he be dealt withal in some kind and temperate manner. And so I bid you very heartily farewell.

"From my house near the Savoy, this 8th of October, 1584.

"Your loving friend and cousin,

"WILLIAM BURLEIGH."

But it seems Brown's errors were so inlaid in him, no conference with divines could convince him to the contrary, whose incorrigibleness made his own father weary of his company. Men may wish—God only can work—children to be good. The old gentleman would own him for his son no longer than his son owned the church of England for his mother; desiring to rid his hands of him, as by the ensuing letter will appear:—

"AFTER my very hearty commendations: I perceive by your letters, that you have little or no hopes of your son's conformity, as you had when you received him into your house; and, therefore, you seem desirous that you might have liberty to remove him further off from you, as either to Stamford, or some other place; which I know no cause but you may very well and lawfully do, where I wish he might better be persuaded to conform himself, for his own good, and yours and his friends' comfort. And so I very heartily bid you farewell.

"From the court, this 17th of February, 1585.

"Your very loving friend and cousin,

"WILLIAM BURLEIGH."

Thus, to make our story of the troublesome man the more entire, we have trespassed on the two following years, yet without discomposing our chronology on the margin.

3—7. *Brown's Opinions. Extraordinary Favour indulged unto him. The Author's Observation on him. The Occasion of his late Death. Two Brownists executed.*

With his assistant, Richard Harrison, a petty pedagogue, they inveighed against bishops, ecclesiastical courts, ceremonies, ordina-

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tion of ministers, and what not; fancying here on earth a platform of a perfect church, without any faults (understand it thus, *save those that are made by themselves)* therein. The reader, if desirous to know their opinions, is referred to the large and learned treatises written against them; particularly to the pains of Dr. Fulke, proving, that the Brownists (so named from this Brown, their ring-leader) were in effect the same with the ancient Donatists, only newly revived. Thus, there is a circulation, as in fashion of clothes, so of opinions,—the same after some years' return; Brownism being no more than Donatism vamped with some new additions. The queen and her council seriously set themselves, first, by gentleness to reduce—and (that not succeeding) by severity to suppress—the increase of this faction. Brown himself used to boast, that he had been committed to thirty-two prisons, and in some of them he could not see his hand at noon-day: yet for all this he came off at last both with saving his life, and keeping his living (and that none of the meanest, Achurch in Northamptonshire) until the day of his death.

One may justly wonder, when many meaner accessaries in this schism were arraigned, condemned, executed, how this Brown, the principal, made so fair an escape, yea, enjoyed such preferment. I will never believe, that he ever formally recanted his opinions, either by word or writing, as to the main of what he maintained. More probable it is, that the promise of his general compliance with the church of England (so far forth as not to make future disturbance therein) met with the archbishop's courteous acceptance thereof; both which, effectually improved by the countenance of Thomas Cecil, earl of Exeter, (Brown's near kinsman and patron,) procured this extraordinary favour to be indulged unto him. His parsonage he freely possessed, allowing a sufficient salary for one to discharge the cure; and (though against them in his judgment) was contented, and perchance, pleased, to take the tithes of his own parish.

For my own part, (whose nativity Providence placed within a mile of this Brown's pastoral charge,) I have, when a youth, often beheld him. He was of an imperious nature; offended, if what he affirmed but in common discourse were not instantly received as an oracle. He was then so far from the sabbatarian strictness to which some preciser Brownists did afterwards pretend, that both in judgment and practice he seemed rather libertine therein. In a word, he had in my time a wife, with whom for many years he never lived, parted from her on some distaste; and a church, wherein he never preached, though he received the profits thereof.

As for his death in the prison in Northampton, many years after,

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(in the reign of king Charles, *anno* 1630,) it nothing related to those opinions he did or his followers do maintain. For, as I am credibly informed, being by the constable of the parish (who chanced also to be his godson) somewhat roughly and rudely required the payment of a rate, he happened in passion to strike him. The constable (not taking it patiently as a castigation from a godfather, but in anger as an affront to his office) complained to sir Rowland St. John, a neighbouring justice of the peace, and Brown is brought before him. The knight, of himself, was prone rather to pity and pardon, than punish his passion; but Brown's behaviour was so stubborn, that he appeared obstinately ambitious of a prison, as desirous (after long absence) to renew his familiarity with his ancient acquaintance. His *mittimus* is made; and a cart with a feather-bed provided to carry him; he himself being so infirm (above eighty) to go, too unwieldy to ride, and no friend so favourable as to purchase for him a more comely conveyance. To Northampton jail he is sent; where, soon after, he sickened, died, and was buried in a neighbouring churchyard: and it is no hurt to wish, that his bad opinions had been interred with him.

The tenets of Brownists daily increasing, their books were prohibited by the queen's authority. Notwithstanding which prohibition, some presumed to disperse the same, and paid dearly for their contempt therein. For, Elias Thacker * was hanged on the fourth, and John Coping on the sixth of June, at the same place, (St. Edmund's-Bury,) and for the same offence,—the scattering such schismatical pamphlets.

8. *Whitgift succeedeth Grindal.*

John Whitgift, succeeding in the archbishopric, September 24th, found it much surcharged in the valuation, and impaired in the revenues, through the negligence of his predecessor, who would pay willingly what they asked of him, and take contentedly what any tendered to him. First, therefore, Whitgift † procured an order out of the exchequer, for the abatement of an hundred pounds for him and his successors in the payment of his first-fruits. Afterwards he encountered no meaner man than that great courtier, soldier, and Privy Counsellor, sir James Crofts; or rather he legally contested with the queen in him, and recovered from both, Long Beachwood,‡ in Kent, (containing above a thousand acres of land,) detained from his predecessor under colour of a lease from her Majesty.

* Stow's "Chronicle," p. 697.

† Sir George Paul in his Life, p. 28.

‡ *Idem*, p. 29.

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9. *Death of Sanders.*

This year Nicholas Sanders * (more truly Slanders) had in Ireland a woful end of his wretched life. He was born in Surrey, bred first in Winchester, then in New-College in Oxford, where he was king's professor of canon-law; but afterwards banishing himself, fled to Rome, there made priest, and doctor of divinity. He accompanied cardinal Hosius to the Council of Trent; and there is said, by disputing and declaiming, to have gained himself great reputation. At last he was sent over, pope's nuncio into Ireland, conceived then a desperate employment, and therefore many catholics regretted thereat. Yea, some were overheard to say, (but it is Pitzæus, Sanders's own sister's son, who reports it,)† "Why does his Holiness send our Sanders into Ireland? We value him more than all Ireland is worth." There, amongst the bogs and mountains, was he starved to death; justly famished for want of food, who formerly had surfeited on improbable lies, by him first forged, on the nativity of queen Elizabeth.

10. *Lewes burned at Norwich.*

We must not forget, how, this year, one John Lewes was burned at Norwich for denying the Godhead of Christ, and holding other detestable heresies. He called himself Abdoit,‡ (let him tell you what he meant thereby,) alluding therein to the promise of "a new name which no man knoweth but he that receiveth it," Rev. ii. 17; having in it a little mock Hebrew, to make himself the more remarkable.

11, 12. *Popish Libels. The Queen's eminent Mercy. A.D.* 1584.

Now, so great was the malice of the Jesuits against her Majesty, that at this time they set forth many slanderous libels, stirring up her subjects and servants to do the same to her as Judith did to Holofernes.§ One of their principal pamphlets was entitled, "A Treatise of Schism." The suspicion of making it fell on Gregory Martin; one probable enough for such a prank, (as being Divinity-Professor in Rheims,) did not his epitaph there insure me he was dead and buried, two years before.‖ Though it is possible, his posthume work might be born abroad, after the death of the author thereof. But, whoever made it, William Carter, the stationer, paid dearly for publishing it, being executed at Tyburn. And in the next month five seminaries, John Fen, George Haddock, John Munden, John Nutter, and Thomas Hemmerford, were hanged,

* CAMDEN'S *Elizabetha in hoc anno.* † *De Scriptoribus Anglican. ætate* 16, p. 773. ‡ STOW'S "Chronicle," p. 697. § CAMDEN'S *Elizabetha in hoc anno.* ‖ PITZÆUS *De Scriptoribus Anglic.* p. 782.

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bowelled, and quartered for treason, at Tyburn; and many others, about the same time, executed in other places.

Yet, even in the midst of this necessary severity, her Majesty was most merciful unto many popish malefactors, whose lives stood forfeited to the laws, in the rigour thereof. For, no fewer than seventy priests, some of them actually condemned to die, all legally deserving death, were, by one act of grace, pardoned, and sent over beyond sea. Amongst these were—(1.) Gaspar Heywood, son to that eminent epigrammatist, the first Jesuit that ever set foot in England.* (2.) James Bosgrave. (3.) John Hart, a learned man, zealous to dispute—not dangerous to practise—for his religion. (4.) Edward Rishton, ungrateful wretch, who afterwards railed in print on the queen, who gave him his life. Her Majesty's mercy herein was the more remarkable, because done at a time when treasons against her person (by Arden, Summerfield, Throgmorton, &c.) did follow, or, rather, tread one on another. If hereafter the edge of justice fall sharper on Jesuits, let them thank their own treachery, which whetted it against themselves.

13, 14. *Two fruitless Conferences. Subscription severely pressed.*

This year two conferences or disputations were kept, (the last at Lambeth,) about the discipline and ceremonies of the church. (1.) Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, Sandys of York, and Cooper of Winchester, for the same. (2.) Unconforming ministers (whose names I cannot certainly attain) against it. (3.) The lords of her Majesty's Privy Council, and some other persons of honour, auditors thereof. This conference effected nothing on the disputants, (as to the altering of their opinions,) little on the auditors, but as much on all as any judicious person ever expected. What Elijah said passionately, "I am not better than my fathers," 1 Kings xix. 4, may be soberly said of this conference: It was no happier than any of its ancestors, which went before it. Let me add also, and no unhappier than its successors that shall come after it; it being observed, that meetings of this nature, before or after this time, never produced any great matter on persons present thereat, who generally carry away the same judgment they brought with them. And yet the lords were pleased to say, their judgments were satisfied in the point on the bishops' behalf: not conceiving their adversaries' arguments so slight and trivial as now they appeared. This was in some of them but a court-compliment, who afterwards secretly acted against the archbishop, in favour of the other party.

Whitgift, finding this first way unsuccessful, fell from other

* Camden's *Elizabetha*, 1584.

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reasoning to a flat argument from authority, enjoining all admitted to the ecclesiastical orders and benefices, the subscription of the following articles:—

(1.) That the queen had supreme authority over all persons born within her dominions, of what condition soever they were; and that no other prince, prelate, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, civil or ecclesiastical, within her realms or dominions.

(2.) That the Book of Common-Prayer, and the ordination of bishops, priests, and deacons, containeth nothing contrary to the word of God, but may lawfully be used, and that they will use that, and none other.

(3.) That the Articles of Religion, agreed in the synod holden at London, in the year of our Lord 1562, and published by the queen's authority, they did allow of, and believe them to be consonant to the word of God.

The severe enforcing of subscription hereunto, what great disturbance it occasioned in the church, shall hereafter, by God's assistance, be made to appear; leaving others to judge whether the offence was given or taken thereby.*

15—20. *The Rhemish Translation comes forth. Cartwright invited to answer it. Whitgift stoppeth his Book. Dr. Fulke first effected it. A Promise never performed. Confidence of many at last deceived.*

Now came forth the Rhemish translation of the New Testament; a translation which needeth to be translated, (neither good Greek, Latin, nor English,) as every where bespeckled with hard words, (pretended not renderable in English without abatement of some expressiveness,) which transcend common capacities. Besides, it is taxed by our divines as guilty of abominable errors therein. It was printed in large paper, with a fair letter and margin; all which I have charity enough to impute to their desire to do it for the more dignity of God's word; whilst others interpret it, that thereby purposely they enhanced the price, to put it past the power of poor men's purses to purchase it. Another accident raised the dearness thereof, because, so many books being seized-on by the queen's searchers, the whole price of the edition fell the more heavy on the remainder. But, suppose a poor lay catholic so rich, through his industry, as secretly to purchase one of these Rhemish Testaments, he durst not avouch the reading thereof without the permission of his superiors licensing him thereunto.

Secretary Walsingham, by his letters, solicited Mr. Thomas

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 515.—EDIT.

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Cartwright to undertake the refuting of this Rhemish translation; and, the better to enable him for the work, sent him an hundred pounds out of his own purse: * a bountiful gift for one who was, though a great statesman, a man of small estate, contracting honourable poverty on himself by his expense on the public,† as dying not so engaged to his private creditors, as the whole church and state was indebted to his endeavours. Walsingham's letters to Cartwright were seconded by another from the doctors and heads of houses (and Dr. Fulke amongst the rest) at Cambridge, beside the importunity of the ministers of London and Suffolk, soliciting him to the same purpose. Hereupon Cartwright buckled himself to the employment, and was very forward in the pursuance thereof.

No sooner had Whitgift gotten notice what Cartwright was a-writing, but presently he prohibited his farther proceeding therein. It seems, Walsingham was secretary of state, not of religion, wherein the archbishop overpowered him. Many commended his care, not to intrust the defence of the doctrine of England to a pen so disaffected to the discipline thereof. Others blamed his jealousy, to deprive the church of so learned pains of him whose judgment would so solidly, and affections so zealously, confute the public adversary. Distasteful passages, (shooting at Rome, but glancing at Canterbury,) if any such were found in his book, might be expunged; whilst it was pity so good fruit should be blasted in the bud for some bad leaves about it. Disheartened hereat, Cartwright desisted; but, some years after, encouraged by an honourable lord, resumed the work; but, prevented by death, perfected no further than the fifteenth chapter of the Revelation. Many years lay this worthy work neglected, and the copy thereof mouse-eaten in part, whence the printer excused some defects therein in his edition; which, though late, yet at last came forth, *anno* 1618; a book which, notwithstanding the foresaid defects, is so complete, that the Rhemists durst never return the least answer thereunto.

Mean time, whilst Cartwright's refutation of the Rhemish was thus retarded, Dr. William Fulke, master of Pembroke-Hall, in Cambridge, entered the lists against them; judiciously and learnedly performing his undertaking therein. His daughter, and (as I take it) the only survivor of his children, lately set forth the fourth and fairest edition of this his confutation, and dedicated it to king Charles.

The Rhemists profess, in their preface to the New Testament, that "the Old Testament also lieth by them, for lack of good means to publish the whole in such sort, as a work of so great charge and importance requireth;" which seemeth strange to a judicious

* See the preface to Cartwright's book. † CAMDEN'S "Elizabeth," *anno* 1590.

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consideration. For had a voluminous legend of saints' lives, with pictures as costly as superstitious, been to be set forth, a mass, a mint, a mine of money could easily be advanced to defray the expenses thereof. Thus papists can be poor or rich, as they please themselves. Some behold this their promise to set forth the Old Testament, as not really intended, but given out to raise men's expectations; which in process of time would fall of itself, and the proffer by degrees be forgotten. Others interpret their resolutions real, but purposely revoked, seeing the ill success of their New Testament, so canvassed and confuted by the protestant divines. Perceiving that their small pinnace, which they first set forth, met at sea with such boisterous weather, wisely they would not adventure a greater vessel after it; but rather left it to rot on the dock, than they would launch it forth in such danger. A third sort behold this their promise as a modest and mannerly, *aliàs* a crafty and cunning, begging of a contribution of the catholic party for setting-forth of the same, which never as yet came into public view. Yea, the Old Testament, some said, would be old indeed, before the translation thereof in English were by them set forth; insomuch that some conceived a lease of land, till this their promise be performed, almost as good as the fee-simple thereof.

But now, though men were so generally confident, that these long-expected Rhemish notes on the Old Testament would not come forth till the Greek Calends, they have since found themselves deceived; seeing, some twenty years after, that long-looked-for work crept forth into the world, little notice being taken thereof by the protestants; partly, because no great eminency therein to entitle it to their perusal; partly, because that moiety of the Bible is of least concernment in the controversies betwixt us and the church of Rome.

21. *The Death of George Etheredge.*

I find not this year the death of any eminent English protestant divine. Amongst the papists, George Etheredge departed this life, much lamented by those of his own persuasion. He was bachelor of physic in Corpus-Christi-College in Oxford, and king's Professor of Greek in that university; which place he quitted at the coming-in of queen Elizabeth, and betook himself there to a private life. His house was an hospital to relieve those of his own religion, on whom he expended his estate. He was one of the primitive catholics, saith my author,* persecuted for his conscience. As he started soon, he ran long in the race of patience, used to all the jails in

* PITZÆUS *De Anglic. Scriptoribus*, p. 785.

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Oxford and London, for thirty years together; insomuch that he professed, that the variety of prisons was some pleasure, and the custom of durance had made fetters to be freedom unto him.

22. *Mr. Rogers writeth on our Articles.* *A.D.* 1585.

This year came forth the exposition of Mr. Thomas Rogers, on the Articles of the church of England; which at first met not with that welcome entertainment which seemed due to his endeavours. For, beside the two extremes, papists and schismatics, highly enraged, many protestants of a middle temper were much offended thereat. Some conceived it presumption for any private minister to make himself the mouth of the church, to render her sense in matters of so high concernment. Others were offended, that his interpretation confined the charitable latitude, formerly allowed in those Articles: the composers whereof, providently foreseeing that doctrinal differences would inevitably arise, in so large a church as England was, even betwixt protestants agreeing in fundamentals of religion, purposely couched the Articles in general terms,—not that falsehood should take shelter under the covert thereof, but to include all such dissenters within the comprehensiveness of the expressions. Whereas now Mr. Rogers's restrictive comment shut out such from their concurrence with the church of England, whom the discreet laxity of the text admitted thereunto. However, the worth of the work, in some years, wrought itself into good esteem, as dedicated to and countenanced by the archbishop, though the author thereof never got any higher preferment.

23. *Three great Corporations now on Foot together.*

Three great societies at this time in London were busily employed, the two former of them avouched by law, and the third avouching itself: namely,—

The Parliament.—Begun and holden at Westminster, the twenty-third day of November last; and there continued till the twenty-ninth of March following; wherein the statute against Jesuits and priests departing out and not coming into the realm, was made, with penalty for the relieving them.

The Convocation.—Kept in St. Paul's, London, beginning with a most learned Latin sermon,* preached by John Capeotes, doctor of divinity, (afterwards master of Bene't-College in Cambridge,) taking for his text, *Præcipio tibi coram Deo*, &c., 1 Tim. vi. 13. Hence the Convocation was removed to the collegiate church of St. Peter's in Westminster, where Dr. Goodman, dean

* *Venusta et eloquens concio*, saith the Register of Canterbury, out of which I transcribed it.

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thereof, made a solemn protestation with his fellow-prebends, that the said meeting ought not to be prejudicial to the privileges of his church. His protestation was accepted, and assurance given that the said Convocation met not there in any manner to infringe their immunities, but only for the maturation of business with the more expedition through the conveniency of the place. William Redman, doctor of divinity, archdeacon of Canterbury, was chosen and presented Prolocutor.

THE ASSEMBLY OF MINISTERS.—The certain place of their convening not known, being clandestine, arbitrary, and changeable, as advised by their conveniences. They are better discovered by their moving than by their meetiug, and their practices more conspicuous than their places. Some agents for them were all day at the door of the parliament-house, and some part of the night in the chambers of parliament-men, effectually soliciting their business with them.

24. *The Archbishop, afraid of Alteration in Church-Discipline, writes to the Queen.*

Wonder not if archbishop Whitgift repaired seldom to—and resided but a short time in—the Convocation, having other work to do in the Parliament; where what impression was made by the agents of the ministers, will appear by his ensuing letter to her Majesty.

TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

"MAY it please your Majesty to be advertised, that, notwithstanding the charge of late given by your Highness to the Lower House of Parliament for dealing in causes of the church; albeit also, according to your Majesty's good liking, we have set down orders for the admitting of meet men into the ministry hereafter; yet have they passed a Bill in that House yesterday, touching the matter, which, beside other great inconveniences, (as, namely, the trial of the ministers' sufficiency by twelve laymen, and such like,) hath this also,—that if it pass by Parliament, it cannot hereafter but in Parliament be altered, what necessity soever shall urge thereunto; which I am persuaded in short time will appear, considering the multitude of livings, not fit for men so qualified, by reason of the smallness thereof; whereas if it pass but as a canon from us, by your Majesty's authority, it may be observed or altered at your pleasure. They have also passed a Bill giving liberty to marry at all times of the year without restraint, contrary to the old canons, continually observed amongst us; and containing matter which tendeth to the slander of this church, as having hitherto maintained an error. There is likewise now in hand, in the same House, a Bill concerning ecclesiastical

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courts and visitations by bishops, which may reach to the overthrow of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and study of the civil laws. The pretence of the Bill is against excessive fees, and exactions in ecclesiastical courts; which fees are none other than have been of long time accustomed to be taken; the law already established providing a sharp and severe punishment for such as shall exceed the same; beside an order also, which we at this present have taken amongst ourselves, for the better performance thereof. I therefore most humbly beseech your Majesty to continue your gracious goodness towards us, who with all humility submit ourselves to your Highness, and cease not daily to pray for your happy estate, and long and prosperous reign over us.

"Your Majesty's chaplain and daily orator most bounden,

"JOHN CANTUAR.*

"*March 24th.*"

Thus, the old year (on the last day whereof this letter was dated) ended sadly and suspiciously with the prelates; but the next year began cheerfully, and presented good tidings unto them.

25, 26. *Her Majesty will alter Nothing material to Church-Government. Parliament dissolved.*

For, the queen, to verify her motto, *semper eadem*, and to disprove that inconstancy generally charged on her sex, acquitted herself more than woman in her masculine resolutions; and nothing of moment was altered in church-discipline. Many things, indeed, were offered to both Houses, debated, agitated, and (as it seems) passed the Commons; but nothing, in fine, was effected. Thus, the *major* may propound what it pleaseth, and the *minor* assume what it listeth; but no conclusive argument could then be framed without the *ergo* of the royal assent, which the queen refused to affix to any material alteration.

And, few days after, March 29th, the session of the Parliament for the present broke off, wherewith ended the assembly of the ministers. And now all of them had leave to depart to their own homes: otherwise, such members thereof as formerly went away without leave were obnoxious to censure. Witness one of them in his ingenuous confession: "Touching my departure from that holy assembly without leave, &c., I crave pardon both of you and them, &c. And thus commending this holy cause to the Lord himself, and your godly Council to the president thereof, I take my leave."†

* Out of bishop Whitgift's manuscripts of his own letters, afterwards in sir Peter Manwood's, and since in my own, possession. † Mr. Gellibrand to Mr. Field, cited by Bishop Bancroft in his "Dangerous Positions," p. 75.

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27, 28. *John Hilton in Convocation abjureth his heretical Opinions. Penance imposed upon him.*

The next day, March 30th, the Convocation ended, having effected nothing of moment, save that, in the ninth session thereof, John Hilton, priest, made a solemn abjuration of his blasphemous heresies according to the tenor ensuing:—

"*In Dei nomine. Amen!*—Before you, most reverend father in God, lord John archbishop of Canterbury, primate and metropolitan of all England, and the reverend fathers in God the bishops of this your province of Canterbury, here congregated and assembled together in this holy Synod and Convocation, I, John Hilton, priest, of my pure heart and free-will, voluntarily and sincerely, knowledge, confess, and openly recognise, that, in times past, I thought, believed, said, held, and presumptuously affirmed and preached the errors, heresies, blasphemies, and damnable opinions following," &c.*

Here he distinctly read a schedule containing his heresies, (which what they were may be collected by that which ensueth,) and then proceeded as followeth:—

"Wherefore, I, the said John Hilton, detesting and abhorring all and every such my said heresies, blasphemies, and damned opinions; willing, and with all my power affecting, hereafter firmly to believe in the true and perfect faith of Christ and his holy church, purposing to follow the doctrine of Christ and his holy apostles, with a pure and free heart, voluntary mind, will, and intent, utterly forsake, relinquish, renounce, and despise the said detestable errors, heresies, blasphemies, and abominable opinions; granting and confessing,

"That the blessed Trinity consisteth in three distinct persons, and one Godhead; as God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, co-equal in power and might.

"Secondly. That Jesus Christ is both God and man, and my Saviour and Redeemer, and of all other baptized and believing in him; who, of his Father, of his own substance, in his humanity, was conceived by the Holy Ghost, incarnate, and for our redemption, being very God, became man.

"And that by the death of Jesus Christ we be not only made partakers of his Testament, and so deduced to the knowledge of his godly will and power, but also that we have full redemption and remission of our sins in his blood.

"And whereas I did most ungodly, detestably, and blasphemously affirm, that the Old and New Testaments were fables; now, being most sorry for that abominable and damnable assertion, I do most humbly and ———† believe the same Testaments to contain all

* This was by me faithfully transcribed out of the records of Canterbury. † Here the record is so ill written, that this word is not legible.

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truths necessary to salvation, and that I and all others are bound to believe the same as the undoubted word of God, and that without that I cannot be saved.

"And therefore the said errors, blasphemies, and all other heresies, false doctrines, and damned opinions in general, contrary and repugnant to the faith of Christ, I utterly abjure, forsake, and purely renounce, before you, most reverend father in God, and the rest of this holy synod here assembled. And moreover, I swear by this holy Evangelist, by me here bodily touched, that from henceforth I shall never hold, teach, believe, or affirm the said errors, heresies, blasphemies, or damned opinions, or any other against, contrary, or repugnant to the holy faith of Christ's church. Nor yet shall I, by myself or any other person, privately or apertly defend, maintain, succour, favour, or support any person that to my knowledge holdeth, believeth, affirmeth, or teacheth any such heresies, errors, or damned opinions. So help me God, and these holy evangelists!

"In witness whereof to this my present abjuration, and renunciation, I have, with my own hand, voluntarily subscribed my proper name. "JOHN HILTON."

Upon this his abjuration, penance was imposed on him: First. That he should attend at Paul's Cross upon the preacher, Sunday next, all the time of the sermon, and there penitently stand before the said preacher, with a faggot on his shoulders. Secondly. That he should not preach, minister sacraments, nor exercise any ecclesiastical function in the church, except specially licensed by the archbishop thereunto. Thirdly. That he should recant the said heresies and damnable opinions, in the church of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, at a sermon there to be made by the archdeacon, and there to show himself very penitent. I find in the records a recognizance of five hundred pounds drawn up to the queen, whereby the said Hilton bound himself for the performance hereof; but, because the rude draught of the bond is crossed, I conceive it not insisted on, and, finding nothing to the contrary, presume the aforesaid penance by him exactly performed.

29. *Exchange of important Letters betwixt the Earl of Leicester and the Archbishop.*

The ministers or brethren, now missing their mark, abated much of their former activity, insomuch as that Mr. Cartwright, whom I conjecture the president mentioned in the last assembly, began to make, by the mediation of the earl of Leicester, (who now designed him master of his new-built hospital in Warwick,) compliance with Whitgift; though the wary archbishop, not over-fond of his friend-

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ship, kept him at distance, as these two letters, here inserted, will sufficiently inform us.

"MY GOOD LORD,

"I MOST heartily thank you for your favourable and courteous usage of Mr. Cartwright; who hath so exceeding kindly taken it also, as I assure your Grace he cannot speak enough of it. I trust it shall do a great deal of good; and he protesteth and professeth to me to take no other course, but to the drawing of all men to the unity of the church, and that your Grace hath so dealt with him as no man shall so command him and dispose of him as you shall; and doth mean to let his opinion publicly be known even in the pulpit, if your Grace so permit him, what he himself will and would all others should do for obedience to the laws established; and if any little scruple be, it is not great, and easy to be reformed by your Grace, whom I do most heartily entreat to continue your favour and countenance towards him, with such access, sometimes, as your leisure may permit. For I perceive he doth much desire and crave it. I am to thank your Grace also very heartily for Mr. Fenn; albeit I understand he is something more opinionate than I wish him. But I trust he will also yield to all reasons: and I mean to deal with the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield to make some trial of him; for surely he is an honest man. Thus, my good lord, praying to God to bless his church, and to make his servants constant and faithful, I bid your Grace farewell.

"At the Court, this 14th of July,

"Your Grace's very assured friend,

"R. LEICESTER." *

"MY SINGULAR GOOD LORD,

"MASTER CARTWRIGHT shall be welcome to me at all times; and, using himself quietly, as becometh him, and as I hope he will, he shall find me willing to do him any good. But to grant unto him, as yet, my license to preach, without longer trial, I cannot; especially seeing he protesteth himself to be of the same mind he was at the writing of his book, for the matter thereof, though not for the manner. Myself also, I thank God, not altered in any point by me set down to the contrary; and knowing many things to be very dangerous; wherefore, notwithstanding I am content, and ready to be at peace with him, so long as he liveth peaceably, yet doth my conscience and duty forbid me to give unto him any further public approbation, until I be better persuaded of his conformity. And so, being bold to use my accustomed plainness with

* Taken out of the manuscript of bishop Whitgift's letters, belonging to sir Peter Manwood, and since in my possession.

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your lordship, I commit you to the tuition of Almighty God, this 17th of July, 1585.

"JOHN CANTUAR."

30. *Seminaries enlarged and transported.*

September 15th, seminaries and priests to the number of thirty-two, late prisoners in the Tower, Marshalsea, King's Bench, and other places, were pardoned, enlarged, and transported over into Normandy, though occasionally they were forced to land at Boulogne.

31. *The Earl of Leicester sent as Commander into the Low Countries.*

The earl of Leicester, who hitherto had done but little good in England, went now (December 8th) over to do less in the Low Countries, commanding a great army and name, with the illustrious title of "general of the auxiliaries of the queen of England." He was not so much pleased with his place there, but that some of his back-friends were as much delighted with his room here. Mean time the ministers lost the best stake in their hedge, in his absence their patron paramount. For, though by letters he might solicit their cause, yet the greatest strength is not so extensive but to have the virtue thereof abated at such a distance; and afterwards it fared worse with the ministers when Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, (February 2nd,) was sworn of the Privy Council, (an honour which his predecessor Grindal never obtained, yea, never desired,) by the procurement (as it is believed) of the lord Burleigh.

32. *The Liturgy supported by its Opposers.*

Now, for the present, I will trouble the reader no longer with these brawls about discipline, only one story must not be omitted, though it be fathered rather on public report, than fixed on any particular author in those days avowing the same. Some complained against the liturgy to the lord Burleigh; of whom he demanded, whether they desired the taking away thereof. They answered, "No; but only the amendment of what was offensive therein." He required them to make a better, such as they would have settled in the stead thereof. Whereupon the first classis framed a new one, somewhat according to the form of Geneva. The second classis, disliking it, altered it in six hundred particulars.* The third quarrelled at these alterations, and resolved on a new model. The fourth classis dissented from the former. Thus, because they could not agree amongst

* See "the View of the Directory," printed at Oxford, 1646.

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themselves, that wise statesman put them off for the present, until they should present him a pattern with a perfect consent.

33. *Accusations not to be believed in full Latitude.*

Three protestant bishops this year exchanged this life for another. The first was Richard Curteys, (some time fellow of St. John's in Cambridge,) bishop of Chichester. The second, Nicholas Robinson, bishop of Bangor; and John Scory, bishop of Hereford. Of the two former we have not enough to furnish out their character: of the latter too much, if all be true which I find charged upon him. Sure I am, he began very well, being an exile and confessor in the days of queen Mary; but is accused afterwards to be so guilty of oppressions, extortions, and simonies, that a Bill was put up against him in the Star-chamber, containing matter enough not only to disgrace but degrade him, if prosecuted. But he bought out his innocence with his money. Here know, that our author,* though a person of wit and worship, deriveth his intelligence from a French writer disaffected in religion, and therefore not to be believed in full latitude, when calling him *Scoria* or "Dross," in allusion to his name; but as all is not gold that glisters, all is not dross, reputed so by our popish adversaries.

34—38. *The Death of John Feckenham. His Courtesy to Protestants; made Abbot of Westminster. Queen Elizabeth sendeth for him, and proffers him Preferment; kindly used in Restraint.*

The same year also John Feckenham, late abbot of Westminster, ended his life; whereon we must enlarge ourselves, if not for his, for history's sake, seeing he was a landmark therein; his personal experience being a chronicle, who, like the axle-tree, stood firm and fixed in his own judgment, whilst the times, like the wheels, turned backwards and forwards round about him. He was born in Worcestershire, in the forest of Feckenham, (whence he fetched his name,) bred a Benedictine monk in the abbey of Evesham, where he subscribed with the rest of his Order to the resignation of that house into the hands of king Henry VIII. Afterwards he studied in Oxford, then applied himself first to Bell, bishop of Worcester, and after his death to Bonner, of London, where he crossed the proverb, "Like master, like man,"—the patron being cruel, the chaplain kind, to such who in judgment dissented from him. He never dissembled his religion, being a zealous papist, and under king Edward VI. suffered much for his conscience.

In the reign of queen Mary, he was wholly employed in doing

* SIR JOHN HARRINGTON in his character of the bishop, p. 131.

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good offices for the afflicted protestants, from the highest to the lowest. The earl of Bedford, and (who afterwards were) of Warwick and Leicester, tasted of his kindness: so did sir John Cheke, yea, and the lady Elizabeth herself; so interposing his interest with queen Mary for her enlargement, that he incurred her Grace's displeasure. Hence it is that papists complain, that in the reign of queen Elizabeth he reaped not a crop of courtesy proportionable to his large seed thereof in the days of queen Mary.

Queen Mary afterwards preferred him, from being dean of Paul's, to be abbot of Westminster; which church she erected and endowed for Benedictine monks, of which Order fourteen only could be found in England, then extant since their dissolution, who were unmarried, unpreferred to cures, and unaltered in their opinions.* These also were brought-in with some difficulty at first and opposition; for the prebendaries of Westminster, legally settled in their places, would not resign them, till cardinal Pole, partly by compulsion, partly by compensation, obtained their removal.

Queen Elizabeth, coming to the crown, sent for abbot Feckenham to come to her, whom the messenger found setting of elms in the orchard of Westminster-abbey. But he would not follow the messenger till first he had finished his plantation, which his friends impute to his soul employed in mystical meditations,†—that as the trees he there set should spring and sprout many years after his decease, so his new plantation of Benedictine monks in Westminster should take root and flourish, in defiance of all opposition; which is but a bold conjecture of others at his thoughts. Sure I am, those monks long since are extirpated; but how his trees thrive at this day, is to me unknown.‡ Coming afterwards to the queen, what discourse passed betwixt them, they themselves knew alone. Some have confidently guessed she proffered him the archbishopric of Canterbury, on condition he would conform to her laws; which he utterly refused.

In the treaty between the protestants and papists, *primo Elizabethæ*, he was present: but in what capacity, I cannot satisfy myself: surely more than a disputant, (amongst whom he was not named,) yet not so much as a moderator. And yet his judgment, perchance because abbot, and so principal man in that place, was asked with respect, and heard with reverence, his moderation being much commended.§ Now, although he was often confined, sometimes to the Tower, sometimes to friends' houses, (and died, it seems, at last in restraint in Wisbeach Castle,) yet generally he

* Sanders *De Schismate Anglicano*, in the reign of queen Mary. † Reinerius *in Apost. Bened.* p. 235. ‡ See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 525.—Edit. § Fox's "Acts and Monuments."

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found fair usage from the protestants. He built a conduit in Holborn, and a cross in Wisbeach, and relieved the poor wheresoever he came. So that flies flock not thicker about spilt honey, than beggars constantly crowded about him.

39. *A Recruit of English Benedictines made after Feckenham's Death.*

Abbot Feckenham thus being dead, the English Benedictines beyond the seas began to bestir themselves (as they were concerned) about the continuation of their Order. We know some maintain, that if any one species or kind of creatures be utterly extinct, the whole universe, by sympathy therewith, and consciousness of its own imperfection, will be dissolved. And the catholics suspected what a sad consequence there would be, if this ancient Order of English black monks should suffer a total and final defection. The best was, *Unus homo nobis*, "there was one, and but one, monk left;" namely, father Sigebert Buckley: and, therefore, before his death, provision was made for others to succeed him, and they (for fear of failing) disposed in several countries in manner following:—

IN ROME.—(1.) Father Gregory Sayer; (2.) Father Thomas Preston; (3.) Father Anselm of Manchester; (4.) Father Anthony Martin, commonly called Athanasius.

IN VALLADOLID IN SPAIN.—(1.) Father Austin St. John; (2.) Father John Mervin; (3.) Father Mark Lambert; (4.) Father Maurice Scot; (5.) Father George Gervis.*

From these nine new Benedictines the whole Order (which hung formerly on a single string) was then replenished to a competent—and since to a plentiful—number.

40—42. *English Papists, why they fell off from the Queen of Scots unto the King of Spain, pretending a Title to the Crown of England.*

Hitherto our English papists affectionately leaned (not to say, fondly doted) on the queen of Scots, promising themselves great matters from her towards the advancing of their religion. But now they began to fall off in their affections; partly, because beholding her a confined person, unable to free herself, and more unlikely to help others; partly, because all catholics came off with loss of life who practised her enlargement. As for her son, the king of Scots, from whom they expected a settlement of popery in that land, their hopes were lately turned into despairs, who had his education on contrary principles.

* REINERIUS *De Apost. Bened.* p. 242.

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Whereupon hereafter they diverted their eyes from the north to the west, expecting, contrary to the course of nature, that their sun should rise therein, in magnifying the might of the king of Spain, and his zeal to propagate the Roman catholic faith. And this was the practice of all Jesuits,—to possess their English proselytes with high opinions of the Spanish power, as the nation designed, by Divine Providence, to work the restitution of their religion in England.

In order hereunto, and to hearten their countrymen, some (for it appears the result of several persons employed in the designing and effecting thereof) drew up a title of the king of Spain to the English crown, as much admired by their own party, as slighted by the queen and her loyal subjects, for being full of falsehoods and forgeries. Indeed, it is easy for any indifferent herald so to derive a pedigree, as, in some seeming probability, to entitle any prince in Christendom to any principality in Christendom; but such will shrink on serious examination. Yea, I believe queen Elizabeth might pretend a better title to the kingdoms of Leon and Castile in Spain, (as descended, by the house of York, from Edmond earl of Cambridge, and his lady, co-heir to king Peter,) than any claim that the king of Spain could make out to the kingdom of England. However, much mischief was done hereby, many papists paying their good wishes where they were not due, and defrauding the queen (their true creditor) of the allegiance belonging unto her.

43, 44. *An Act without Precedent. Good Reason why the Nonconformists were quiet. A.D.* 1587.

Now did the queen summon a parliament; wherein her Majesty appeared not in person, but passed-over the presidentship of that her great council unto John Whitgift archbishop of Canterbury, William Cecil lord treasurer, and to the earl of Derby: a thing done without precedent, when the king at home and in health. But the pleasure of so powerful a princess might create a leading case in things of this nature.

Wonder not if the nonconformists were very quiet in this parliament; beholding the archbishop, their great adversary, in so great power and place. However, their activity in the next—will make their party amends for their stillness in this—session.

45—47. *The Death of Mary Queen of Scotland. Her Poetry. Her Body removed to Westminster.*

This year ended the doleful life of a distressed lady,—Mary queen of Scots; whose trial and death belongeth to the state-historian. She was aged forty-six years, passing the last twenty in imprison-

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ment: one of a sharp wit, undaunted spirit, comely person, beautiful face, majestic presence; one reason why queen Elizabeth declined (what the other so much desired) a personal conference with her, as unwilling to be either out-shone or even-shone in her own hemisphere. For her morals, the belief of moderate men embraceth a middle course * betwixt Buchanan aspersing, and Causinus's hyperbolical commending her, because zealous in his own religion.

She was an excellent poet, both Latin and English. Of the former I have read a distich made, and written by her own hand on a pane of glass at Buxton-Wells:—

Buxtona, quæ calidis celebraris † nomine lymphis
Fortè mihi posthac non adeunda, Vale.

"Buxton, who dost with waters warm excel,
By me, perchance, never more seen, Farewell."

And at Fotheringhay-Castle I have read, written by her in a window, with a pointed diamond:—

"From the top of all my trust,
Mishap hath laid me in the dust."

But her adversaries conceive, had she not been laid there, the happiness of England had been prostrated in the same place. She was buried in the choir of Peterborough; and Dr. Wickham, bishop of Lincoln, preached her funeral sermon; causelessly carped at by the "Martin Mar-Prelate," as too favourable concerning her final condition, though he uttered nothing inconsistent with charity and Christian discretion.

Some twenty years after, king James caused her corpse to be solemnly removed from Peterborough to Westminster; where, in the south side of the chapel of king Henry VII. he erected a stately monument to her memory, and thereon this epitaph, wherein *such* cannot but commend the piety of her son, *who* will not believe all the praises of his mother:—

D. O. M.

Mariæ Stuartæ, Scotorum reginæ, Franciæ dotariæ, Jacobi V. Scotorum regis filiæ et hæredis unicæ, Henrici VII. Ang. regis, ex Margaretâ majori natu filiâ (Jacobi IIII regi Scotorum matrimonio copulatâ) proneptis, Edwardi IIII. Angliæ regis ex Elizabethâ filiarum natu maximâ abneptis, Francisci II. Gallorum regis conjugis, coronæ Angliæ, dum vixit, certæ et indubitatæ hæredis, et Jacobi Magnæ Britanniæ monarchæ potentissimi matris.

* In the original, "as middle courts."—EDIT. † So it is in the glass I had in my hand, though it be *celebrabere* in CAMDEN'S "Britannia" in Derbyshire.

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Stirpe verè regiâ et antiquissimâ prognata erat, maximis totius Europæ principibus agnatione et cognatione conjuncta, et exquisitissimis animi et corporis dotibus et ornamentis cumulatissima. Verùm, ut sunt variæ rerum humanarum vices, postquam, annos plus minus viginti in custodiâ detenta, fortiter et strenuè, (sed frustrà,) cum malevolorum obtrectationibus, timidorum suspicionibus, et inimicorum capitalium insidiis conflictata esset; tandem, inaudito et infesto regibus exemplo, securi percutitur.

Et contempto mundo, devictâ morte, lassato carnifice, Christo Servatori animæ salutem, Jacobo filio spem regni et posteritatis, et universis cædis infaustæ spectatoribus exemplum patientiæ commendans, piè et intrepidè cervicem regiam securi maledictæ subjecit, et vitæ caducæ sortem cum cœlestis regni perennitate commutavit.

Beside this, there is a long inscription in verses, one distich whereof I remember, because it is the same in effect with what was made of Maud the empress.

ON MAUD.

Magna ortu, majorque viro, sed maxima partu,
Hic jacet Henrici filia, sponsa, parens.

ON QUEEN MARY.

Magna viro, major natu, sed maxima partu,
Conditur hic regis filia, sponsa, parens.

So that it is no disgrace for a queen to wear part of an epitaph at the second-hand, with some little alteration.

48, 49. *A Design propounded, and blasted by the Queen.*

About this time it was that some Privy Counsellors endeavoured to persuade queen Elizabeth to raise and foment a difference betwixt the pope and king of Spain, and to assist the former (not as pope, but temporal prince) by her shipping to regain Naples, detained from him by the Spanish king. They alleged the design advantageous, to work a diversion of Spanish forces, and prevent an invasion of her own land.

But her Majesty would not listen to the motion to entertain compliance in any capacity, on any conditions, with the pope; as dishonourable in herself, distasteful to the protestant princes; nor would she touch pitch in jest, for fear of being defiled in earnest; but crushed the design in the birth thereof.

50. *Conformity to the Height.*

A first onset was now made by the nonconformists against the hierarchy; though the more they opposed it, the more the queen did countenance their persons and preserve their power; insomuch

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that she would not in Lent feed on any fish, (as forbidden by the canons of the church,) until she had first attained a solemn license * from the archbishop of Canterbury, and every year of her life renewed the same.

51, 52. *The High-Commission Court. A memorable Story in Geneva.*

The power of the High Commission began now to extend far, and penalties to fall heavy on offenders. Whereupon the favourers of the nonconformists much opposed it in their printed books; some questioning the court as not warranted by law, others taxing their proceedings as exceeding their commission. But hear their arguments on both sides:—

AGAINST THE HIGH COMMISSION.

IT is pretended founded on the statute, *primo Elizabethæ*, wherein the parliament empowered the queen by her letters-patent to appoint commissioners to punish offenders in ecclesiastical causes. But no mention therein of temporal penalties; and therefore the commissioners are to confine themselves to church-censures, by excommunicating, &c.,—illegally inflicting any other punishments.

Such commissioners proceeding against offenders by *attachment*, *fine*, or *imprisonment*, are contrary to the express words of Charta Magna, providing, that "no free man shall be taken or imprisoned, or be disseised of his freehold and liberty, and but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or of the law of the land."

FOR THE HIGH COMMISSION.

THE words in the statute run thus: "They shall have full power and authority by virtue of this Act, and of the letters-patent under your Highness, your heirs, and successors, to exercise, use, execute all the premisses according to the tenour and effect of the said letters-patent, any matter or cause to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding." Now, their letters-patent enable them to *attach*, *fine*, or *imprison*, *&c.*: in doing whereof they are sufficiently empowered by the Commission.

When Charta Magna was made, ecclesiastical jurisdiction, though it was *de jure*, it was not *de facto*, in the king. Whereby it plainly appears, that those words related not to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but only to crimes belonging to the common law. But since the parliament hath declared ecclesiastical juris-

* CAMDEN'S "Elizabeth:" manuscript shortly likely to be printed.

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diction in the queen, the ecclesiastical persons might impose such penalties, even to the condemning of their titles, though never tried by a jury.

Their whole Commission is void in law; because it beareth date in July, but was not signed till November next after, contrary to the statute, which enjoineth, that *letters-patent* should be dated the day of their delivery into chancery, or else they shall be void.

It appeareth by the preamble of that statute, that the words cannot be stretched to *letters-patent* of that nature, but belong only to such,—to private persons, wherein grantees are unjustly expelled out of their right, by colour of *letters-patent* bearing an elder date.

But the most general exception against the High Commission was this: that, proceeding *ex officio mero* by way of inquiry against such whom they pleased to suspect, they tendered unto them an oath which was conceived unjust, that, in cases criminal, a party should be forced to discover what might be penal to himself. The lawfulness of which oath was learnedly canvassed with arguments on both sides.

AGAINST THE OATH EX OFFICIO.

The common-laws have ever rejected and impugned it; never put in ure by any civil magistrate in the land, but as it is corruptly crept in amongst other abuses by the sinister practices and pretences of the Romish prelates and clergymen. And where loss of life, liberty, or good name, may ensue, the common-law hath forbidden such oath.

It is contrary to the fundamental law of liberty,—*Nemo tenetur seipsum prodere.*

FOR THE OATH EX OFFICIO.

It is true, to give this oath to the defendant in causes of life and death, is contrary to the justice of the land. But where life or limb is not concerned, it is usually tendered in Chancery, Court of Requests, Council of Marches, and Council in the North, yea, in other Courts of Record at Westminster; where the judges (time out of mind) by corporal oath did examine any person, whom (in discretion) they suspected to have dealt lewdly about any writ, return, entry of rule, pleading, or any such like matter, not being capital.

It is granted, but withal *proditus per denunciationem, famam, &c., tenetur seipsum ostendere.*

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Some faults are simply secret, no way bruited or published abroad; in which cases the person guilty is not bound to make confession thereof, though urged on his oath, to any officer civil or ecclesiastical. But if once discovery be made by presentment, denunciation, fame, &c., according to law, then is not the fault merely secret, but revealed (in some sort) to the magistrate, or abroad; who, for avoiding scandal to Christian religion, and reformation of the party, may thus inquire of the offence, to see it redressed and punished.

It appeareth by the lord Dyer's book, that one Hynde, called before the commissioners ecclesiastical for usury, refused to swear; whereupon he was committed. But upon an information in the Common Pleas, he had a *corpus cum causâ*, to remove him; so (as it seemeth) the judges were then of opinion, that the commissioners could not give him such an oath.

There is no such report in the lord Dyer: all that is extant is only this marginal note, upon Skroggs's case in Michaelmas term, 18th of Elizabeth: *Simile M.* 18 *fol. per Hynde, qui noluit jurare coram justiciariis ecclesiasticis, super articulos pro usurâ.* Which seems added by some unskilful person; it being improbable so learned a judge would have termed the commissioners *justiciarios ecclesiasticos.* Besides, this cause of Hynde can no where else be found.

Though such proceedings *ex officio* were practised by the popish prelates against the saints and servants of God, yet it was never used by protestants in their ecclesiastical censures.

Certain commissioners,—whereof some bishops, some Privy Counsellors, some civilians, and some judges and common-lawyers,—in the reign of king Edward VI., charged bishop Bonner with a corporal oath, *ex officio*,* to answer to questions ministered unto him; and for refusal he was pronounced contumacious.† The

* Fox's "Acts and Monuments," folio 1512. † *Ibid.* folio 1516.

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like oath, in matter criminal and penal, was tendered to Stephen Gardiner,* as appeareth by the sentence of his deprivation of the bishopric of Winchester.

The laws civil and ecclesiastical hold not the judge *proceeding of office* to be an accuser; but that whereupon the inquiry is grounded, to represent the accusation.

The justice of the land detesteth that the judge should himself be an accuser. For by law no man may be accuser and witness, indicter and juror; therefore, much less judge and accuser; which, notwithstanding, he is that tendereth the oath *ex officio*.

Even the Heathen Romans were so Christian, that by ancient custom no vestal virgin or *flamen* of Jupiter was restrained to swear; † whereof Plutarch ‡ rendereth three reasons. First. Because an oath is a kind of torture to a free man. Secondly. It is absurd in smaller matters not to credit *their* words *who*, in higher matters touching God, are believed. Thirdly. An oath, in case they were forsworn, draweth a curse on them, a detestable omination towards the priests of God. And why may not as much be allowed to the true ministers of the gospel?

By the granting of this peculiar privilege to these persons it plainly appeareth, that all others might by magistrates be put to their oaths. Besides, such were superstitiously freed from swearing absolutely, and not only in matters criminal, here controverted; an unreasonable immunity, which none will challenge to themselves.

The scripture, which ought to be the rule of our actions, affords neither precepts nor precedent of such proceedings, where witnesses were produced, and the accusers brought face to face.

It is not necessary that a positive or affirmative warrant be cited out of scripture for all our practices: sufficeth it that may be done which is not contrary to God's word, and conformable to the politic laws of the land. Yet have we some footsteps of inquiry in the Judaical law. When one was found secretly murdered

* Fox's "Acts and Monuments," folio 1536.
† Gellius, lib. x. cap. 15.
‡ Plutarch's "Problems," 43.

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in the field, and the murderer neither known nor suspected, the elders of the next city (of whose guiltiness there was no detection nor cause of presumption, save only the vicinage and nearness of the place) were solemnly and secretly to swear before the priest, *conceptis verbis*, that their hands had not shed this blood, &c., Deut. xxi. 7. If this was equal in matters capital, how can it be challenged for tyrannical in matters criminal?

William Tindal, a worthy martyr, in his comment on the fifth of Matthew,* saith plainly, that "a judge ought not to compel a man to swear against himself."

Allowing all due respect to Tindal's memory, his judgment much failed him in matters of oaths. For, in the following words, he taketh away all necessary oaths, (and leaveth none but voluntary,) which no wise man will defend.

No protestant church beyond the seas hath made use of such tyrannical proceedings.

Even Geneva itself doth sometimes proceed by oaths *ex officio* against such suspected offenders, as in the two following cases will appear:—

There was one Cumperel, of Geneva, ordained minister for a parish in that territory, called Drallian, who had a secret design underhand to place himself in the state of Berne; which in him was esteemed a heinous fault. The Consistory, coming at some notice hereof, ministered unto him *an oath of mere office*, to answer to several questions. But because Cumperel answered not directly to those interrogatories, (two whereof concerned the very cogitations of his heart,) and because there were *vehementia indicia*, "great presumption" in the common fame, the Consistory † pronounced that they had just cause to depose him from his ministry.

There was a wealthy widow living in Geneva, called Balthaser; in whose house there was a dancing held, which is a grievous crime in that church, and condemned by their last form of discipline. Amongst these dancers one was a syndic, (one of the four chief magistrates of the city,) the other an elder (Henrith by name) of

* P. 208. † *Inter Epistol.* CALVINI in fol. pp. 421, 422.

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the church for that year. The matter coming to Calvin's ear, they were all convented before the Consistory without any accuser or party, and therefore *of mere office* put to their corporal oaths to confess the truth. The elder* pleaded for himself the words of St. Paul: "Receive not an accusation against an elder under two or three witnesses;" which would nothing bestead him; so that he was deposed from his eldership, and the syndic from his magistracy, until he should show some public testimony of his repentance.

53—56. *First Grievance complained of in tendering the Oath. The second, third, and fourth Grievance.*

But, enough of this unwelcome subject: only I must add, that some there were, not offended with the oath itself, who took exceptions at the injurious manner of offering it. They complained (how justly God knows!) of some *created* fames on no grounds, and *pretended* suspicions of crimes against those persons to whom they bare ill affection, and then tendered this oath (the picklock of conscience) unto them, merely to find matter to ensnare them.

Secondly. They complained, that, to discover their complices, (in their disciplinary assemblies,) children were, on their oaths, interrogated against their own fathers, contrary to the rule in civil-law: *Filius non torqueatur in caput patris*, "A child ought not to be tortured in point of peril to his father's life." And although these accusations were not capital, yet because their parents' credit was so deeply concerned therein, such proceedings had a strong tang of tyranny.

Thirdly. The party to whom the oath was given might not beforehand be acquainted (a favour usually afforded in the Star-chamber) with the particulars whereon they were to be examined. And if by the rule of Solomon, "He that answereth a matter before he heareth it, it is folly and shame unto him," Prov. xviii. 13; much more is it indiscreet to swear to answer a matter before a man hear it.

Fourthly. They complained, this oath *ex officio* (like what is said of black witches) had only power to do mischief, not to heal and help any. For, none were cleared by the taking thereof, if denying what was charged upon them; but the judges ecclesiastical oft-times proceeded to a further inquiry by examination of witnesses, on the points denied by the parties.

57—61. *Four Ranks of Refusers of this Oath. The first, second, third, and last Ranks.*

The nonconformists who refused to take this oath may be ranked into four forms. First. Such as would answer neither *yea* nor *nay*,

* CALVIN in his Letter to Farellus, p. 64.

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what they would resolve to do concerning the oath; but returned, "If our faults be *hidden*, tarry 'till the Lord come and make the counsels of our hearts manifest,' 1 Cor. iv. 5. But if they be *manifest*, let our accuser and the witnesses come forth before us."

A second sort refused not the oath in a cause criminal, but did it with this limitation and protestation,—that they intended not to be bound thereby to accuse either themselves or their brethren.

A third sort conceived themselves bound to reveal their own and brothers' crimes and offences, to remove evil from the land, as they said; but, as for such actions of their brothers, falsely-reputed offences, which were none in the judgment of the party examined, these they held themselves not bound to reveal.

The last sort, though they took the oath as to other things, yet protested they counted not themselves bound to answer to any such things whereon witnesses may be had; but if the crime was so hidden and secret that witnesses may not be had, they thought they might lawfully be charged. For instance: they held, a preacher might not be examined on oath concerning any thing he had preached in public, alleging the words of our Saviour, "Why askest thou me? ask them that heard me; they know what I said," John xviii. 21.

It is hard to make the opinion of the first and last form to dwell peaceably together.

We take our leave of this subject, when we have told the reader, that, some twenty years since, one being urged by archbishop Laud to take the oath *ex officio*, refused it on this reason: "An oath," saith he, "by the words of the apostle, 'is an end of all strife,' Heb. vi. 16; whereas this," saith he, "is the beginning of strife, yields matter for the lawyers to molest me." But since the High Commission and this oath are taken away by Act of Parliament, it is to be hoped, that (if such swearing were so great a grievance) *nihil analogum* "nothing like unto it" (which may amount to as much) shall hereafter be substituted in the room thereof.*

62. *Nonconformists persecuted in the Star-Chamber.*

Let it not here be forgotten, that, because many did question the legality and authority of the High Commission, archbishop Whitgift so contrived the matter, that the most sturdy and refractory nonconformists (especially if they had any visible estates) were brought into the Star-chamber, the power whereof was above dispute; where some of them, beside imprisonment, had very heavy fines imposed upon them. And because most of the queen's Council were present

* See the "Appeal of Injured Innocence," p. 515.—EDIT.

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at the censures, this took off the odium from the archbishop, (which in the High Commission lighted chiefly, if not only, upon him,) and fell almost equally on all present therein.

63—65. *The Death of Mr. Fox, and of Dr. Humphrey.*

John Fox this year ended his life, to whom, in some respect, our History of him may resemble itself. For he in his life-time was so large a reliever of poor people, (to and above his estate,) that no wonder if at his death (with some charitable churls) he bequeathed no legacies unto them. Thus have we been so bountiful in describing the life, and transcribing the letters, of this worthy confessor, that the reader will excuse us if, at his death, we give no farther character of his piety and painfulness. Only let me add, that whereas there passeth a tradition, grounded on good authority, that Mr. Fox foretold the ruin and destruction of the Invincible (so called) Armada in the [year] eighty-eight; the story is true in itself, though he survived not to see the performance of his own prediction.

Nor will it be amiss to insert his epitaph, as we find it on his monument in St. Giles's nigh Cripplegate in London:—

CHRISTO S. S.

Johanni Foxo ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Martyrologo fidelissimo, antiquitatis historicæ indagatori sagacissimo, evangelicæ veritatis propugnatori acerrimo, thaumaturgo admirabili, qui martyres Marianos, tanquam phœnices, ex cineribus redivivos præstitit.

His dear friend, Dr. Laurence Humphrey, may be said to die with him, (though his languishing life lasted a year longer,) so great his grief to be parted from his fellow-colleague; bred together in Oxford, and banished together into Germany. But see more of his character in the year 1596, where, by mistake, (which here I freely confess,) his death is inserted.*

66—69. *The first Protestant Hospital. Beautiful Buildings begin in England. Nonconformists stir.*

About this time Mr. William Lambert finished his hospital at Greenwich, founded and endowed by him for poor people. He was the first protestant who erected a charitable house of that nature, as our antiquary† observeth; though I cannot wholly concur with his observation, seeing king Edward VI. founded Christ-Church and St. Thomas's Hospitals.

Indeed, now (pardon a short digression) began beautiful buildings in England as to the generality thereof; whose homes were but homely before, as small and ill-contrived, much timber being need-

* See p. 153.—EDIT. † CAMDEN'S "Britannia" in Kent.

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lessly lavished upon them. But now many most regular pieces of architecture were erected; so that, as one saith, they began to dwell *latius* and *lautius*, but I suspect not *lætius*, hospitality daily much decaying.

Amongst other structures, Wimbledon House in Surrey was this year begun, (and finished the next, as appeareth by an inscription therein,) by sir Thomas Cecil, afterwards lord Burleigh, on the self-same token, that, many years after, Gondemar (treated therein by the lord with a plentiful feast) was highly affected with his entertainment, and much commended the uniformity of the fabric, till the date thereof, showed unto him, dashed all, as built when the Spanish Armada was defeated.

Indeed, at this time there was more uniformity in the buildings, than conformity in the church-behaviour, of men; the sticklers against the hierarchy appearing now more vigorous, though for a time they had concealed themselves.

SECTION VII.

TO MR. HAMOND WARD, AND MR. RICHARD FULLER, OF LONDON, MERCHANTS.

It is usual for the plaintiff to put two or three names upon the same writ, taken out of the Upper-Bench, always provided the persons dwell in the same county; and this is done to save charges. My thanks do here embrace the same way of thrift; that so the small stock of my History may hold out the better amongst my many friends and favourers. And this my joint Dedication is the more proper, because you live in the same city, are of the same profession, and, if not formerly, this may minister the welcome occasion of your future acquaintance.

1. *A Sixteen-fold Petition presented by the Commons to the Lords in Parliament.*

But now a session of parliament was held at Westminster, wherein the House of Commons presented to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal a petition; complaining how many parishes, especially in the north of England and Wales, were destitute of

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preachers, and no care taken to supply them. Sixteen were the particulars; whereof the six first were against insufficient ministers, very earnestly pressing their taking the same into their serious consideration, for speedy redress of the grievances therein contained.

"(7.) That no oath or subscription might be tendered to any at their entrance into [the] ministry, but such as is expressly prescribed by the statutes of this realm, except the oath against corrupt entering.

"(8.) That they may not be troubled for omission of some rites or portions prescribed in the Book of Common-Prayer.

"(9.) That they may not be called and urged to answer before the officials and commissaries, but before the bishops themselves.

"(10.) That such as had been suspended or deprived for no other offence, but only for not subscribing, might be restored; and that the bishops would forbear their excommunication *ex officio mero*, of godly and learned preachers, not detected for open offence of life or apparent error in doctrine.

"(11.) That they might not be called before the High Commission, or out of the diocess where they lived, except for some notable offence.

"(12.) That it might be permitted to them, in every archdeaconry, to have some common exercises and conferences amongst themselves, to be limited and prescribed by the ordinaries.

"(13.) That the high censure of excommunication may not be denounced or executed for small matters;

"(14.) Nor by chancellors, commissaries, or officials, but by the bishops themselves, with assistance of grave persons.

"(15, 16.) That non-residency may be quite removed out of the church, or at least that, according to the queen's Injunctions, (Article 44,) no non-resident, having already a licence or faculty, may enjoy it, unless he depute an able curate, that may weekly preach and catechize, as is required in her Majesty's Injunctions."

Of all these particulars, the House fell most fiercely on the debate of pluralities, and (the effect thereof) non-residents.

2—8. *The Archbishop's Plea for Non-Residents. The Lord Grey's Rejoinder. The Lord Treasurer's Moderation. Others interpret. The Lord Grey (query, whether of Wilton, or, what most probable, of Ruthyn, afterwards Earl of Kent) replied.*

Archbishop Whitgift pleaded, that licences for non-residency were at the present but seldom granted; and yet, in way of recovering health by changing of air, of study for a time in the university, of mortal enmity borne by some in the parish, of prosecution of law, or of being employed in public affairs, they cannot be wholly abrogated: that there were in England four thousand five hundred

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benefices with cure, not above ten, and most of them under eight pounds in the first-fruits' book, which cannot be furnished with able pastors, as the petitioners desire, because of the smallness of their livings. Moreover, he affirmed that, whatever was pretended to the contrary, England at that time flourished with able ministers more than ever before, yea, had more than all Christendom besides.

The lord Grey rejoined to this assertion of more learned ministers in the church of England than ever heretofore, nay, than in all the Reformed churches in Christendom, this: That it was not to be attributed to the bishops or their actions, but to God, who now opened the hearts of many to see into the truth, and that the schools were better observed.

The lord treasurer Burleigh, seeming to moderate betwixt them, after a long and learned oration, concluded, that he was not so scrupulous as absolutely to like of the Bill against pluralities without any exception: for he did both favour learning, and wished a competent reward to it; and therefore could like and allow a learned man to have two benefices, so they were both in one parish, that is to say, in one diocess, and not one in the diocess of Winchester, and another in the north, where the several diocesans would have no regard of them; whereas, being both in one diocess, the bishop would look unto them.

Here it was signified that her Majesty was acquainted with the matter, and that she was very forward to redress the faults, and therefore required the bishops not to hinder her good and gracious purpose, for that her Majesty would confer with them.

The lord Grey again said, he greatly wondered at her Majesty, that she would make choice to confer with those who were all enemies to reformation, for that it merely touched their freeholds; and therefore he thought it good the House should make choice of some to be joined with them; also he wished the bishops might be served as they were in king Henry the eighth's days, when, as in the case of premunire, they were all thrust out of doors.

Then the lord treasurer said, that the bishops, if they were wise, would themselves be humble suitors to her Majesty to have some of the temporal lords joined with them.

The lord chamberlain utterly disliked the lord Grey's motion, alleging that it was not to be liked of, that the lords should appoint her Majesty any to confer withal, but that it should be left to her own election.

9. *The Bishops providently petition the Queen.*

Matters flying thus high, the archbishop, with the rest of the clergy, conceived it the safest way to apply themselves by petition to the queen; which they presented as followeth:—

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"TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

"THE woful and distressed state whereinto we are like to fall, foreeth us with grief of heart, in most humble manner, to crave your Majesty's most sovereign protection. For the pretence being made the maintenance and increase of a learned ministry, when it is thoroughly weighed, decayeth learning, spoileth their livings, taketh away the set form of prayer in the church, and is the means to bring in confusion and barbarism. How dangerous innovations are in a settled estate, whosoever hath judgment perceiveth. Set dangers apart, yet such great inconveniencies may ensue, as will make a state lamentable and miserable. Our neighbours' miseries might make us fearful, but that we know who rules the same. All the Reformed churches in Europe cannot compare with England in the number of learned ministers. These benefits of your Majesty's most sacred and careful government with hearty joy we feel and humbly acknowledge; senseless are they that repine at it, and careless who lightly regard it. The respect hereof made the prophet to say, *Dii estis.* All the faithful and discreet clergy say, *O dea certè*, nothing is impossible with God. Requests without grounded reasons are lightly to be rejected. We, therefore, not as directors, but as humble remembrancers, beseech your Highness's favourable beholding of our present state, and what it will be in time to come, if the Bill against pluralities should take any place."

To the petition were annexed a catalogue of those inconveniencies to the state present, state to come, cathedral churches, universities, to her Majesty, to religion, in case pluralities were taken away, here too large to be inserted. So that, in effect, nothing was effected as in relation to this matter, but things left *in statu quo prius*, at the dissolution of this parliament.

10—13. *The death of Bishop Barnes; and of Bernard Gilpin, who hardly escaped in Queen Mary's days: A single Man, yet a true Father.*

Amongst the mortalities of this year, most remarkable the death of Richard Barnes, bishop of Durham; one commendable in himself, but much suffering for the corruption and viciousness of John Barnes, his brother and chancellor.* This bishop was bred in Brazen-nose-College, made suffragan of Nottingham, the last I believe who wore that title, and behaved himself very gravely in his diocess; a great friend at last to Bernard Gilpin, though at first by some ill instruments incensed against him; and, seeing they were loving in their lives, their memories in my book shall not be divided, though I confess the latter died some three years before.

* See "the Life of Bernard Gilpin," p. 190.

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This Bernard Gilpin, born of a right worshipful family, at Kentmere in Westmoreland, had Cuthbert Tonstall, bishop of Durham, for his great uncle. He was bred first in Queen's-College, then Christ's-Church, in Oxford; and no doubt the prayers of Peter Martyr conduced to his conversion, to be a protestant. For he, hearing this Gilpin dispute cordially on the popish party, desired of God that so good affections might not be misguided, and at last obtained his desire.

He weathered out the reign of queen Mary; partly with his travels beyond the seas, chiefly residing at Louvain and Paris; partly, after his return, by the favour of his uncle Tonstall; before whom he was often cited, (chiefly about the eucharist,) but was discharged by confessing the real presence, and that the manner thereof transcended his apprehension; Tonstall not enforcing him to the particularity of transubstantiation, as using himself to complain on pope Innocent for defining *de modo* to be an article of faith. However, his foes so hardly beset him, that once he ordered his servant to provide for him a long shroud, not for his *winding* but *burning* sheet, as expecting at last he should be brought to the stake for his religion. But men may make clothes either for mirth or for mourning, whilst God alone orders whether or no they shall wear them.

After the coming of queen Elizabeth to the crown, he with more earnestness refused a bishopric, than others affected it. His parsonage at Houghton-le-Spring, as it might seem a bishop's palace for building, so was it no less for hospitality; fourteen villages belonging to that mother-church, the poor whereof, beside many others, were daily relieved at his door. Twenty scholars he commonly boarded in his house, which seemed a little college. In a word, he was commonly called Father Gilpin; and well deserved it for his paternal affections to all; making his yearly progress into Readsdale, and Tynedale in Northumberland, (where people sat in darkness of ignorance, and shadow of death,) and instructing them by his heavenly preaching.

14—16. *The brave Coming-forth of the Spanish Armada; the shameful Flight and Return thereof. This Deliverance principally wrought by God's Arm.* *A.D.* 1588.

Now began that fatal year generally foretold that it would be wonderful; as it proved no less. Whence the astrologers fetched their intelligence hereof,—whether from heaven or hell, from other stars or from Lucifer alone,—is uncertain. This is most sure, that this prediction, though hitting the mark, yet missed their meaning, who both first reported and most believed it. Out comes their invincible navy and army, perfectly appointed for both elements, water

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and land, to sail and march complete in all warlike equipage; so that formerly, with far less provision, they had conquered another New World. Mighty was the bulk of their ships, the sea seeming to groan under them, (being a burden to it as they went, and to themselves before they returned,) with all manner of artillery, prodigious in number and greatness; so that the report of their guns do still and ought ever to sound in the ears of the English, not to fright them with any terror, but to fill them with deserved thankfulness.

It is said of Sennacherib, coming against Jerusalem with his numerous army, "By the way that he came shall he return, and shall not come into this city, saith the Lord," 2 Kings xix. 33. As the latter part of this threatening was verified here, no Spaniard setting foot on English ground under other notion than a prisoner; so God did not them the honour to return the same way, who coming by south-east, a way they knew, went back by south-west, a way they sought, chased by our ships past the fifty-seventh degree of northern latitude, then and there left to be pursued after by hunger and cold. Thus, having tasted the English valour in conquering them, the Scotch constancy in not relieving them, the Irish cruelty in barbarous butchering them, the small reversion of this great navy which came home might be looked upon, by religious eyes, as relics, not for the adoration but instruction of their nation, hereafter not to account any thing *invincible* which is less than *infinite*.

Such as lose themselves by looking on second causes impute the Spanish ill success, partly to the prince of Parma, who either mind-bound or wind-bound, staying himself, or stopped by the Hollander, would or could not come to their seasonable succour; and partly to the duke of Medina's want of commission to fight with the English, (save on the defensive,) till joined with Parma. Thus, when God will have a design defeated, amidst the plenty, yea, superfluity, of all imaginable necessaries, some unsuspected one shall be wanting to frustrate all the rest. We will not mention (save in due distance of helps) the industry and loyalty of the lord Howard, admiral, the valour of our captains, the skill of our pilots, the activity of our ships; but assign all to the goodness of God, as queen Elizabeth did. Leave we her in the choir of St. Paul's church, devoutly on her knees, with the rest of her nobles in the same humble posture, returning their unfeigned thanks to the God and Giver of all victory; whilst, going abroad, we shall find some of her subjects worse employed,—in implacable enmity about ecclesiastical discipline one against another. And let not the mentioning of this deliverance be censured as a deviation from the "Church History of Britain;" silence thereof being a sin. For had the design taken effect, neither protestant church in Britain had remained, nor history thereof been made at this present.

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17—20. *Scurrilous Pamphlets dispersed. Their Reasons for the Lawfulness of such Pamphlets. These Books disclaimed by the discreet Sort, and why. The Instruments employed in making these Books heavily punished.*

But bullets did not fly about so much at sea, as bastardly libels by land; so fitly called, because none durst father them for their issue. They are known, though not by their parents, by their names. (1.) "The Epitome;" (2.) "The Demonstration of Discipline;" (3.) "The Supplication;" (4.) "Diotrephes;" (5.) "The Minerals;" (6.) "Have you any Work for the Cooper?" (7.) "Martin Senior Mar-prelate;" (8.) "Martin Junior Mar-prelate;" (9.) "More Work for the Cooper," &c. The main drift and scope of these pamphlets (for, know one and know all, these foul-mouthed papers, like Blackamoors, did all look alike) was to defame and disgrace the English prelates, scoffing at them for their garb, gait, apparel, vanities of their youth, natural defects, and personal infirmities. It is strange how secretly they were printed, how speedily dispersed, how generally bought, how greedily read, yea, and how firmly believed, especially of the common sort, to whom no better music than to hear their betters upbraided.

Some precise men of that side thought these jeering pens well employed. For, having formerly, as they say, tried all serious and sober means to reclaim the bishops, which hitherto proved uneffectual; they thought it not amiss to try this new way, that whom they could not in earnest make odious, in sport they might render ridiculous. Wits will be working; and such as have a satirical vein cannot better vent it than in lashing of sin.* Besides, they wanted not a warrant (as they conceived) in holy writ, where it was no solecism to the gravity of Elijah to mock Baal's priests out of their superstition chiefly, 1 Kings xviii. 27. This [it] was conceived would drive on their design, strengthen their party by working on the people's affections, which were marvellously taken with the reading thereof.

But the more discreet and devout sort of men, even of such as were no great friends to the hierarchy, upon solemn debate then resolved, (I speak on certain knowledge from the mouths of such whom I must believe,) that, for many foul falsehoods therein suggested, such books were altogether unbeseeming a pious spirit to print, publish, or with pleasure peruse; which, supposed true both in matter and measure, charity would rather conceal than discover; the best of men being so conscious of their own badness, that they are more careful to wash their own faces, than busy to throw dirt on

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 516.—EDIT.

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others. Any man may be witty in a biting way: and those that have the dullest brains have commonly the sharpest teeth to that purpose. But such carnal mirth, whilst it tickles the flesh, doth wound the soul. And, which was the main, these base books would give a great advantage to the general foe: and papists would make too much use thereof against protestant religion, especially seeing an archangel thought himself too good to bring—and Satan not bad enough to have brought—railing speeches against him, Jude 9.

But, leaving private men to abound in their own sense: how highly the state (as it then stood) distasted these books, will plainly appear by the heavy censures inflicted on such as were but accessary thereunto. To pass by John Penry and John Udall, ministers, accused for making some of them, (of whom in due place,) together with the printers, and Humphry Newman, a cobbler, chief disperser of them: the Star-chamber deeply fined sir Richard Knightly and sir ——— Wigston, for entertaining and receiving the press; gentlemen, whom their adversaries allow qualified with piety, gravity, and wisdom; * which made many admire how their discretion could be deluded, and more bemoan that their goodness should be abused by others, who had designs upon them. Here archbishop Whitgift bestirred himself to improve his interest with the queen, (till his importunity had angered her, and till his importunity had pleased her again,) that they might be delivered out of prison, and eased of their fines: which, upon their submission, was performed:† whose mildness to mediate for his adversaries, as it was highly commended by some, so there wanted not those who imputed his moderation therein to declining of envy, gaining of applause, and remorse of his own conscience for over-rigorous proceedings: it being no charity to cure the wound he hath caused, and solicit the remitting of those fines which he had procured to be imposed. Thus, impossible it is to please froward spirits, and to make *them* like the best deed *who* dislike the doer thereof. And if any desire to know the motions and stages of the press which printed these books, know it was first set up at Moulsey, near Kingston in Surrey,‡ thence conveyed to Fausley in Northamptonshire, thence to Norton, and afterwards to Coventry. Hence it was removed to Welstone in Warwickshire, whence the letters were sent to another press, in or near Manchester, and there discovered by Henry earl of Derby, in the printing of "More Work for the Cooper." No wonder then if many errata were committed by this (call it as you please, "pilgrim" or "vagabond") press, when itself was ever in a wandering and straggling condition.

* Sir George Paul in "the Life of Archbishop Whitgift," p. 40. † Camden's *Elizabetha in anno* 1588. ‡ Sir George Paul, p. 39.

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21—23. *Acts of the Synod of Coventry. The English Church distracted betwixt contrary Disciplines. The Success of the solemn Humiliation of the Ministers at Northampton.*

A synod of the presbyterians, of the Warwickshire classis, was called at Coventry, *die decimo quarti:* that is, "on the tenth of April;" wherein the questions, brought the last year from the brethren of Cambridge synod, were resolved in manner as followeth:—

"(1.) That private baptism was unlawful.

"(2.) That it is not lawful to read Homilies in the church.

"(3.) That the sign of the Cross is not to be used in baptism.

"(4.) That the faithful ought not to communicate with unlearned ministers; although they may be present at their service, if they come of purpose to hear a sermon. The reason is, because laymen as well as ministers may read public service.

"(5.) That the calling of bishops, &c., is unlawful.

"(6.) That as they deal in causes ecclesiastical, there is no duty belonging unto—nor any publicly to be given—them.

"(7.) That it is not lawful to be ordained ministers by them, or to denounce either suspensions or excommunications sent from them.

"(8.) That it is not lawful to rest in the bishop's deprivation of any from the ministry, except (upon consultation with the neighbour-ministers adjoining and his flock) it seems so good unto them; but that he continue in the same until he be compelled to the contrary by civil force.

"(9.) That it is not lawful to appear in a bishop's court, but with protestation of their unlawfulness.

"(10.) That bishops are not to be acknowledged either for doctors, elders, or deacons, as having no ordinary calling.

"(11.) That touching the restoration of their ecclesiastical Discipline, it ought to be taught to the people as occasion shall serve.

"(12.) That as yet the people are not to be solicited publicly to the practice of the Discipline, till they be better instructed in the knowledge of it.

"(13.) That men of better understanding are to be allured privately to the present embracing of the Discipline and practice of it, as far as they shall be well able, with the peace of the church." *

Likewise in the same assembly the aforesaid Book of Discipline was approved to be "a draught essential and necessary for all times;" and certain articles, devised in approbation—and for the manner of the use—thereof, were brought, treated of, and subscribed unto, by Mr. Cartwright and others, and afterwards tendered far and near to the several classes, for a general ratification of all the brethren.

* Transcribed out of BISHOP BANCROFT'S book called "England's Scottizing for Discipline by Practice," pp. 86, 87; who may seem to have had the original in Latin.

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Now, if Rebekah found herself strangely affected when twins struggled in her womb, Gen. xxv. 22; the condition of the English church must be conceived sad, which at the same time had two disciplines, both of them pleading scripture and primitive practice, each striving to support itself, and suppress its rival: The Hierarchy commanded by authority, established by law, confirmed by general practice, and continued so long by custom in this land, that, had one at this time lived the age of Methuselah, he could not remember the beginning thereof in Britain: The Presbytery, though wanting the stamp of authority, claiming to be the purer metal, founded by some clergymen, favoured by many of the gentry, and followed by more of the common sort, who, being prompted with that natural principle—that the weakest side must be most watchful, what they wanted in strength they supplied in activity; but what won them most repute was their ministers' painful preaching in populous places; it being observed in England, that those who hold the helm of the pulpit always steer people's hearts as they please.* The worst is, that, in matters of fact, all relations in these times are *relations*; I mean, much resent of party and interest, to the prejudice of truth. Let me mind the reader to reflect his eye on our quotations, (the margin in such cases being as material as the text, as containing the authors,) and his judgment may, according to the credit or reference of the author alleged, believe, or abate from, the reputation of the report. Let me add, that, though it be a lie in the clock, it is but a falsehood in the hand of the dial when pointing at a wrong hour, if rightly following the direction of the wheel which moveth it. And the fault is not mine, if I truly cite what is false on the credit of another.† The best certainty in this kind we are capable of is what we find in the confessions of the parties themselves, deposed on oath, taken by public notaries, and recorded in court. For, such who herein will fly higher for true intelligence than the Star-chamber, must fetch it from heaven himself.

In that court we find confessed by one Mr. Johnson,‡ (formerly a great presbyterian, but afterwards, it seems, falling from that side, he discovered many passages to their disadvantage,) how that when "the Book of Discipline" came to Northampton to be subscribed unto, there was a general censuring used amongst the brethren there, as it were to sanctify themselves; partly by sustaining a kind of penance and reproof for their former conformity to the Orders of the church; and, partly, to prepare their minds for the devout accepting of the aforesaid book. In which course of censuring used at that time, there was such a ripping-up one of another's life, even

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 570.—EDIT. † *Ibid.* p. 517.—EDIT. ‡ See "England's Scottizing for Discipline," 3 cap. 6, p. 88.

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from their youth, as that they came to bitterness and reviling terms amongst themselves; one growing thereby odious to another, and some did thereupon utterly forsake those kinds of assemblies. O, how woful the vessel of the English church, whilst her ὑπήρεται, her ministers, and under-rowers, some tugged it one way, and others towing it another,—enough almost to split her in pieces with the violence of their contrary discipline!

24. *The Contents of the Admonition to the Catholics of England.*

Leave we them for a while, to behold how the popish clergy were employed; who, in the beginning of this year, were as busy as bees, newly ready to swarm. A book was set forth called "the Admonition," dispersed amongst catholics, and highly cried up, consisting of several parts, not unfit to be here recited.

(1.) The authors make their entrance into the discourse, with a most odious and shameful declamation against her Majesty, stirring up her subjects' hearts to contempt of her Highness, as being one odious to God and man. They threaten the nobility, gentry, &c., with loss of all their goods, their lands, their lives, and with damnation besides; except that presently, upon the landing of the Spaniards, they joined themselves and all their forces,—men, munition, victuals, and whatsoever else they could make,—with their catholic army, (forsooth,) for the words be these: "If you will avoid," say they, "the pope's, the king's, and other princes' high indignation, let no man, of what degree soever, abet, aid, defend, or acknowledge her," &c.; adding, that otherwise they should "incur the angels' curse and malediction, and be as deeply excommunicated as any, because that, in taking her Majesty's part, they should fight against God, against their lawful king, against their country; and that, notwithstanding all they should do, they should but defend her Highness bootless, to their own present destruction and eternal shame."

(2.) After all those and many other such threats, in a high and military style, to scare fools with, then they come to some more mild persuasions, and promise the noblemen, that so they join with the duke of Parma upon the receipt of their Admonition, they will entreat that their whole houses shall not perish. For Parsons did instigate the English cardinal to swear by his honour, and in the word of a cardinal, that, in the fury of their intended massacre, there should as great care be taken of every catholic and penitent person as possibly could be, and that he was made a cardinal of purpose to be sent then into England for the sweet managing of those affairs.

(3.) Other arguments they used, drawn from the certainty of the

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victory; as, that all the protestants would either turn their coats, copies, arms, or fly away in fear and torment of the angel of God prosecuting them; that, although none of her Majesty's subjects should assist the Spaniards, yet their own forces, which they brought with them, were strong enough, their provision sufficient, their appointment so surpassing, that they had more expert captains than her Majesty had good soldiers, all resolute to be in the cause which they had undertaken; that the blood of all the blessed bishops shed in this land, and all the saints in heaven, prayed for the Spaniards' victory; that all the virtuous priests of our country, both at home and abroad, had stretched forth their sacred hands to the same end; that many priests were in the camp to serve every spiritual man's necessity; that their forces were guarded with all God's holy angels, with Christ himself in the sovereign sacrament, and with the daily most holy oblation of Christ's own dear body and blood; that the Spaniards being thus assisted with so many helps, though they had been never so few, they could not lose; and that her Majesty and her assistants wanting these helps, although they were never so fierce, never so proud, never so many, never so well appointed, yet they could not prevail. "Fear you not," say they, to such as would take their part; "they cannot." And thus far out of their said Jesuitical "Admonition."

The book goes under the name of Cardinal Allen, though the secular priests say he was but the cloak-father thereof, and that Parsons the Jesuit made it.* Others conceive it equivocally begotten, as the result and extract of several brains. No doubt, had the Spanish invasion succeeded, happy he who could have laid claim to so prophetical a piece: and they would have fallen out, as the two harlots about the living child,—who should have been parent thereof, 1 Kings iii. Whereas now, on the miscarriage of their great navy, all disclaimed the book, and Parsons procured the whole impression to be burned, (save some few sent abroad beforehand to his friends,†) that it might not remain a monument of their falsehood. And now the popish priests, some lurked here in holes, others fled into foreign parts,—their confusion being the greater for their former confidence. Thus Sisera comes off the more coldly, when stripped out of the garment of divers colours wherewith his mother had arrayed him, in her fancy running faster than the wheels of her son's chariot to his imaginary conquest, Judges v. 30.

25. *The Death of Edwin Sandys, Archbishop of York.*

This year, August 8th, died Edwin Sandys, archbishop of York; born in Lancashire of worshipful parentage, bred in Cambridge,

* WATSON'S *Quodlibets*, p. 240. † WATSON *ut prius*.

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banished to Germany, after this promoted to be bishop of Worcester, then succeeded Grindal in London and York; an excellent and painful preacher, and of a pious and godly life, which increased in his old age; so that, by a great and good stride, whilst he had one foot in the grave, he had the other in heaven. He was buried in Southwell; and it is hard to say, whether he was more eminent in his own virtues, or more happy in his flourishing posterity.

26. *Archbishop Whitgift's Discretion.* *A.D.* 1589.

The next year produced not any great church-matters in itself, but was only preparatory to the ripening of business, and raising the charges against the principal patrons of nonconformity. Indeed, archbishop Whitgift, according to his constant custom and manner, repaired daily to the Council-table early in the morning; and, after un usual apprecation of a "Good morrow" to the lords, he requested to know if there were any church-business to be debated; and, if the answer were returned in the affirmative, he stayed and attended the issue of the matter. But if no such matter appeared, he craved leave to be dispensed withal; saying, "Then, my lords, here is no need of me;" and departed: a commendable practice, clearing himself from all aspersions of civil pragmaticalness, and tending much to the just support of his reputation.

27. *Articles objected against Mr. Thomas Cartwright.* *A.D.* 1590.

On the first of September, Mr. Cartwright, bachelor in divinity, was brought before her Majesty's commissioners, there to take his oath, and give-in his positive answer to the following articles:—*

"(1.) *Imprimis.* We do object and articulate against him, that he, being a minister (at least a deacon) lawfully called, according to the godly laws and orders of this church of England, hath forsaken, abandoned, and renounced the same orders ecclesiastical, as an anti-christian and unlawful manner of calling unto the ministry or deaconship.

"(2.) *Item.* That he, departing this realm into foreign parts, without license, as a man discontented with the form of government ecclesiastical here by law established, the more to testify his dislike and contempt thereof, and of the manner of his former vocation and ordination, was contented in foreign parts, as at Antwerp, Middleburgh, or elsewhere, to have a new vocation, election, or ordination, by imposition of hands unto the ministry, or unto some other order or degree ecclesiastical, and in other manner and form than the laws ecclesiastical of this realm do prescribe. Let him declare upon his oath the particular circumstances thereof.

* The copy of these articles was found by a friend, in Mr. Travers's study, after his death; who as kindly communicated as I have truly transcribed them.

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"(3.) *Item.* That by virtue or colour of such his later vocation, election, or ordination, becoming a pretended bishop or pastor of such congregation as made choice of him, he established, or procured to be established, at Antwerp and at Middleburgh, among merchants, and others, her Majesty's subjects, a certain consistory, seminary, presbytery, or eldership ecclesiastical, consisting of himself, being bishop or pastor (and so president) thereof, of a doctor, of certain ancients, seniors, or elders, for government ecclesiastical, and of deacons for distributing to the poor.

"(4.) *Item.* That [to] the said eldership, and the authority thereof, certain English-born subjects were called, elected, or ordained by imposition of hands, to be ministers or ecclesiastical doctors, (being not of that degree before,) as Hart, Travers, Grise, or some of them; and some that were also ministers afore according to the orders of the church of England, as Fenner, Acton, were so called, and other English subjects were also called, and likewise ordained elders; and some others were ordained deacons, in other manner and form than the laws ecclesiastical of the realm do prescribe or allow of.

"(5.) *Item.* That such eldership, so established under the presidentship of him the said Thomas Cartwright, had used (beside this authority of this vocation and ordination of officers ecclesiastical) the censures and keys of the church,—as public admonition, suspension from the supper, and from execution of offices ecclesiastical, and the censures of excommunication; likewise authority of making laws, degrees, and orders ecclesiastical, and of dealing with the doctrine and manners of all persons in that congregation, in all matters whatsoever so far as might appertain to conscience.

"(6.) *Item.* That he the said Thomas Cartwright, in the public administration of his ministry there, among her Majesty's subjects, used not the form of Liturgy, or Book of Common-Prayer, by the laws of this land established, nor, in his government ecclesiastical, the laws and orders of this land, but rather conformed himself in both to the use and form of some other foreign churches.

"(7.) *Item.* That since his last return from beyond the seas, being to be placed at Warwick, he faithfully promised (if he might be but tolerated to preach) not to impugn the laws, orders, policy, government, nor governors in this church of England; but to persuade and procure, so much as he could, both publicly and privately, the estimation and peace of this church.

"(8.) *Item.* That he having no ministry in this church, (other than such as before he had forsaken, and still condemneth as unlawful,) and without any license, (as law requireth,) he hath since taken upon him to preach at Warwick, and at sundry other places of this realm.

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"(9.) *Item.* That since his said return, in sundry private conferences with such ministers and others as at sundry times, by word and letter, have asked his advice or opinion, he hath showed mislike of the laws and government ecclesiastical, and of divers parts of the Liturgy of this church; and thereby persuaded and prevailed also with many in sundry points to break the orders and form of the Book of Common-Prayer, who observed them before, and also to oppose themselves to the government of this church, as himself well knoweth, or verily believeth.

"(10.) *Item.* That in all or most of such his sermons and exercises, he hath taken occasion to traduce and inveigh against the bishops, and other governors under them in this church.

"(11.) *Item.* That he hath grown so far in hatred and dislike towards them, as that at sundry times, in his prayer at sermons, (and namely, preaching at Banbury, about a year since, in such place as others well-disposed pray for bishops,) he prayed to this or like effect: 'Because that they who ought to be pillars in the church do bend themselves against Christ and his truth, therefore, O Lord, give us grace and power, all as one man, to set ourselves against them.' And this, in effect, by way of emphasis, he then also repeated.

"(12.) *Item.* That preaching at sundry times and places, he usually reacheth at all occasions to deprave, condemn, and impugn the manner of ordination of bishops, ministers, and deacons; sundry points of the polity, government, laws, orders, and rites ecclesiastical, and of the public Liturgy of the church of England, contained in the Book of Common-Prayer; as, namely, the use of the surplice, the interrogatories to godfathers, &c., in the name of the infants, the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, the thanksgiving after child-birth, burials by ministers, the kneeling at communion, some points of the Litany, certain collects and prayers, the reading of portions of scripture for the Epistle and Gospel, and the manner of singing in cathedral churches, and others.

"(13.) *Item.* That preaching at the baptizing of one of Job Throgmorton's children, he spoke much of the unlawfulness and in derogation of the government, polity, laws, and Liturgy ecclesiastical of this realm; and to the justification of a government by elderships in every congregation, and by conference and synods, &c., abroad, as Divine institutions commanded by Christ, and the only lawful church-government; seeking to prove and establish such elderships out of that word in one of the Psalms, where thrones are mentioned.

"(14.) *Item.* That by toleration and impunity he did grow so confident, and withal implacable, against the laws, government, and orders of this church of England, that he could not endure Mr.

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Bourdman and others (preaching sundry times at Warwick) to speak in defence thereof; but took upon him to confute, in sundry sermons there, these things which the said Bourdman had truly and dutifully in that behalf spoken and delivered.

"(15.) *Item.* That in his sermons at Warwick and elsewhere, within the said time, he often delivered many frivolous, strange, and undiscreet positions; as, namely, that to kneel down and pray when a man comes into the church, or pray there privately, was but to offer the sacrifice of fools; that it was requisite, all the hearers that were able should stand upon their feet during sermons; and, discoursing about women, and their child-birth, &c., did speak thereof so indiscreetly and offensively that sundry of them, in great grief, had conspired to have mischieved him with stones in the open streets.

"(16.) *Item.* That by his persuasions, privately and publicly delivered, sundry persons in and about Warwick were appointed to impugn, both in words and deeds, the laws, orders, and rites prescribed by the Book of Common-Prayer; insomuch as both his own wife, by his procurement and consent, refused, after child-birth, to come and give thanks in such place of the church, and in that solemn manner, as thereby is prescribed; and some other women also of that town, by such persuasion and example, did use the like contempt.

"(17.) *Item.* That sundry times (or at least once) when he communicated at the Lord's supper there, he sate, or stood upon his feet; and divers others, induced by his persuasions and example, both then and at other times did the like. And that, at other times, there or in other places where he hath communicated, both himself and others (as he had appointed or persuaded afore) did walk along, and receive the sacrament of the minister as they passed by him.

"(18.) *Item.* That for these, and such like disorders, he was presented to the bishop of Wigorne, [Worcester,] his ordinary: before whom, being convented in the consistory there, he spake to the justification and upholding of such doing of his and of others, and there very publicly and offensively affirmed and disputed, that the Book of Common-Prayer, &c., is not established by law.

"(19.) *Item.* That when, by authority from the said bishop, for his contempt he was suspended from preaching, *et ab omni functione ministerii*, he appealed from the said suspension, yet did not prosecute within a year after; whereby (the cause being according to law remitted again to the bishop) he, the said Thomas Cartwright, according to the former proceedings, falling again into the sentence of suspension, (which was also intimated and made known unto him,) nevertheless, in contempt of the authority ecclesiastical, he hath preached at Warwick, Coventry, and elsewhere since the said time.

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"(20.) *Item.* When one of his men-servants had committed fornication, and gotten a bastard in his house, he, taking upon him the authority of the ordinary, did appoint unto the delinquent a public form of penance, or satisfaction, in St. Mary's church at Warwick, and caused him to perform the same.

"(21.) *Item.* Since his placing at Warwick, he, with others, at such times as they thought fit, have agreed to have, and so have had, divers public fasts, without the queen's authority, and have invited and persuaded both sundry persons to be there present, and also certain to preach, to the number of three, four, or five, successively, one after another; being all noted to be such as mislike and impugn sundry points of the laws, government, and Liturgy ecclesiastical of this church of England. In which sermons, both he the said Cartwright, and such others also as then preached, did impugn and inveigh against the present laws, government, polity, and Liturgy ecclesiastical of this church of England.

"(22.) *Item.* That, from time to time, since his abode in Warwick, by his practice and dealing, he hath nourished a faction and heart-burning of one inhabitant there against another, severing them in his own and his followers' speeches, by the names of *the godly*, or *brethren favouring sincerity*, and *the profane*.

"(23.) *Item.* That he doth know, or [hath] credibly heard, who were the penners, printers, or some of the dispersers of the several libels, going under the name of 'Martin Mar-prelate,' of the 'Demonstration of Discipline,' of 'Diotrephes,' and such like books, before it was known to authority; and yet, in favour of such, and contempt of good laws, did not manifest the same to any who had authority to punish it.

"(24.) *Item.* That being asked his opinion of such books, he answered thus in effect, or something tending this way, namely, [They]—meaning the bishops, and others there touched—would not amend by grave books and advertisements; and therefore it was meet they should thus be dealt with, to their further reproach and shame.

"(25.) *Item.* That for and in the behalf of the church of England, he penned, or procured to be penned, all or some part of a little book entitled in one part, *Disciplina Ecclesiæ sacra Verbo Dei descripta;* and in the other part, *Disciplina Synodica ex Ecclesiarum Usu, &c.* And, after it was perused by others, whom he first acquainted therewith, he recommended the same to the censures and judgments of more brethren, (being learned preachers,) and some others assembled together by his means, for that and other like purposes: which, after deliberation, and some alterations, was by them, or most of them, allowed, as the only lawful church-government, and fit to be put in practice; and the ways and means for the practising

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thereof in this realm were also then, or not long after, agreed or concluded upon by them.

"(26.) *Item.* That for the better and more due practice of it, within the space of these seven, six, five, four, three, two, or one year last past, the said Thomas Cartwright, and sundry others, (as aforesaid, according to former appointment and determinations by them made,) have met in assemblies, termed synods, more general, (as, at London, at terms and parliament-times; in Oxford at the Act; in Cambridge at the times of Commencement, and Stourbridge-fair,) and also more particular and provincial synods, and at classes or conferences of certain selected ministers, in one or more places of sundry several shires, as, Warwick, Northampton, Rutland, Oxford, Leicester, Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and others.

"(27.) *Item.* That at such synods and conferences it hath been concluded, that all the ministers who should be received to be either of the said general synods, or of any more particular and provincial, or of a classis or conference, should subscribe to the said discipline, that they did allow it, would promote it, practise it, and be governed by it. And according to the form of a schedule hereunto annexed, or such like, both he the said Thomas Cartwright, and many others, at sundry or some general assemblies, as at provincial and at several conferences, have, within the said time, subscribed the same, or some part thereof.

"(28.) *Item.* That at such synods and all other assemblies, a moderator of that meeting was first by him and them chosen, according to the prescription of the said book. And at some of such meetings and assemblies, amongst other things, it was resolved and concluded, that such particular conferences in several shires should be erected; how many persons, and with what letters from every of them, should be sent to the general assembly; and that one of them, at their coming home to their conference, should make known the determinations of the general assembly, to be by every of them followed and put in practice; which course, in sundry places of this realm, hath, within the time aforesaid, been accordingly followed and performed.

"(29.) *Item.* That he, with others, in some such classis or conference, or in a synod, or more general assembly holden, did treat and dispute, among other points, these six articles contained in another schedule annexed, and set down their resolution and determination of them.

"(30.) *Item.* That he, with others, assembled [in] such a general assembly or synod at Cambridge, did conclude and decree, as in another schedule annexed, or in some part thereof, is contained;

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which decrees were made known afterwards at Warwick to sundry classes there by his means assembled, and allowed also by them then met together in the same or like form.

"(31.) *Item.* That all such several meetings, synods, and conferences, within the said time, many other determinations, as well what should be done and performed, or omitted; as also what should be holden consonant to God's word, or disagreeing from it; have been set down by the said Thomas Cartwright and others: as, namely, that all admitted to either assembly should subscribe the said Book of Discipline, holy and synodical; that those who were sent from any conference to a synod should bring letters fiduciary or of credence; that the last moderator should write them; that the superscription thereof should be to a known man of the assembly then to be holden; that no book made by any of them should be put in print, but by consent of the classis at least; that some of them must be earnest, and some more mild and temperate, whereby there may be both of the spirit of Elijah and Elisha; that all admitted amongst them should subscribe, and promise to conform themselves in their proceedings, administration of sacraments, and of discipline, to the form of that book; and that they would subject themselves to the censuring of the brethren, both for doctrine and life; and, lastly, that upon occasion, when any their brethren shall be sent by them upon affairs of the church, (as to the great meetings, parliament, &c.,) they all would bear their charges in common: that there might be no superiority amongst them, and that the moderatorship (as it happened) is not a superiority or honour, but a burden: that no profane writer, or any other than canonical scripture, may be alleged in sermons: that they should all teach, that the ministry of those who did not preach is no ministry, but a mere nullity: that it is not lawful to take any oath, whereby a man may be driven to discover any thing penal to himself, or to his brother, especially if he be persuaded the matter to be lawful for which the punishment is like to be inflicted, or, having taken it, in this case need not discover the very truth: that to a bishop, or other officer ecclesiastical, (as is used now in the church of England,) none obedience ought to be given, neither in appearing before them, in doing that which they command, nor in abstaining from that which they inhibit: that in such places as the most of the people favoured the cause of sincerity, eldership should warily and wisely be placed and established, which consistory in some places hath been either wholly or in part erected accordingly: yea, in some colleges in the university, as he knoweth, hath heard, or verily believeth."

These Articles were tendered to Mr. Cartwright in the consistory of Paul's, before John Aylmer, bishop of London, the two Lord

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Chief Justices, Justice Gawdy, serjeant Puckering, afterward Lord Keeper, and Attorney-General Popham.

28. *Mr. Cartwright refuseth to answer on Oath.*

These commissioners did move him to give-in his answer, the rather because the chief points in the interrogatories were delivered in general terms unto him; and they severally assured him, on their credits, that, by the laws of the realm, he was to take his oath, and to answer as he was required. But Mr. Cartwright desired to be borne withal; pleading, that he thought he was not bound by the laws of God so to do. Hereupon he was sent to the rest of his brethren to the Fleet, where he secretly and silently took up his lodging; many admiring at the panic-peaceableness, and so quiet a calm, where so violent a tempest was feared to arise.

29. *Wiggington's riddling Words.*

Some, soon after, (November 6th,) expected the appearance of the presbyterian party, accounting it more valour to free, than to keep, their friends from prison; the rather, because of a passage in a letter of Mr. Wiggington's to one Mr. Porter at Lancaster: "Mr. Cartwright is in the Fleet for the refusal of the oath, as I hear; and Mr. Knewstubs is sent for; and sundry worthy ministers are disquieted, who have been spared long. So that we look for some bickering ere long, and then a battle which cannot long endure." Words variously expounded, as men's fancies directed them. Some conceived that this "bickering" and "battle" did barely import a passive conflict, wherein their patience was to encounter the power of their adversaries, and to conquer by suffering: parallel to the apostle's words, "Without were fightings," 2 Cor. vii. 5; meaning combats to wrestle-with in many difficulties opposing their proceedings. Others expounded the words literally, (not of a tame but wild battle,) and of some intended violence, as if shortly they would muster their (hitherto invisible) forces to storm the Fleet, and rescue their friends therein. A third sort beheld Wiggington, the writer of these words, as one but "of the soberer sort of distracted men;" and therefore in vain do staid heads make serious comments on light men's random expressions, where the knot is neither to be untied nor cut, but cast away.

30. *The King of Scots writes in Favour of the Nonconformists. A.D. 1591.*

Now, the principal pillars of the presbyterian party—being some in restraint, more in trouble, all in fear—applied themselves, by their secret solicitors, to James king of Scotland; and procured his letter to

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the queen in their behalf, seconded with another to the same effect. They conceived so potent a petitioner must needs prevail, especially in this juncture of time; the queen having lately (since she put his mother to death) addulced him with fair language and kind carriage. This letter was sent to one Mr. Johnson, a Scotch merchant in London; by him presented to the queen, perused by her Majesty, and remitted to her Privy Council. But behold the tenor thereof:—

"RIGHT EXCELLENT, HIGH AND MIGHTY PRINCESS, OUR DEAREST SISTER AND COUSIN,

"IN our heartiest manner we recommend us unto you. Hearing of the apprehension of Mr. Udall and Mr. Cartwright, and certain other ministers of the Evangel within your realm, of whose good erudition and faithful travails in the church we hear a very credible commendation, howsoever that their diversity from the bishops and others of your clergy, in matters touching them in conscience, hath been a mean, by their dilation, to work them your misliking; at this present we cannot (weighing the duty which we owe to such as are afflicted for their conscience in that profession) but by our most effectuous and earnest letter interpone us at your hands to stay any harder usage of them for that cause; requesting you most earnestly that for our cause and intercession it may please you to let them be relieved of their present strait, and whatsoever further accusation or pursuit depending on that ground, respecting both their former merit in setting forth the Evangel, the simplicity of their conscience in this defence, which cannot well be their let by compulsion, and the great slander which could not fail to fall out upon their further streighting [straitness] for any such occasion. Which we assure us your zeal to religion, beside the expectation we have of your good-will to pleasure us, will willingly accord to our request, having such proofs from time to time of our like disposition to you in any matters which you recommend unto us; and thus, right excellent, right high, and mighty princess, our dear sister and cousin, we commit you to God's protection.

"EDINBURGH, *June* 12*th*, 1591."

This letter prevailed little with the queen; nor do I find that the king of Scotland was discontented thereat; princes politicly understanding their mutual secret language, (not to say silent signs,) whose desires to foreign princes for private persons carry this tacit reservation,—"If it may stand with the conveniency and pleasure of" him to whom it is written. Besides, they know by their own experience, that often there is the least of themselves in their own letters, as granted merely for quietness' sake, to satisfy the importunity of others.

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31. *Mr. Cartwright discharged the Star-Chamber by the Intercession of Archbishop Whitgift.*

One word from Archbishop Whitgift befriended Mr. Cartwright more than both the letters from the king of Scotland. This prelate, reflecting on his abilities, and their ancient acquaintance in Trinity-College; and remembering, as an honourable adversary, they had brandished pens one against another; and considering that both of them now were well-stricken in years; and, some will say, fearing the success in so tough a conflict; on Mr. Cartwright's general promise to be quiet, procured his dismission out of the Star-Chamber and prison wherein he was confined. Henceforward Mr. Cartwright became very peaceable: not that he began to desert the cause, but the cause him; the original state of the point of nonconformity being much altered and disguised from itself, and many state-businesses (which Mr. Cartwright disclaimed) by turbulent spirits shuffled into it.

32—37. *A Preface to the ensuing Discourse. The Character of Hacket. His monstrous Opinions and Practices. Proclaimed by his two Prophets. An Adventure with more Boldness than Discretion. Hacket's Execution.*

Next followeth the just death of Hacket for his damnable blasphemy; and I am sensible of a sad dilemma concerning the same. For, *not relating the story* will be interpreted favouring of him and wronging the truth. *Relating it* may be accounted gracing his impieties by recording them. And seeing it is hard for one soul to attend two things at once, some will say, no author can write and detest, nor reader peruse and detest, these his blasphemies so, at the same instant, but that there will be a short interval betwixt them, yet long enough to have piety wounded therein. However, arming ourselves and others with caution premised, we enter on this sorrowful subject; the rather because the best may be bettered by the worst of men, when considering that natural corruption in their hearts is not less headstrong, but more bridled. Think not that Hacket and his two companions were worse by nature than all others of the English nation. I tell you, Nay; for if God's restraining grace be taken from us, we shall all run into the same excess of riot.*

This William Hacket was born at Oundle in Northamptonshire; of so cruel and fierce a nature, that he is reported to have bit off and eaten down the nose of his schoolmaster: a maltster by trade; which calling being too narrow for his active soul, he undertook to be a discoverer of and informer against recusants; an employment which often procured his admittance into the presence of great persons,

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 518.—EDIT.

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when his betters were excluded; one of a bold and confident nature, who though but an invited guest where many clergymen were present, would always presume to say grace and pray before them; a great stickler for the Geneva discipline, being very great with Wiggington, and others the most violent of that faction; always inculcating that some extraordinary course must be presently taken with the obstructers thereof. Once he desperately took his dagger, and violently struck the same into the picture of the queen, aiming at her heart therein by proportion. He pretended also to revelations, immediate raptures and discourses with God, as also to buffetings of satan, attesting the truth thereof with most direful oaths and execrations.

One argument Hacket used to allege, to prove his own invulnerability,—because he proffered leave to any one to kill him that would; the cunning impostor knowing full well that it was death for any to do it, being secured from such violence, not by any secret quality in himself, but by the good laws of the queen, against whom he so bitterly inveighed. He railed also against the archbishop Whitgift and chancellor Hatton, with other of the Privy Counsellors; pretending himself sent from heaven to reform church and state, and bring-in a new discipline into both by extraordinary means.

Afterwards he gave it out, that the principal spirit of the Messias rested in him; and he had two attendants; Edmund Coppinger, the queen's servant and one of good descent, for his prophet of mercy; and Henry Arthington, a Yorkshire gentleman, for his prophet of judgment. These proclaimed out of a cart in Cheapside, July 16th, that Christ was come in Hacket, with his fan in his hand, to purge the godly from the wicked; with many other precedent, concomitant, and consequent impieties. For who can otherwise conceive but such a prince-principal of darkness must be proportionably attended with a black guard of monstrous opinions and expressions? They cried also, "Repent, England! repent!" good counsel for all that heard, but best for them that gave it. With much ado (such the press of people) they got home to Broken-Wharf, where Hacket lay; and, next day, all three were sent to Bridewell, though some conceived Bedlam the more proper place for them. And, some days after, Hacket, being solemnly arraigned before the Judges at Westminster, demeaned himself very scornfully, but was found guilty on a double indictment and condemned.

During his imprisonment in Bridewell, one Dr. Childerly, rector of St. Dunstan's-in-the-East, repaired unto him, and proffered to gripe arms with him and try the wrists; which Hacket unwillingly submitted to do; though otherwise boasting himself invulnerable and impenetrable. The doctor, though with some difficulty, (Hacket being a foul, strong lubber,) yet fairly twisted his wrists almost to the

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breaking thereof, but not to the bowing of him to any confession or remorse; whilst the other presently hasteth home to his house, locked himself up in his study, and with fasting and prayer begged pardon of God for his pride and boldness, that, having neither promised precept nor precedent for his practice in scripture, he should adventure on such a trial, wherein justly he might have been worsted for his presumption; and discreet men will more commend the relenting tenderness of his heart, than the sleight and strength of his hands.

Hacket was brought to the gibbet near to the Cross in Cheapside; and there belched forth most blasphemous execrations, till the halter stopped his breath. I know what one lawyer pleadeth in his behalf, though it be little credit to be the advocate of such a client,—that the bishops had made him mad with persecuting of him. Sure it was, if he were mad, not any learning but overmuch pride made him so; and sure it is, he discovered no distemper in other particulars, personating, at leastwise, if not performing, all things with a composed gravity. But there is a madness which physicians count most uncurable, and call it *modesta insania;* when one is mad as to one particular point alone, whilst serious and sober in all other things. Whether Hacket were not touched with this or no, I will not decide; but leave him to stand or fall to his own master. Coppinger died in Bridewell, starving himself (as it is said) by wilful abstinence. Arthington, the prophet of judgment, lived to prove the object of God's and the queen's mercy, and printed a plain book of his hearty repentance: Happy herein that he met with a general belief of his serious sorrow and sincere amendment!

38. *This Accident unhappily improved against the Nonconformists.*

This business of Hacket happened very unseasonably for the presbyterians. True it is, they as cordially detested his blasphemies as any of the episcopal party. And such of them as loved Hacket the nonconformist, abhorred Hacket the heretic, after he had mounted to so high a pitch of impiety. But, beside the glutinous nature of all aspersions to stick where they light, they could not wash his odium so fast from themselves, but their adversaries were as ready to rub it on again. This rendered them at this time so hated at court, that, for many months together, no favourite durst present a petition in their behalf to the queen, (being loath to lose himself, to save others,) so offended was her Majesty against them.

39. *Mr. Stone by his Confession discovereth the Meeting of the Brethren, with the Circumstances thereof.*

The same day wherein Hacket was executed, July 27th, Thomas Stone, parson of Warkton in Northamptonshire, (by virtue of an oath

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tendered him the day before by the queen's attorney, and solemnly taken by him,) was examined by the examiner for the Star-chamber in Gray's Inn, from six of the clock in the morning, till seven at night, to answer unto thirty-three articles; but could only effectually depose to these which follow, faithfully by me transcribed out of a confession written with his own hand, and lately in my possession.

INTERROGATORY I.—Who and how many assembled and met together with the said defendants, T. C., H. E., E. S., &c., all or any of them where, when, how often? &c.

THE ANSWER OF THOMAS STONE—To the interrogatory touching the CIRCUMSTANCES OF, (1.) PLACES OF MEETING: (i.) Greater.—First. In London. [i.] At Travers's house; [ii.] At Egerton's house; [iii.] At Gardener's house; [iv.] At Barber's house. Second. In Cambridge.—In St. John's College. (ii.) Less.—First. In Northampton. [i.] At Johnson's house; [ii.] At Snape's house. Second. In Kettering, or near it. [i.] At Dammes's house; [ii.] At Stone's house.

(2.) TIMES: (i.) Since the beginning of the last parliament. (ii.) Sundry times at London, how oft he remembered not. (iii.) Sundry times at Northampton, how oft not remembered. (iv.) Sundry times at Kettering, how [oft] not remembered. (v.) Once at Cambridge, about Stourbridge-fair time was one or two years. (vi.) Once at London, a little before Mr. Cartwright was committed, at Mr. Gardener's house. (vii.) Once at this deponent's house, the certain time not remembered.

(3.) PERSONS: (i.) Meeting in London jointly or severally.—Mr. Travers, Mr. Chark, Mr. Egerton, Mr. Gardener, Mr. Barber, Mr. Brown, Mr. Somerscales, Mr. Cartwright, Mr. Chatterton, Mr. Gyfford, Mr. Allen, Mr. Edmunds, Mr. Gelibrand, Mr. Culverwell, Mr. Oxenbridge, Mr. Barbon, Mr. Fludde, this deponent. (ii.) Meeting in Cambridge.—Mr. Chatterton and others of Cambridge, Mr. Cartwright, Mr. Gyfford, Mr. Allen, Mr. Snape, Mr. Fludde, this deponent. (iii.) Meeting in Northampton, jointly or severally.—Mr. Johnson, Mr. Snape, Mr. Sybthorpe, Mr. Edwards, Mr. Fludde, this deponent, Mr. Spicer, Mr. Fleshware, Mr. Harrison, Mr. Littleton, Mr. Williamson, Mr. Rushbrook, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Barbon, Mr. King, Mr. Proudtome, Mr. Massie, Mr. Bradshaw. (iv.) Meeting at Kettering, or near to it.—Mr. Dammes, Mr. Pattison, Mr. Okes, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Rushbrook, Mr. Atkinson, Mr. Williamson, Mr. Massie, this deponent.

INTERROG. II.—Who called these assemblies, by what authority, how, or in what sort?

ANSWER.—That he knew not by whom they were called, neither knew he any other authority therein, saving a voluntary or free

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motion, one giving another intelligence as occasion served, sometimes by letters, and sometimes by word of mouth.

INTERROG. III.—Who were moderators in them, and what their office?

ANSWER.—That he remembered not who were moderators in any meeting particularly, saving once at Northampton, when Mr. Johnson was admonished; and that was either himself, or Mr. Snape, he knew not well whether.

INTERROG. IV.—What things were debated in those meetings or assemblies?

ANSWER.—That the things chiefly and most often considered of in those assemblies were these:—First. The subscription to the Book of Common-Prayer; how far it might be yielded unto, rather than any should forego his ministry. Secondly. The Book of Discipline was often perused, discussed, &c. Thirdly. Three petitions or supplications were agreed upon to be drawn, (1.) To her Majesty. (2.) To the lords of the Council. (3.) To the bishops. The things debated of in particular, he remembered not more than these: (1.) The perfecting of the Book of Discipline, and purpose to subscribe to it at Cambridge. (2.) This question disputed: Whether it were convenient for Mr. Cartwright to reveal the circumstances of the conference, a little before he was committed? (3.) The admonishing of Mr. Johnson once at Northampton. (4.) The debating of this question: Whether the books called Apocrypha were warrantable to be read publicly in the church as the canonical scriptures?

INTERROG. V.—Whether any censures were exercised, what kinds, when, where, upon whom, by whom, for what cause?

ANSWER.—That he never saw any censure exercised, saving admonition once upon Mr. Johnson of Northampton, for miscarrying himself in his conversation, to the scandal of his calling; neither was that used with any kind of authority, but by a voluntary yielding unto it, and approving of it, as well in him that was admonished, as in him who did admonish.

INTERROG. VI.—Whether any of the said defendants had moved or persuaded any to refuse an oath, and in what case? &c.

ANSWER.—That he never knew any of the defendants to use words of persuasion to any to refuse an oath; only Mr. Snape sent him down in writing certain reasons drawn out of the scripture, which moved him to refuse the general oath *ex officio*; which I stood persuaded that he sent to none other end, but to declare that he refused not to swear upon any contempt, but only for conscience' sake.

I have insisted the longer on this deposition, because the first and fullest that I find in the kind thereof, containing their classes

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more formally settled in Northamptonshire, than any where else in England. For, as the west part of that shire is observed to be the highest place of England, as appeareth by the rivers rising there, and running thence to the four winds; so was that county a probable place (as the midst of the land) for the presbyterian discipline, there erected, to derive itself into all the quarters of the kingdom.

40. *The Reasons why Mr. Stone made this Confession against the Hope and Expectation of the Brethren.*

But when the news of Mr. Stone's answer was brought abroad, he was generally censured by those of his party;—as well such as were yet at liberty, conceiving themselves endangered by his discovery, as by those already in prison, complaining that he added affliction to their bonds. Yea, his embracing a different course from the rest cast an aspersion on others of his side, as less sound in judgment, or tender in conscience, because peremptorily concealing what he thought fitting to confess. Many that highly esteemed him before, hereafter accounted him no precious but a counterfeit *Stone:* so that he found it necessary in his own vindication to impart the reasons of his confession to such as condemned him, if not for a traitor, at least for a coward in the cause.

(1.) He judged it unlawful to refuse an oath, limited and bounded within the compass of the conferences, being required before a lawful magistrate, in a plea for the prince, to a lawful end, to try out the truth in a doubtful fact, suspected and feared to be dangerous both to church and common-weal; but such was that oath which was tendered to him, *ergo*—

(2.) He, being lawfully sworn, judged it unlawful to be mute, much more to speak any untruth.

(3.) If he had not been urged by oath to reveal, yet did he judge that silence unlawful which justly causeth suspicion of evil,—as of treason, rebellion, sedition, &c.

(4.) He judged that concealment unlawful which was not only scandalous, but also dangerous; as this that might occasion and encourage wicked persons to hide their complices in their worst attempts.

(5.) He judged that the clearing of a doubtful fact requireth the clearing of the circumstances, which cannot be cleared till they be known.

(6.) He judged that silence unlawful which leaveth the truth friendless, or few friends when she hath need of many.

(7.) He judged it a point or note of Puritanism for any to stand so upon the integrity of their own actions as that they should not be doubted of, suspected, examined, censured, &c.

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(8.) He saw no probability nor possibility in reason to have the circumstances longer concealed. (i.) Because many of them are already made known, partly by the letters and writings of the brethren in bonds, which have been intercepted; partly also by certain false brethren; and, lastly, by certain faithful but weak brethren, whose confessions are to be seen under their own hands. (ii.) Because the magistrate is resolutely set to search them out: And, Lastly, Because divers are to be called and to answer upon oath, who approve not the concealing of them.

(9.) He judged the inconveniences which come by the concealing to be, if not more in number, yet greater in weight, and more inevitable than those that come by revealings, which as it may appear in some of the former reasons alleged to prove the unlawfulness of concealing, so may it further appear in these that follow:—

(10.) The good name and credit of any (of a minister much more) ought to be dearer to him, and to all those that love him, than his liberty, &c. But, by this concealing, the credit of many good ministers is eclipsed.

(11.) This concealing hath caused a continuance of some in bonds and imprisonment hitherto, would cause others to be committed, and withal causeth suspicion of evils,—treason, rebellion, sedition, &c., and thereby also evil report, slander, &c.

(12.) As, by concealing, the aforesaid suspicion and slander lieth still upon us all who have been in these actions; so doth the same grow every day more grievous by the wicked attempts of hypocrites and profane persons, who carry the name of Puritans, Precisians, &c., as those of late in Cheapside.

(13.) Although it be very like, that the revealing will bring punishment upon the rest, yet is it not certain nor necessary; but the concealing doth certainly cause suspicion, slander, &c.

(14.) The concealing argueth either some guiltiness, or at the least some faintness and fear, to be seen or known in these actions.

(15.) It leaveth the truth (which now travaileth) poor, naked, destitute, and void of friends. It casteth the care, credit, countenance, defence, and maintenance of it upon those few who are in prison, which ought to be supported and maintained by all.

(16.) It leaveth the burden upon eight or nine men's shoulders, who ought to be eased by many.*

What satisfaction this gave to his party, I know not. Sure I am, the bishops, till his dying day, beheld him as an ingenuous man, carrying his conscience with the reason thereof in his own breast, and not pinning it on the precedent of any other; where-

* Carefully by me transcribed out of his own letters to his friends.

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upon they permitted him peaceably to possess his parsonage, (being none of the meanest,) though he continued a stiff nonconformist, only quietly enjoying his own opinion. Indeed, he was a downright Nathanael, if not guilty of too much of the dove in him; faulty in that defect wherein more offend in the excess,—not minding the world so much as became a provident parent. But we leave him when we have told the reader, that he was bred a student in Christ Church, and was Proctor of Oxford,* *anno* 1580, and died quietly an old man, *anno* 1617, at Warkton in Northamptonshire.

41. *Synodical Meetings finally blasted.*

Thus, one link being slipped-out, the whole chain was quickly broken and scattered. Stone's discovery marred for the future all their formal meetings, as classically or synodically methodized. If any of these ministers hereafter came together, it was for visits, not visitations; to enjoy themselves, not enjoin others orders to be observed by them.

42. *Perkins's Piety procures his Peace.*

Whereas Mr. Stone confesseth their meeting in Cambridge, with Mr. Chadderton and others, I find some of these others elsewhere specified;† namely, Mr. Perkins, and Mr. Thomas Harrison, afterwards the reverend vice-master of Trinity-College, both of them concurring, though neither of them very active, in this cause. Mr. Perkins, whatsoever his judgment was in point of church-discipline, never publicly meddled with it in his preaching; and, being pressed by others about the lawfulness of subscription, he declined to manifest his opinion therein, glad to enjoy his own quiet, and to leave others to the liberty of their own consciences. Solomon's observation found truth in him: "When a man's ways please the Lord, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him," Prov. xvi. 7; whose piety procured freedom to his preaching, and fair respect to his person, even from those who in affections differed, and in opinion dissented, from him: "for all held" Perkins "for a prophet;" I mean, for a painful and faithful dispenser of God's will in his word.

43—47. *Transition to a more pleasant Subject. The Foundation of an University in Dublin. The several Benefactors thereto. The Addition of two Emissary Hostels. Dublin a Colony of Cambridge.*

But I am weary of writing these sad dissensions in our church, and fain would pass over to some more pleasing subject; from the

* BRIAN TWYNE *in Appendice Antiq. Academ. Oxon.* † DR. BANCROFT in his book of "Dangerous Positions," chap. vii. p. 39.

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renting of God's church, to the repairing of it; from the confounding thereof, to the founding and building of some eminent place for learning and religion. But, finding none of that nature this very year in England, I am fain to seek one beyond the seas; and at last have lighted on the university and college of Dublin, which now began to be erected.

Anciently Ireland was the seminary of saints; people from all parts of Christendom repairing thither, there to find and thence to fetch the perfect pattern of monastical devotion. Many hundred years after, namely, in the reign of king Edward II., Alexander Bickner, archbishop of Dublin, obtained license of the pope to erect an university in Dublin. But the design succeeded not according to his desire and others' expectation. Now, at the last, the same was effected by royal authority, and a college there erected, and dedicated to the Holy Trinity. This mindeth me of a pleasant passage: In the reign of king Henry VIII. it was enjoined, that all churches dedicated to St. Thomas Becket, should be new named, and consigned over to some real saint. Now, whilst country people sate in consultation, what new saint such churches should assume, (being divided in their opinions, to whom the same should be dedicated,) an old man gave this advice, "Even dedicate it to the Holy Trinity, which will last and continue when all other saints may chance to be taken away."

Many eminent persons concurred to advance so worthy a work. And because we are to speak of a college, wherein seniority takes place, we will rank these persons, not according to their dignity, but time of their benefaction.

(1.) Henry Usher, then archdeacon of Dublin, bred in Cambridge, (afterward archbishop of Armagh, and uncle to James Usher the present archbishop thereof,) took a journey with much danger into England, and with more difficulty procured the mortmain from,

(2.) Queen Elizabeth, who graciously granted it, naming the corporation, *Collegium Sanctæ ac Individuæ Trinitatis, ex fundatione Reginæ Elizabethæ, juxta Dublin.*

(3.) William Cecil, baron Burleigh, and treasurer of England, is appointed in the mortmain first chancellor of the university, as being an active instrument to procure the same.

(4.) Sir William Fitz-Williams, lord-deputy of Ireland, (whose arms are deservedly graven over the college-gate,) issued out his letters for collection to all the counties in Ireland, to advance so good a design; and the Irish (though then generally papists) were very bountiful thereunto.

(5.) Mr. Luke Chaloner, Fellow of Trinity-College in Cambridge, received and disbursed the moneys, had the oversight of the fabric,

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which he faithfully procured to be finished,—meriting that verse inscribed on his fair monument in Dublin-College chapel, built by his daughter: *—

Conditur hoc tumulo Chaloneri triste cadaver,
Cujus ope, et precibus, conditur ista domus.

"This tomb within it here contains
Of Chaloner the sad remains;
By whose prayer and helping hand
This house erected here doth stand."

(6.) The mayor and aldermen of Dublin bestowed on the College the site thereof, (with some accommodations of considerable grounds about it,) being formerly a religious house, termed Allhallows, which, at the suppression of abbeys, was bestowed on their corporation.

(7.) Adam Loftus, Fellow of Trinity-College in Cambridge, at this present archbishop of Dublin, and chancellor of Ireland, was the first master of the college, holding it as an honorary title, though not so much to receive credit by, as to return lustre to, the place.

(8.) Sir Warham Saint-Leger was very bountiful in paying yearly pensions for the maintenance of the first students thereof, before the college was endowed with standing revenues.

(9.) Sir Francis Shane, a mere Irishman, but good protestant, was a principal benefactor, and kept this infant-foundation from being strangled in the birth thereof.

(10.) Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and second chancellor of this university, bestowed, at the entreaty of the students of this college, a cannoneer's pay, and the pay of certain dead places of soldiers, to the value well-nigh of four hundred pounds a-year, for the scholars' maintenance, which continued for some years.

(11.) King James, that great patron of learning, to complete all, confirmed the revenues of this college *in perpetuum*, endowing it with a great proportion of good land in the province of Ulster.

Thus, through many hands, this good work at last was finished; the first stone whereof was laid May 13th, 1591; and in the year 1593, scholars were first admitted, and the first of them James Usher, since archbishop of Armagh, that mirror of learning and religion, never to be named by me without thanks to him, and to God for him. Nor must it be forgotten, that what Josephus reports of the temple built by Herod, Κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν οἰκοδομουμένου τοῦ ναοῦ, τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας οὐχ ὕειν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς νυξὶ γίνεσθαι τοὺς ὄμβρους, ὡς μὴ κωλῦσαι τὸ ἔργον, "During the time of the building of the temple, it rained not in the day-time, but in the night, that the showers might not hinder the work;" † I say, what by him is

* Since married to the archbishop of Armagh. † *Antiq. Jud.* lib. xv. cap. 20.

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reported hath been avouched to me by witnesses above exception, that the same happened here, from the founding to the finishing of this College; the officious heavens always smiling by day, (though often weeping by night,) till the work was completed.

The whole species of the University of Dublin was for many years preserved in the *individuum* of this one College. But, since, this instrument hath made better music, when what was but a monochord before hath got two other smaller strings unto it,—the addition of New-College, and Kildare-Hall. What remaineth, but that I wish that all those worthy divines bred therein, may have their doctrine drop as the rain, and their speech distil as the dew, as the small rain upon the tender herb, and as the showers upon the grass! Deut. xxxii. 2.

Let none censure this for a digression from our Church History of England. His discourse that is resident on the son doth not wholly wander from the father; seeing none will deny but that *proles* is *pars parentis*, "the child is part of the parent." Dublin University was a *colonia deducta* from Cambridge, and particularly from Trinity-College therein, (one motive perchance to the name of it,) as may appear by the ensuing catalogue of the Provosts thereof:—

(1.) Adam Loftus, Fellow of Trinity-College, first Provost.

(2.) Walter Travers, Fellow of the same college, second Provost.

(3.) Henry Alva, Fellow of St. John's-College in Cambridge, third Provost.

(4.) Sir William Temple, who wrote a learned comment on Ramus, Fellow of King's-College, fourth Provost.

(5.) Joseph Mede, Fellow of Christ-College in Cambridge, chosen Provost, but refused to accept it.

(6.) ———

(7.) William Chappel, Fellow of the same college, seventh Provost.

Know also, that this University did so Cantabrize, that she imitated her in the successive choice of her chancellors; the daughter dutifully approving and following the judgment of her mother therein.

48. *The Death of Arthur Faunt.*

This year was fatal to no eminent protestant divine; and I find but one of the Romish persuasion dying therein,—Arthur (shall I say, or Laurence?) Faunt, born of worshipful parentage at Folston in Leicestershire, bred in Merton-College in Oxford, whence he fled (with Mr. Pots, his tutor) to Louvain, and never more returned into England. From Louvain he removed to Paris, thence to Munich, an University in Bavaria, (where William the duke exhibited unto him,) thence to Rome, where he was admitted a Jesuit. Hence

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pope Gregory XIII. sent him to be governor of the Jesuits' College at Posen in Poland, newly erected by Sigismund, king thereof. Yea, so great was the fame of this Faunt, that (if his own letters may be believed) three princes courted him at once to come to them. He altered his Christian name of Arthur, because (as his kinsman tells us)* no Calendar-saint was ever of that name; and assumed the name of Laurence, dying this year at Wilna in Lithuania, leaving books of his own making, much prized by those of his own profession.

49, 50. *The Contest betwixt Hooker and Travers. Hooker's Character.*

Now began the heat and height of the sad contest betwixt Mr. Richard Hooker, master—and Mr. Walter Travers, lecturer—of the Temple. We will be the larger in the relating thereof, because we behold their actions not as the deeds of private persons, but the public champions of their party. Now, as an army is but a champion diffused, so a champion may be said to be an army contracted. The prelatical party wrought to the height in and for Hooker, nor was the presbyterian power less active in assisting Mr. Travers; both sides being glad they had gotten two such eminent leaders, with whom they might engage with such credit to their cause.

Hooker was born in Devonshire, bred in Oxford, Fellow of Corpus-Christi-College; one of a solid judgment and great reading. Yea, such the depth of his learning, that his pen was a better bucket than his tongue to draw it out: a great defender both by preaching and writing of the discipline of the church of England, yet never got (nor cared to get) any eminent dignity therein; conscience, not covetousness, engaging him in the controversy. Spotless was his conversation; and, though some dirt was cast, none could stick, on his reputation. Mr. Travers was brought-up in Trinity-College in Cambridge; and because much of church-matter depends upon him, I give the reader the larger account of his carriage.

51, 52. *Travers takes his Orders beyond Seas. He with Mr. Cartwright invited to be Divinity-professors in St. Andrew's.*

Travers, meeting with some discontents in the College, after the death of Dr. Beaumont, (in whose time he was elected Fellow,) took occasion to travel beyond seas; and, coming to Geneva, contracted familiarity with Mr. Beza, and other foreign divines, with whom he by letters continued correspondency till the day of his death. Then returned he, and commenced bachelor of divinity in Cambridge, and after that went beyond sea again, and at Antwerp was ordained minister by the presbytery there; whose testimonial I have here faithfully transcribed out of the original:—

* BURTON in his "Description of Leicestershire," p. 10.

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Quàm multis de causis sit et æquum et consultum unumquemque eorum qui ad verbi Dei ministerium adsciscuntur, vocationis suæ testimonium habere: asserimus, coactâ Antverpiæ ad 8 *Maii*, 1578, *duodecim ministrorum verbi cum totidem fere senioribus synodo, præstantissimum pietate et eruditione virum ac fratrem reverendum doctorem Gualterum Traverseum, omnium qui aderant suffragiis ardentissimisque votis, consueto ritu fuisse in sancto verbi Dei ministerio institutum, precibusque ac manuum impositione confirmatum. Postero autem die post Sabbatum ab illo in frequenti Anglorum cœtu concionem, rogante eo qui a synodo delegatus erat ministro, propensissimisque totius ecclesiæ animis acceptum fuisse. Quod quidem domini ac fratris nostri colendi apud Anglos ministerium ut benignitate suâ Deus Omnipotens donorum suorum incremento et amplissimo functionis ejus fructu ornare dignetur, enixè precamur per Jesum Christum. Amen! Dat. Antverpiæ,* 14 *Maii*, 1578.

DET. LOGELERIUS VILERIUS, verbi Dei minister,
JOHANNES HOCHELCUS, verbi Dei minister,
JOHANNES TAFFINUS, verbi Dei minister.

Thus put in orders by the presbytery of a foreign nation,* he continued there some years, preached (with Mr. Cartwright) unto the English factory of merchants at Antwerp, until at last he came over into England, and for seven years together became lecturer in the Temple, (refusing all presentative preferment, to decline subscription,) and lived domestic chaplain in the house of the lord-treasurer Cecil, being tutor for a time to Robert his son, afterwards earl of Salisbury. And although there was much heaving and shoving at him, (as one disaffected to the discipline,) yet God's goodness, his friend's greatness, and his own honesty, kept him (but with much difficulty) in his ministerial employment.

Yea, now so great grew the credit and reputation of Mr. Travers, that, by the advice of Mr. Andrew Melvin, he and Mr. Cartwright were solemnly sent for, to be Divinity Professors in the university of St. Andrew's; as by this autograph (which I have in my hands, and here think fit to exemplify) may plainly appear:—

Magno quidem, fratres charissimi, gaudio nos afficit constantia vestra, et invicta illa animi fortitudo, quâ contra satanæ imperium et reluctantem Christi imperio mundi fastum armavit vos Domini Spiritus, in asserendâ apud populares vestros ecclesiæ suæ disciplinâ. Sed permolestum tamen nobis semper fuit, pertinaci inimicorum odio et violentiâ factum esse, ut cum latere et solum subinde

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 518.—EDIT.

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vertere cogimini, minus aliquantò fructûs ex laboribus vestris ad pios omnes perveniat, quàm si docendo publicè et concionando destinatam ecclesiæ Dei operam navare licuisset. Hoc quia in patriâ vobis negatum videbamus, non aliud nobis magis in votis erat, quàm ut exulanti in vobis Christo hospitium aliquod in ultimâ Scotiâ præberetur. Quod ut fieri non incommodè possit, speramus longo nos conatu perfecisse.

Vetus est et non ignobilis apud nos Academia Andreana; in quâ cum aliæ artes, tum philosophia imprimis ita hucusque culta fuit, ut quod ab exteris nationibus peteretur, parùm nobis, aut nihil in eo genere deesset. Verùm divina illa sapientia, quam vel solam, vel præcipuam colere Christianos decet, neglecta diu in scholis jacuit; quòd a primâ statim religionis instauratione, summus omnium ardor exstaret in erudiendâ plebe; in aliis ad sacrum verbi ministerium instituendis paucissimi laborarent: non leve ut periculum subesset, ne (quod propitius nobis Deus avertat) concionatorum aliquando inopiâ periret, quod tantâ cum spe in hominum animos conjectum est veræ pietatis semen.

Animadvertit hoc tandem ecclesiasticus senatus, et cum rege regnique proceribus diligenter egit, ne hanc officii sui et solicitudinis partem desiderari amplius paterentur. Placuit et summo omnium applausu in proximis ordinum comitiis decretum est, ut quod amplitudine ceteris et opulentiâ collegium præstat theologiæ perpetuò studiis consecretur: utque ad verbi Dei ministerium nemo admittatur, nisi linguarum, utriusque Testamenti et locorum communium curriculo prius confecto: confici autem quadriennii spatio a quinque professoribus posse. Ex hoc numero adhuc desunt Thomas Cartwrigtus et Gualterus Traversus: reliquos nobis domi ecclesia nostra suppeditabit. Messem hic videtis singulari vestrâ eruditione et pietate non indignam. Ad quam pius vos princeps et proceres nostri; ad quam boni vos omnes et fratres vestri; ad quam Christi vos ecclesia et Christus ipse operarios invitat. Reliquum est, ut humanissimè vocantes sequi velitis; et ad docendi hanc provinciam, vobis honorificam, ecclesiæ Dei salutarem maturetis; magnas a principe, majores a Christi ecclesiâ, maximas et immortales a maximo et immortali Deo gratias inituri. Quod ut sine morâ facere dignemini, per eum ipsum vos etiam atque etiam obtestamur, cui acceptum ferri debet, quod ecclesiæ Filii sui prodesse tantopere possitis. Valete. Edinburgi.

JA. GLASGNEY, Academiæ Cancellarius,
ALAYNUS, Rector,
THOMAS SMETONIUS, Decanus,
ANDREAS MELVINUS, Collegii Præfectus,
MR. DAVID WEMS, Minister Glascoviensis.

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This proffer both jointly refused, with return of their most affectionate thanks; and such who know least are most bold in their conjectures to adventure at the reasons of their refusal;—as, that they would not leave the sun on their backs, and remove so far north; or they were discouraged with the slenderness of the salary assigned unto them. In plain truth they were loath to leave, and their friends loath to be left by them, conceiving their pains might as well be bestowed in their native country; and Travers quietly continued lecturer at the Temple till Mr. Hooker became the Master thereof.

53—55. *The Character of Hooker as to his Preaching. The Description of Travers. They clash about Matters of Doctrine.*

Mr. Hooker's voice was low, stature little, gesture none at all, standing stone-still in the pulpit, as if the posture of his body were the emblem of his mind, unmovable in his opinions. Where his eye was left fixed at the beginning, it was found fixed at the end of his sermon. In a word, the doctrine he delivered had nothing but itself to garnish it. His style was long and pithy, driving-on a whole flock of several clauses before he came to the close of a sentence. So that when the copiousness of his style met not with proportionable capacity in his auditors, it was unjustly censured for perplexed, tedious, and obscure. His sermons followed the inclination of his studies, and were for the most part on controversies, and deep points of school-divinity.

Mr. Travers's utterance was graceful, gesture plausible, matter profitable, method plain, and his style carried in it *indolem pietatis*, "a genius of grace" flowing from his sanctified heart. Some say, that the congregation in the Temple ebbed in the forenoon, and flowed in the afternoon; and that the auditory of Mr. Travers was far the more numerous,—the first occasion of emulation betwixt them. But such as knew Mr. Hooker, knew him to be too wise to take exception at such trifles, the rather because the most judicious is always the least part in all auditories.

Here might one on Sundays have seen almost as many writers as hearers. Not only young students, but even the gravest benchers, (such as sir Edward Coke and sir James Altham then were,) were not more exact in taking instructions from their clients, than in writing notes from the mouths of their ministers. The worst was, these two preachers, though joined in affinity, (their nearest kindred being married together,) acted with different principles, and clashed one against another. So that what Mr. Hooker delivered in the forenoon, Mr. Travers confuted in the afternoon. At the building of Solomon's temple "neither hammer, nor axe, nor tool of iron

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was heard therein," 1 Kings vi. 7; whereas, alas! in this Temple not only much knocking was heard, but (which was the worst) the nails and pins which one master-builder drave in, were driven out by the other. To pass by lesser differences betwixt them about predestination:—

HOOKER MAINTAINED—The church of Rome, though not a pure and perfect, yet is a true church; so that such who live and die therein,* upon their repentance of all their sins of ignorance, may be saved.

TRAVERS DEFENDED—The church of Rome is no true church at all; so that such as live and die therein, holding justification in part by works, cannot be said by the scriptures to be saved.

Thus, much disturbance was caused, to the disquieting of people's consciences, the disgrace of the ordinance, the advantage of the common enemy, and the dishonour of God himself.

56—63. *Travers is silenced by the Archbishop. Many pleased with the Deed, but not with the Manner of doing it. Travers's Plea in his Petition. A charitable Adversary. Travers must have no Favour. Whitgift's politic Carriage. Travers goeth into Ireland, and returneth. His contented Life, and quiet Death. A.D.* 1592.

Here archbishop Whitgift interposed his power, and silenced Travers from preaching either in the Temple or any where else. It was laid to his charge: (1.) That he was no lawful-ordained minister according to the church of England. (2.) That he preached here without licence. (3.) That he had broken the order made in the seventh year of her Majesty's reign; wherein it was provided, that erroneous doctrine, if it came to be publicly taught, should not be publicly refuted; but that notice thereof should be given to the ordinary, to hear and determine such causes, to prevent public disturbance.

As for Travers's silencing, many who were well pleased with the deed done were offended at the manner of doing it. For all the congregation on a sabbath in the afternoon were assembled together, their attention prepared, the cloth (as I may say) and napkins were laid, yea, the guests set, and their knives drawn for their spiritual repast, when suddenly, as Mr. Travers was going up into the pulpit, a sorry fellow served him with a letter, prohibiting him to preach any more. In obedience to authority, (the mild and constant submission whereunto won him respect with his adversaries,) Mr. Travers calmly signified the same to the congregation, and requested them quietly to depart to their chambers. Thus was our good

* Being weak, ignorant, and seduced.

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Zaccheus struck dumb in the Temple, but not for infidelity; unpartial people accounting his fault at most but indiscretion. Mean time, his auditory (pained that their pregnant expectation to hear him preach should so publicly prove abortive, and sent sermonless home) manifested in their variety of passion, some grieving, some frowning, some murmuring, and the wisest sort, who held their tongues, shook their heads, as disliking the managing of the matter.

Travers addressed himself by petition to the lords of the Privy Council, (where his strength lay, as Hooker's in the archbishop of Canterbury and High Commission,) [and] grievously complained that he was punished before he was heard, silenced (by him apprehended the heaviest penalty) before sent for, contrary to equity and reason: "The law condemning none before it hear him, and know what he hath done," John vii. 51.

(1.) To the exception against the lawfulness of his ministry, he pleaded that the communion of saints allows ordination legal in any Christian church. Orders herein are like degrees; and a doctor graduated in any university hath his title and place granted him in all Christendon.

(2.) For want of license to preach, he pleaded that he was recommended to this place of the Temple by two letters of the bishop of London, the diocesan thereof.

(3.) His anti-preaching in the afternoon against what was delivered before, he endeavoured to excuse by the example of St. Paul, who "gave not place to Peter, no, not an hour, that the truth of the gospel might continue amongst them," Galatians ii. 5.

But we are too tedious herein, especially seeing his petition is publicly extant in print, with Mr. Hooker's answer thereunto; whither we refer the reader for his more ample satisfaction.

By the way, it must not be forgotten, that in the very midst of the paroxysm betwixt Hooker and Travers, the latter still bare (and none can challenge the other to the contrary) a reverend esteem of his adversary. And when an unworthy aspersion (some years after) was cast on Hooker, (if Christ was dashed, shall Christians escape clean in their journey to heaven?) Mr. Travers being asked of a private friend what he thought of the truth of that accusation: "In truth," said he, "I take Mr. Hooker to be a holy man." A speech which, coming from an adversary, sounds no less to the commendation of his charity who spake it, than to the praise of his piety of whom it was spoken.

The Council-table was much divided about Travers's petition. All Whitgift's foes were *ipso facto* made Travers's favourers; besides, he had a large stock of friends on his own account. But Whitgift's finger moved more in church-matters, than all the hands

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of all the Privy Counsellors besides; and he was content to suffer others to be believed (and perchance to believe themselves) great actors in church-government, whilst he knew he could and did do all things himself therein. No favour must be afforded Travers on any terms. (1.) Dangerous was his person, a Cartwright junior, none in England either more loving Geneva, or more beloved by it. (2.) Dangerous the place, the Temple being one of the inns (therefore a public) of court (therefore a principal) place; and to suffer one opposite to the English discipline to continue lecturer there, what was it but in effect to retain half the lawyers of England to be of counsel against the ecclesiastical government thereof? (3.) Dangerous the precedent: this leading case would be presumed on for others to follow, and a rank's breaking may be an army's ruining.

This was the constant custom of Whitgift,—if any lord or lady sued to him to show favour for their sakes to nonconformists, his answer to them was rather respectful to the requester, than satisfactory to the request. He would profess how glad he was to serve them, and gratify them in compliance with their desire, assuring them for his part all possible kindness should be indulged unto them; but, in fine, he would remit nothing of his rigour against them. Thus, he never denied any great man's desire, and yet never granted it, pleasing them for the present with general promises, and (in them not dissembling, but using discreet and right expressions) still kept constant to his own resolution. Hereupon afterwards the nobility surceased making more suits unto him, as ineffectual, and even left all things to his own disposal.

Thus Mr. Travers, notwithstanding the plenty of his potent friends, was overborne by the archbishop, and, as he often complained, could never obtain to be brought to a fair hearing. But his grief hereat was something abated, when Adam Loftus, archbishop of Dublin, and Chancellor of Ireland, his ancient colleague in Cambridge, invited him over to be Provost of Trinity-College in Dublin. Embracing the motion, over he went, accepting the place; and continued some years therein, till, discomposed with the fear of their civil wars, he returned into England, and lived here many years very obscurely, (though in himself a shining light,) as to the matter of outward maintenance.

Yet had he Agur's wish, "neither poverty, nor riches," though his ENOUGH seemed to be of shortest size. It matters not whether men's means be mounted, or their minds descend, so be it that both meet (as here in him) in a comfortable contentment. Yea, when the right reverend and religious James Usher, then bishop of Meath, since archbishop of Armagh, (brought up under him, and with him agreeing in doctrine, though dissenting in discipline,) proffered

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money unto him for his relief, Mr. Travers returned a thankful refusal thereof. Sometimes he did preach, rather when he durst, than when he would; debarred from all cure of souls by his nonconformity. He lived and died unmarried; and though leaving many nephews (some eminent) scholars, bequeathed all his books of oriental languages, (wherein he was exquisite,) and plate worth fifty pounds, to Sion-College in London. O! if this good man had had a hand [equal] to his heart, or rather a purse to his hand, what charitable works would he have left behind him! But, in pursuance of his memory, I have intrenched too much on the modern times. Only this I will add, perchance the reader will be angry with me for saying thus much; and I am almost angry with myself for saying no more of so worthy a divine.

64—69. *The Death of worthy Mr. Greenham of the Plague; Fellow of Pembroke-Hall, in Cambridge. He is humbled with an obstinate Parish. His Dexterity in healing afflicted Consciences. He, leaving his Cure, cometh to London. A great Instrument of the good Keeping of the Lord's Day.*

Return we to the year 1592, which we find in London filled with funerals; so that within twelve months more than ten thousand were swept away therein of the plague; and, amongst them, reverend Mr. Richard Greenham,—the reason why we find not the exact date of his death. In contagious times, the corpses of those who, living, were best beloved, are rather hurried than carried to the grave; and, in such confusions, those parishes who have the best memories prove forgetful, their registers being either carelessly kept or totally omitted. Thus, our Greenham was mortally visited with the plague, whereof we find Munster, Franciscus Junius, Kimedontius, and other worthy divines formerly deceased in Germany; that patent of preservation against the pestilence,—"A thousand shall fall at thy side, and ten thousand at thy right hand, but it shall not come nigh thee," Psalm xci. 7,—running (as all other temporal promises) with this secret clause of revocation, "If God in his wisdom were not pleased otherwise to countermand it."

It may be said of some persons, in reference to their history, that they were born men; namely, such of whose birth and youth we find no particular account. Greenham is one of these; for, for want of better intelligence, we find him full-grown at the first, when *anno Domini* ——, he was admitted into Pembroke-Hall, in Cambridge. In which house, some years after, the youth of Mr. Lancelot Andrews,* afterwards bishop of Winchester, was well

* Some say he had a hand in making some of Mr. Greenham's works.

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acquainted with Mr. Greenham; and I dare boldly say, if Greenham gained any learning by Andrews, Andrews lost no religion by Greenham. He afterwards left the university, and became minister three miles off at Dry-Drayton.

Dry-Drayton, indeed! which—though often watered with Mr. Greenham's tears, and oftener with his prayers and preaching, who moistened the rich with his counsel, the poor with his charity—neither produced proportionable fruitfulness. The generality of his parish remained ignorant and obstinate, to their pastor's great grief, and their own greater damage and disgrace. Hence the verses,—

"Greenham had pastures green,
But sheep full lean."

Thus, God alone is the good Shepherd, who doth feed and can fat his sheep, and can make them to thrive under his keeping.

He used often, at the entreaty of some doctors, to preach at St. Mary's, in Cambridge; where, sometimes, so great his zeal in pressing important points, that he hath lost himself in the driving-home of some application, even to the forgetting of his text, (as himself would confess,) till he recovered the same on some short recollection. He always bitterly inveighed against non-residents; professing, that he wondered how such men could take any comfort in their wealth. "For, methinks," saith he, "they should see written on every thing which they have, *Pretium sanguinis*, 'This is the price of blood.'" But his master-piece was in comforting wounded consciences. For, although Heaven's hand can only set a broken heart, yet God used him herein as an instrument of good to many, who came to him with weeping eyes, and went from him with cheerful souls. The breath of his gracious counsel blew-up much smoking flax into a blazing flame.

Hereupon, the importunity of his friends (if herein they proved so) persuaded him to leave his parish, and remove to London, where his public parts might be better advantaged for the general good. They pleaded the little profit of his long pains to so poor and peevish a parish. Pity it was so good a fisherman should cast his nets elsewhere than in that ocean of people. What was Dry-Drayton but a bushel to hide—London a high candlestick to hold up—the brightness of his parts? Over-entreated by others, even almost against his own judgment, he resigned his cure to a worthy successor, and repaired to London; where, after some years' preaching up and down in no constant place, he was resident on no cure, but the curing of consciences. I am credibly informed,*

* By my own father, Mr. Thomas Fuller, who was well acquainted with him.

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he in some sort repented his removal from his parish, and disliked his own erratical and planetary life, which made him fix himself preacher at last at Christ-Church, in London, where he ended his days.

He lived sermons, and was most precise in his conversation; a strict observer of the Lord's day, and a great advancer thereof through the whole realm, by that treatise which he wrote of the sabbath. No book in that age made greater impression on people's practice, as one * (then a great wit in the university, now a grave wisdom in our church) hath ingeniously expressed :—

ON MR. GREENHAM'S BOOK OF THE SABBATH.

"While Greenham writeth on the sabbath's rest,
His soul enjoys not what his pen express'd:
His work enjoys not what itself doth say,
For it shall never find one resting-day.
A thousand hands shall toss each page and line,
Which shall be scanned by a thousand eyne;
That sabbath's rest, or this sabbath's unrest,
Hard is to say whether 's the happiest."

Thus godly Greenham is fallen asleep: we softly draw the curtains about him, and so proceed to other matter.

SECTION VIII.

TO THE LADY ANNE ARCHER, OF TANWORTH, IN WARWICKSHIRE.

MADAM,

You, being so good a housewife, know, far better than I, how much strength and handsomeness good hemming addeth to the end of a cloth. I, therefore, being now to put a period to this long and important century, as big as the whole Book besides, (but chiefly containing her reign, the honour of your sex and our nation,) have resolved, to prevent the unravelling thereof, to close and conclude it with this Dedication to your ladyship. On which account alone you are placed last in this Book, though otherwise the first and freest in encouraging my weak endeavours.

* Mr. Joseph Hall [afterwards the venerable bishop of Norwich].

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1. *The uncertain Date of Mr. Udal's Death.* 35 Elizabeth.

Of Mr. Udal's death come we now to treat: though through some defect in the records,* (transposed or lost,) we cannot tell the certain day of his condemnation and death. But this appears in the office, that two years since (namely 32 of Elizabeth, July 23rd) he was indicted and arraigned at Croydon, for defaming the queen's government in a book by him written, and entitled, "A Demonstration of the Discipline which Christ hath prescribed in his Word for the Government of his Church, in all Times and Places, until the World's End." But the mortal words (as I may term them) are found in the preface of his book, written "to the supposed governors of the church of England, archbishops, bishops," &c., and are inserted in the body of his indictment as followeth:—"Who can without blushing deny you to be the cause of all ungodliness? seeing your government is that which giveth leave to a man to be any thing, saving a sound Christian. For, certainly, it is more free in these days to be a Papist, Anabaptist, of the Family of Love, yea, any most wicked whatsoever, than that which we should be. And I could live these twenty years any such in England, (yea, in a bishop's house it may be,) and never be much molested for it; so true is that which you are charged with in a Dialogue lately come forth against you, and since burned by you, that you care for nothing but the maintenance of your dignities, be it to the damnation of your own souls and infinite millions more."

To this indictment he pleaded "Not guilty," denying himself to be the author of the book. Next day he was cast by the jury, and submitted himself to the mercy of the court, whereby he prevailed that judgment against him was respited till the next assizes, and he remanded to the Marshalsea.

2—5. *Mr. Udal's Supplication to the Lords of the Assizes. Various Censures on his Condemnation. He died peaceably in his Bed. His solemn Burial.*

March following, (the 33rd of queen Elizabeth,) he was brought again to the bar before the judges, to whom he had privately presented a petition with all advantage, but it found no entertainment. Insomuch, that in this month of March, (the day not appearing in the records,) he, at the assizes held in Southwark, was there condemned to be executed for a felon.

Various were men's censures on these proceedings against him. Some conceived it rigorous in the greatest (which at the best is

* Searched by me and my friends in the office of the Clerk of Assize for Surrey.

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cruel in the least) degree, considering the worth of his person and weakness of the proof against him. For he was a learned man, blameless for his life, powerful in his praying, and no less profitable than painful in his preaching. For, as Musculus in Germany, if I mistake not, first brought in the plain (but effectual) manner of preaching by Use and Doctrine; so Udal was the first who added Reasons thereunto,—the strength and sinews of a sermon. His English-Hebrew Grammar he made whilst in prison, as appears by a subscription in the close thereof. The proof was not pregnant: and it is generally believed that he made only the preface, (out of which his indictment was chiefly framed,) and not the body of the book laid to his charge. Besides, it was harsh to inflict immediate and direct death for a consequential and deductory felony, it being pent-housed out beyond the foundation and intent of the statute to build the indictment thereupon. Others thought, that some exemplary severity was necessary, not only to pinion the wings of such pamphlets from flying abroad, but even thereby to crush their eggs in the nest. Surely, the multitude of visits unto him, during his durance, no whit prolonged his life. For, flocking to popular prisoners in such cases is as ominous a presage of their death, as the flying and fluttering of ravens near and about the house and chamber of a sick body.

But a higher Judge had formerly passed another sentence on Udal's death,—that his soul and body should not by shameful violence be forced asunder, but that they should take a fair farewell each of other. How long he lived after his condemnation, we know not; there being a tradition that sir Walter Raleigh procured a reprieve, in a fair way to his pardon: this is certain, that without any other sickness, save heart-broken with sorrow, he ended his days. Right glad were his friends, that his death prevented his death; and the wisest of his foes were well contented therewith; esteeming it better, that his candle should go than he be put out, lest the snuff should be unsavoury to the survivors, and his death be charged as a cruel act on the account of the procurers thereof.

The ministers of London flocked to his funeral; and he was decently interred in the church-yard of St. George's in Southwark, not far from bishop Bonner's grave. So near may *their* bodies, when dead, in positure be together, *whose* minds, when living, in opinion were far asunder. Nor have I aught else to observe of him, save that I am informed that he was father of Ephraim Udal, a solid and pious divine, dying in our days, but in point of discipline of a different opinion from his father.

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6. Henry Barrow, John Greenwood, and John Penry executed.

And now the sword of justice being once drawn, it was not put up again into the sheath, before others were executed. For, March 31st, Henry Barrow, gentleman, and John Greenwood, clerk, (who some days before were indicted of felony at the Sessions-Hall without Newgate, before the lord mayor and the two Chief Justices, for writing certain seditious pamphlets,) were hanged at Tyburn.* And, not long after, John Penry, a Welshman, was apprehended at Stebunhith, by the vicar thereof, arraigned, and condemned of felony at the King's Bench at Westminster, for being a principal penner and publisher of a libellous book called "Martin Mar-Prelate," and executed at St. Thomas Waterings. Daniel Studely, girdler; Saxio Billot, gentleman; and Robert Bowley, fishmonger, were also condemned for publishing scandalous books; but not finding their execution, I believe them reprieved and pardoned.

7, 8. The Queen's last Coming to Oxford. Her Latin Oration.

About this time, if not somewhat sooner, (for my inquiry cannot arrive at the certain date,) queen Elizabeth took her last farewell of Oxford, where a Divinity Act was kept before her, on this question, "Whether it be lawful to dissemble in matters of religion?" One of the opponents endeavoured to prove the affirmative by his own example, who then did what was lawful, and yet he dissembled in disputing against the truth; the queen being well pleased at the wittiness of the argument. Dr. Westphaling, (who had divers years been bishop of Hereford,) coming then to Oxford, closed all with a learned determination; wherein, no fault, except somewhat too copious, (not to say, tedious,) at that time her Highness intending that night to make a speech, and thereby disappointed.†

Next day her Highness made a Latin oration to the heads of houses, (on the same token she therein gave a check to Dr. Reynolds for his nonconformity,) in the midst whereof, perceiving the old lord Burleigh stand by, with his lame legs, she would not proceed till she saw him provided of a stool,‡ and then fell to her speech again, as sensible of no interruption, having the command as well of her Latin tongue, as of her loyal subjects.

9, 10. The Death of Archbishop Pierce and Bishop Elmar. A.D. 1594.

John Pierce, [Piers,] archbishop of York, ended his life, dean of Christ-Church in Oxford, bishop of Rochester, Salisbury, and archbishop of York. When newly-beneficed, a young man in Oxfordshire, he had drowned his good parts in drunkenness, conversing

* STOW's "Chronicle," p. 765. † SIR JOHN HARRINGTON in his additional supply to Bishop Godwin, p. 134. ‡ *Idem*, p. 136.

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with his country parishioners; but, on the confession of his fault to a grave divine, reformed his conversation, so applying himself to his studies that he deservedly gained great preferment, and was highly esteemed by queen Elizabeth, whose almoner he continued for many years; and he must be a wise and good man whom that thrifty princess would intrust with distributing her money. He was one of the most grave and reverend prelates of his age; and, after his reduced life, so abstemious, that his physician in his old age could not persuade him to drink wine. So habited he was in sobriety, in detestation of his former excess.

The same year died John Elmar, [Aylmer,] bishop of London, bred in Cambridge, well-learned, as appeareth by his book, titled "the Harborough of Princes:" * one of a low stature, but stout spirit; very valiant in his youth, and witty all his life. Once when his auditory began at sermon to grow dull in their attentions, he presently read unto them many verses out of the Hebrew text; whereat they all started, admiring what use he meant to make thereof. Then showed he them their folly, that, whereas they neglected English, whereby they might be edified, they listened to Hebrew, whereof they understood not a word. He was a stiff and stern champion of church discipline; on which account none more mocked by Martin Mar-Prelate, or hated by nonconformists. To his eldest son he left a plentiful estate; and his second, a doctor of divinity, was a worthy man of his profession.

11, 12. *The Death of William Reginald, and of Cardinal Allen.*

But of the Romanists, two principal pillars ended their lives beyond the seas. First. William Reginald, *aliàs* Rose, born at Pinhoo in Devonshire, bred in Winchester school, then in New-College in Oxford.† Forsaking his country, he went to Rome, and there solemnly abjured the protestant religion; and thereupon was permitted to read (a favour seldom or never bestowed on such novices) any protestant books, without the least restriction, presuming on his zeal in their cause. From Rome, he removed to Rheims in France; where he became professor of divinity and Hebrew, in the English College; where, saith my author,‡ with studying, writing, and preaching against the protestants, perchance he exhausted himself with too much labour, and, breaking a vein, almost lost his

* This is incorrect. In 1556, John Knox published at Geneva a treatise under the title of, "The First Blast against the monstrous Regiment and Empire of Women." His design was to show, that, by the laws of God, women could not exercise sovereign authority. This treatise operated greatly to the injury of protestantism, on the minds of popish kings and princes. Aylmer, perceiving its pernicious tendency, published an answer, A. D. 1559, entitled, "An Harborowe for faithfull and treue Subjects against the late-blowne Blaste, concerning the Government of Women," &c.—EDIT. † PITZÆUS *De illustribus Angliæ Scriptoribus, in anno* 1594. ‡ *Idem, ibidem.*

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life with vomiting of blood. Recovering his strength, he vowed to spend the rest of his life in writing against protestants; and death at Antwerp seized on him, (the 24th of August, [in] the fiftieth year of his age) as he was a-making of a book, called *Calvino-Turcismus*, which after, by his dear friend, William Gifford, was finished, set forth, and dedicated to Albert duke of Austria.

William Allen, [Allyn, Alan,] commonly called "the cardinal of England," followed him into another world; born of honest parents, and allied to noble kindred in Lancashire; brought up at Oxford in Oriel-College, where he was proctor of the University, in the days of queen Mary, and afterwards head of St. Mary-Hall, and canon of York. But, on the change of religion, he departed the land, and became professor of divinity at Douay in Flanders, then canon of Cambray, master of the English College at Rheims, made cardinal 1587, August 7th, by pope Sixtus Quintus; the king of Spain bestowing on him an abbey in the kingdom of Naples,* and nominating him to be archbishop of Mechlin: but death arrested him to pay the debt to nature, October 16th;† and he was buried in the church of the English College at Rome. This is that Allen whom we have so often mentioned, conceived so great a champion for their cause, that pope Gregory XIII. said to his cardinals, *Venite, fratres mei, ostendam vobis Alanum*:‡ which the author thus translates, or rather comments on, "Come, my brethren, and I will show you a man, in England born, to whom all Europe may give place for his high prudence, reverend countenance, and purport of government." His loss was much lamented by the catholics, not without cause; whose gravity and authority had done many good offices, in composing the grudgings which began to grow betwixt Secular Priests and Jesuits; which private heart-burnings, soon after his death, blazed out in the prison of Wisbeach into an open scandal, as now we come to report.

13—19. *A sad Subject to write of Christian Discords. The Beginning of the Schism betwixt the Seculars and the Jesuits. The Seculars refuse to obey Weston, and why. Weston employed but as a Scout to discover the Temper of the Secular Priests. He will not stand to the Determination of a grave Priest chosen Umpire: at last is forced by Letters from his Provincial to leave off his Agency. The Schism, notwithstanding, continues and increases.*

Here I protest, (though uncertain how far to find belief,) that I take no delight in relating these discontents, much less shall my

* CAMDEN'S *Elizabetha in hoc anno.* † PITZÆUS *De illus. Ang. Scriptoribus*, p. 793. ‡ WATSON'S *Quodlibets*, p. 97.

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pen widen the wound betwixt them. For though I approve the opinions of neither, yet am I so much friend to the persons of both parties as not to make much to myself of their discords; the rather, because no Christian can heartily laugh at the factions of his fiercest enemies, because that sight at the same time pincheth him with the sad remembrance, that such divisions that have formerly, do at the present, or may hereafter, be found amongst those of his own profession,—such is the frailty of human nature in what side soever. However, hereafter let not papists without cause or measure vaunt of their unity, seeing their pretended ship of St. Peter is not so solidly compacted, but that it may spring a leak. Nor let them boast so confidently of their sufferings, and blame our severity unto them, as if enduring such hard usage in their imprisonment. Surely, like Joseph, "their feet were not hurt in the stocks, the iron did not enter into their soul," Psalm cv. 18; neither, with Jeremy, were they "cast into a dirty dungeon, where they sunk in mire," Jer. xxxviii. 6; nor, with Peter, were they "bound with two chains," Acts xii. 6; nor, with Paul and Silas, were they "thrust into the inner prison, and made fast," Acts xvi. 24; but had, in their durance, liberty, list, and leisure, to begin, foment, and prosecute this violent schism betwixt themselves.

Until this time the prime catholics in Wisbeach Castle had lived there in restraint, with great unity and concord. And the papists do brag that then and there the English church was most visible, until one Father Weston, *aliàs* Edmonds, a Jesuit, coming thither, erected a government amongst them, making certain sanctions and orders, which all were bound to observe; secretly procuring subjects to himself, and claiming a superiority over all the catholics there. Yet so cunningly he contrived the matter, that he seemed not ambitiously to affect, but religiously to accept, this authority proffered unto—yea, seemingly forced upon—him. For, one of his friends writes to Father Henry Garnet, provincial, then living in England, to this effect:—"Good Father Weston, in the humility of his heart, lies on his bed, like the man sick of the palsy, in the gospel. Nor will he walk confidently before others in the way of the righteous, except first he be let down through the tiles, and it be said unto him from the provincial, 'Arise, take up thy bed and walk.'" Yet, if the Seculars may be believed, he did not only arise, but run, before that word of command given him by Garnet, and put his jurisdiction in execution. Beside those of his own Society, many of the Secular Priests submitted themselves unto him, seduced, say some,* by the seeming sanctity of the Jesuits, and having their judgments bribed

* *Declaratio Motuum ac Turbationum, &c., ad Clementem VIII. exhibita*, p. 12.

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to that side by unequal proportions of money received, beside promising themselves, that, in case the land was invaded by the activity of the Jesuits, all power and preferment would be at their dispose, and so they should be sooner and higher advanced.

But the greatest number and learned sort of the Secular Priests stoutly resisted his superiority; affirming how formerly it had been offered to Thomas Watson, bishop of Lincoln, (late prisoner amongst them,) and he refused it, as inconsistent with their present condition, affliction making them equals, and a prison putting a parity betwixt them: (if any Order might pretend to this priority, it was most proper for the Benedictines, extant in England above a thousand years ago:) that the Jesuits were punies; and if all Orders should sit down, as Jacob's children at the table of Joseph, "the eldest according to his age, and the youngest according to his youth," Genesis xliii. 33; the last and least place of honour was due unto them; that the Secular Priests had borne the heat of the day in preaching and persecution; some of them having endured above twenty years' imprisonment for conscience' sake, (as Mr. Bluet for one,*) before some of the Jesuits knew what durance meant; that Weston was not eminent for learning, religion, or any prime quality, save only the affecting that place which his betters had declined; that it was monstrous, that he, being a Jesuit, and so a member of another Society, should be made a head of their body. The lay catholics were much offended with the schism. Some withheld, others threatening to withhold, their charity from both parties, conceiving it the ready means, when maintenance was detained from both sides, to starve them into agreement.

One might admire why father Weston should so earnestly desire so silly a dominion, having his power, as well as his own person, confined within the walls of Wisbeach Castle, a narrow diocess, only to domineer over a few prisoners; the gaoler, yea, the very turnkey, being his superior to control him, if offering to exceed that compass. But, O the sweetness of supremacy, though in never so small a circuit! It pleased his pride to be prior of a prison, but "agent" was the title wherewith he styled himself.† Indeed, the English Jesuits, both abroad in England, and beyond the seas, made use of Weston's forwardness to try the temper of the Secular Priests, and to make this bold Jesuit to back and break a skittish colt for further designs. If Weston were unhorsed, his fall would be little lamented; and he might thank his own boldness in adventuring, and the ill-managing of his place. If he sat the beast and it proved tame, then others would up and ride; and father Garnet, Provincial of the Jesuits,

* WATSON'S *Quodlibets*, p. 4. † *Declaratio Motuum*, &c. p. 17.

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intended in like manner to procure from the pope a superiority over all the Secular Priests in England. Wisbeach prison would be enlarged all over the kingdom, and the precedent would reach far in the consequence thereof; which increased the Secular opposition against this leading case of jurisdiction.

About this time came to Wisbeach an aged priest, who had given great testimony of the ability of his judgment and ardency of his affections to the catholic cause, being the General Collector of the charitable contributions unto the prisoners: in which place he had been so diligent in gathering, secret in conveying, faithful in delivering, unpartial in dispensing, such sums committed unto him, that deservedly he had purchased reputation to himself; who as he had been a benefactor to both parties, so now he was made an arbitrator betwixt them; with promise of both sides to rest satisfied with his decision. He condemned the Jesuits guilty of a scandalous separation, and that Weston ought to desist from his superiority. But the Jesuits would not stand to his sentence, confessing their separation scandalous, but only *per accidens*, and therefore not to be left off. And whereas the aforesaid priest had determined that that separation could not be continued without sin, the Jesuits, in derision, demanded of him whether he meant a venial sin or a mortal? and so the whole business took no effect.

Some months after, two reverend priests, often sent for by both sides, were, by joint consent, made judges in this cause; who resolved that Weston's agency should be abolished, as the original of evil and seminary of much discord: and because Weston refused to obey their order, these two priests posted up to London, (where Garnet, the Jesuits' Provincial did lodge,) and from him, with much ado, obtained peremptory letters to Weston, presently to leave off his pretended superiority: a message which went to the proud Jesuit's heart, who was formerly heard to say, that he had rather throw himself headlong from the castle wall, than desist from his office.* But now there was no remedy, but he must obey, desiring only he might make a speech to his Society, exhorting them to unity and concord; and, in the midst of his oration, as if he would have surrendered his soul and place both together, he fell speechless into a swoon, and hardly recovered again;† so mortal a wound it is to a proud heart to part with authority! Thus ended Weston's agency, the short continuance whereof was the best commendation of his command.

But this was but a palliate cure to skin the sore over which festered within. The enmity still continued; Seculars complaining that the Jesuits traduced them to lay catholics, as cold and remiss in the cause,

* *Declaratio Motuum, &c.*, p. 20. † *Ibidem.*

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only dull to follow beaten paths, not active to invent more compendious ways for the advance of religion. The Jesuits also boasted much of their own merit; how their Order, though last starting, had with its speed overtaken and over-run all before them. Indeed, they are excellent at the art of self-praising, not directly, but by certain consequence; for, though no man blazed his own praise, (for one to be a herald to commend himself, the same on the same, is false blazon, as well against the rules of modesty as prudence,) yet every one did praise his partner, laying an obligation on him to do the like, who in justice must do as much, and in bounty often did more, gratefully repaying the commendations lent him with interest: and thus mutually arching up one another, they filled the ears of all papists with loud relations of the transcendent industry, piety, learning of the men of their Society, to the manifest derogation of all other Orders. But, more of these discords in the year following.

20, 21. *The strict Keeping of the Sabbath first revived.* *A.D.* 1595.

About this time, throughout England, began the more solemn and strict observation of the Lord's day, (hereafter, both in writing and preaching, commonly called "the sabbath,") occasioned by a book this year set forth by one P. Bound, doctor of divinity, (and enlarged with additions, *anno* 1606,) wherein these following opinions are maintained:—

(1.) That the commandment of sanctifying every seventh day, as in the Mosaical Decalogue, is moral and perpetual.

(2.) That whereas all other things in the Jewish church were taken away, (priesthood, sacrifices, and sacraments,) this sabbath was so changed that it still remaineth.*

(3.) That there is a great reason why we Christians should take ourselves as straitly bound to rest upon the Lord's day, as the Jews were upon their sabbath, it being one of the moral commandments, where all are of equal authority.†

(4.) The rest upon this day must be a notable and singular rest, a most careful, exact, and precise rest, after another manner than men are accustomed.‡

(5.) Scholars on that day not to study the liberal arts, nor lawyers to consult the case, nor peruse men's evidences.§

(6.) Serjeants, apparitors, and summoners to be restrained from executing their offices.‖

(7.) Justices not to examine causes for the conservation of the peace.¶

* Dr. Bound's book of the Sabbath, p. 91. † P. 247. ‡ P. 124. § P. 163. ‖ P. 164. ¶ P. 166.

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(8.) That ringing of more bells than one, that day, is not to be justified.*

(9.) No solemn feasts, nor wedding-dinners, to be made on that day†—with permission notwithstanding of the same to lords, knights, and gentlemen of quality;‡ which some conceive not so fair dealing with him.

(10.) All honest recreations and pleasures, lawful on other days, (as shooting, fencing, bowling,) on this day to be forborne.§

(11.) No man to speak or talk of pleasures, or any other worldly matter.‖

It is almost incredible how taking this doctrine was, partly because of its own purity, and partly for the eminent piety of such persons as maintained it; so that the Lord's day, especially in corporations, began to be precisely kept, people becoming a law to themselves, forbearing such sports as yet by statute permitted; yea, many rejoicing at their own restraint herein. On this day the stoutest fencer laid down the buckler; the most skilful archer unbent his bow, counting all shooting beside the mark; May-games and morris-dances grew out of request; and good reason that bells should be silenced from jingling about men's legs, if their very ringing in steeples were adjudged unlawful. Some of them were ashamed of their former pleasures, like children, which, grown bigger, blushing themselves out of their rattles and whistles. Others forbore them for fear of their superiors; and many left them off out of a politic compliance, lest otherwise they should be accounted licentious.

Yet learned men were much divided in their judgments about these sabbatarian doctrines. Some embraced them as ancient truths consonant to scripture, long disused and neglected, now seasonably revived for the increase of piety.¶ Others conceived them grounded on a wrong bottom; but, because they tended to the manifest advance of religion, it was pity to oppose them, seeing none have just reason to complain, being deceived into their own good. But a third sort flatly fell out with these positions, as galling men's necks with a Jewish yoke, against the liberty of Christians; that Christ, as Lord of the sabbath, had removed the rigour thereof, and allowed men lawful recreations; that this doctrine put an unequal lustre on the Sunday on set purpose to eclipse all other holy-days, to the derogation of the authority of the church; that this strict observance was set up out of faction to be a character of difference, to brand all for libertines who did not entertain it.

* Dr. Bound's book of the Sabbath, p. 102. † Pp. 206, 209. ‡ P. 211. § P. 102. ‖ Pp. 272, 275. ¶ See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," pp. 520, 521.—Edit.

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22. Thomas Rogers first publicly opposeth Dr. Bound's Opinions.

However, for some years together in this controversy, Dr. Bound alone carried the garland away, none offering openly to oppose, and not so much as a feather of a quill in print did wag against him. Yea, as he in his second edition observeth, that many, both in their preachings, writings, and disputations, did concur with him in that argument; and three several profitable treatises, one made by Mr. Greenham, were within few years successively written, by three godly learned ministers.* But the first that gave a check to the full speed of this doctrine, was Thomas Rogers, of Horningsheath in Suffolk; in his preface to the Book of Articles. And now because our present age begins to dawn, and we come within the view of that truth whose footsteps heretofore we only followed at distance, I will interpose nothing of my own; but of a Historian only turn a Notary, for the behoof of the reader, faithfully transcribing such passages as we meet with in order of time.

"Notwithstanding, what the Brethren wanted in strength and learning, they had in wiliness; and though they lost much one way in the general and main point of their discipline, yet recovered they not a little advantage another way, by an odd and new device of theirs in a special article of their classical instructions. For while worthies of our church were employing their engines and forces, partly in defending the present government ecclesiastical, partly in assaulting the presbytery and new discipline, even at that very instant the Brethren (knowing themselves too weak either to overthrow our holds, and that which we hold, or to maintain their own) abandoned quite the bulwarks which they had raised and gave out were impregnable, suffering us to beat them down without any or very small resistance; and yet, not careless of their affairs, left not the wars for all that, but from an odd corner, and after a new fashion which we little thought of, (such was their cunning,) set upon us afresh again, by dispersing (in printed books, which, for ten years' space before they had been in hammering among themselves to make them complete) their sabbath-speculations, and presbyterian (that is, more than either kingly or popely) directions for the observation of the Lord's day." †

And in the next page he proceedeth: "It is a comfort unto my soul, and will be till my dying hour, that I have been the man and the means that the sabbatarian errors and impieties are brought into light and knowledge of the state, whereby, whatsoever else, sure I am, this good hath ensued,—namely, that the said books of the sabbath, comprehending the above-mentioned, and many more such

* Dr. Bound in his preface to the reader, second edition. † Rogers's preface to the Articles, paragraph 20.

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fearful and heretical assertions, have been both called-in and forbidden any more to be printed and made common. Your Grace's predecessor, archbishop Whitgift, by his letters and officers at synods and visitations, *anno* 1599, did the one, and sir John Popham, Lord Chief Justice of England, at Bury St. Edmund's in Suffolk, *anno* 1600, did the other." *

But though both minister and magistrate jointly endeavoured to suppress Bound's book, with the doctrine therein contained, yet all their care did but for the present make the Sunday set in a cloud to arise soon after in more brightness. As for the archbishop, his known opposition to the proceedings of the Brethren rendered his actions more odious; as if out of envy he had caused such a pearl to be concealed.† As for Judge Popham, though some conceived it most proper for his place to punish felonious doctrines, (which robbed the queen's subjects of their lawful liberty,) and to behold them branded with a mark of infamy; yet others accounted him no competent *judge* in this controversy. And though he had a dead hand against offenders, yet these sabbatarian doctrines, though condemned by him, took the privilege to pardon themselves, and were published more generally than before. The price of the doctor's book began to be doubled: as, commonly, books are then most called on when called in, and many who hear not of them when printed inquire after them when prohibited; and though the book's wings were clipped from flying abroad in print, it ran the faster from friend to friend in transcribed copies; and the Lord's day in most places was most strictly observed. The more liberty people were offered, the less they used it; refusing to take the freedom authority tendered them. For, the vulgar sort have the actions of their superiors in constant jealousy, suspecting each gate of their opening to be a trap, every hole of their digging to be a mine, wherein some secret train is covertly conveyed, to the blowing-up of the subject's liberty; which made them almost afraid of the recreations of the Lord's day allowed them; and, seeing it is the greatest pleasure to the mind of man to do what he pleaseth, it was sport for them to refrain from sports, whilst the forbearance was in themselves voluntary, arbitrary, and elective, not imposed upon them. Yea, six years after, Bound's book came forth, with enlargements, publicly sold; and scarce any comment, catechism, or controversy was set forth by the stricter divines, wherein this doctrine (the diamond in this ring) was not largely pressed and proved; so that, as one saith, the sabbath itself had no rest. For now, all strange and unknown writers, without further examination, passed for friends and

* Rogers's preface to the Articles, paragraph 23. † See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 521.—Edit.

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favourites of the presbyterian party, who could give the word, and had any thing in their treatise tending to the strict observation of the Lord's day. But more hereof, God willing, in the fifteenth year of king James.

23—28. *The Articles of Lambeth. The high Opinions some had of these Articles. Others value them at a lower Rate. Some flatly condemned both the Articles and Authors of them. How variously foreign Divines esteemed of them. These Articles excellent Witnesses of the general Doctrine of England.*

Now also began some opinions about predestination, free-will, perseverance, &c., much to trouble both the schools and pulpit. Whereupon archbishop Whitgift, out of his Christian care to propagate the truth and suppress the opposite errors, caused a solemn meeting of many grave and learned divines at Lambeth;* where, beside the archbishop, Richard Fletcher, bishop of London, Richard Vaughan, bishop elect of Bangor, Humphrey Tyndall, dean of Ely, Dr. Whitaker, queen's professor in Cambridge, and others were assembled. These, after a serious debate and mature deliberation, resolved at last on the now following articles:—

(1.) *Deus ab æterno prædestinavit quosdam ad vitam: quosdam reprobavit ad mortem.*

(2.) *Causa movens aut efficiens prædestinationis ad vitam non est prævisio fidei, aut perseverantiæ, aut bonorum operum, aut ullius rei quæ insit in personis prædestinatis, sed sola voluntas beneplaciti Dei.*

(3.) *Prædestinatorum præfinitus et certus est numerus, qui nec augeri nec minui potest.*

(4.) *Qui non sunt prædestinati ad salutem, necessariò propter peccata sua damnabuntur.*

(5.) *Vera, viva, et justificans fides, et Spiritus Dei justificantis, non extinguitur, non excidit, non evanescit in electis, aut finaliter, aut totaliter.*

(6.) *Homo verè fidelis, id est, fide justificante præditus, certus est plerophoriâ fidei de remissione peccatorum suorum, et salute sempiternâ suâ per Christum.*

(7.) *Gratia salutaris non tribuitur, non communicatur, non conceditur universis hominibus, quâ servari possint si velint.*

(8.) *Nemo potest venire ad Christum, nisi datum ei fuerit, et nisi Pater eum traxerit; et omnes homines non trahuntur a Patre ut veniant ad Filium.*

(9.) *Non est positum in arbitrio aut potestate uniuscujusque hominis servari.*

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 522.— EDIT.

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"(1.) God from eternity hath predestinated certain men unto life; certain men he hath reprobated.

"(2.) The moving or efficient cause of predestination unto life is not the foresight of faith, or of perseverance, or of good works, or of any thing that is in the person predestinated; but only the good-will and pleasure of God.

"(3.) There is predetermined a certain number of the predestinate, which can neither be augmented nor diminished.

"(4.) Those who are not predestinated to salvation shall be necessarily damned for their sins.

"(5.) A true, living, and justifying faith, and the Spirit of God justifying, is not extinguished, falleth not away, it vanisheth not away in the elect, either finally or totally.

"(6.) A man truly faithful, that is, such an one who is endued with a justifying faith, is certain, with the full assurance of faith, of the remission of his sins, and of his everlasting salvation by Christ.

"(7.) Saving grace is not given, is not granted, is not communicated to all men, by which they may be saved if they will.

"(8.) No man can come unto Christ unless it shall be given unto him, and unless the Father shall draw him; and all men are not drawn by the Father, that they may come to the Son.

"(9.) It is not in the will or power of every one to be saved."

Matthew Hutton, the right reverend archbishop of York, did also fully and freely in his judgment concur with these divines, as may appear by his letter here inserted:—

Accepi jampridem literas tuas, reverendissime præsul, veteris illius benevolentiæ et amoris erga me tui plenas; in quibus efflagitas opinionem meam de articulis quibusdam nuper Cantabrigiæ agitatis, non sine aliquâ piorum offensione, qui graviter molestèque ferunt matrem academiam, jam multitudine liberorum et quidem doctissimorum florentem, eâ dissensione filiorum nonnihil contristatam esse. Sed fieri non potest quin veniant offendicula; neque desinet inimicus homo inter triticum zizania seminare, donec eum Dominus sub pedibus contriverit. Legi articulos et relegi, et dum pararem aliquid de singulis dicere, visum est mihi multò potius de ipsâ electione et reprobatione, unde illa dissensio orta esse videtur, meam sententiam et opinionem paucis verbis explicare, quàm singulis sigillatim respondens fratrum forsitan quorundam animas, quos in veritate diligo, exacerbare. Meminisse potes, ornatissime antistes, cum Cantabrigiæ unà essemus, et sacras literas in scholis publicis interpretaremur, eandem regulam seculi eam semper fuisse inter nos consensionem in omnibus religionis causis, et ne minima quidem vel dissensionis, vel simultatis suspicio unquam appareret.

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Igitur hoc tempore si judicio dominationis tuæ, id quod pingui Minervâ scripsi probatum ire intellexero, multò mihi minus displacebo. Deus te diutissimè servet incolumem, ut tum reginæ serenissimæ et toti regno fidelissimus consiliarius, tum etiam ecclesiæ huic nostræ Anglicanæ pastor utilissimus multos adhuc annos esse possis. Vale. E musæo meo apud Bishop-Thorp. Calend. Octob. anno Domini 1595.

But when these articles came abroad into the world, men's brains and tongues, as since their pens, were employed about the authority of the same, and the obedience due unto them; much puzzled to find the new place where rightly to rank them in reputation; how much above the results and resolutions of private divines, and how much beneath the authority of a provincial synod. Some there [were] that almost equalled their authenticalness with the acts of a synod, requiring the like conformity of men's judgments unto them. They endeavoured to prove that those divines met not alone in their private capacities, but also representing others; alleging this passage in a public letter from Cambridge,* subscribed with the hands of the heads of that university:—"We sent up to London by common consent in November last, Dr. Tyndall and Dr. Whitaker, (men especially chosen for that purpose,) for conference with my lord of Canterbury, and other principal divines there," &c.

Others maintain the contrary. For, grant each man, in this conference at Lambeth, one of a thousand for learning and religion; yet was he but one in power and place, and had no proxy or deputation, the two Cambridge doctors excepted, to appear in the behalf of others; and therefore their determinations, though of great use to direct, could be but of little authority to conclude and command, the consent of others.

But a third sort, offended with the matter of the articles, thought that the two archbishops, and the rest at this meeting, deserved censure for holding an unlawful conventicle. For they had not express command from the queen to meet, debate, and decide such controversies. Those of the opposite party were not solemnly summoned and heard; so that it might seem rather a design to crush them than clear the truth. The meeting was warranted with no legal authority, rather a private action of Dr. John Whitgift, Dr. Matthew Hutton, &c., than the public act of the archbishops of Canterbury and York. One goeth further to affirm, that those articles of Lambeth were afterwards forbidden by public authority; but when, where, and by whom, he is not pleased to impart unto us.† And strange it is, that a public prohibition should be whis-

* See it cited at large in our "History of Cambridge," *anno* 1595. † MR. MOUNTAGU in his "Appeal," pp. 55, 56, 71, 72.

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pered so softly, that this author alone should hear it, and none other to my knowledge take notice thereof.

As for foreign divines, just as they were biassed in judgment, so on that side ran their affections, in raising or decrying the esteem of these articles. Some printed,* set forth, and cited them,† as the sense of the church of England; others as fast slighted them, as the narrow positions of a few private and partial persons. As for Corvinus, as we know not whence he had his intelligence, so we find no just ground for what he reporteth, that archbishop Whitgift for his pains incurred the queen's displeasure, and a præmunire.‡ We presume this foreigner better acquainted with the imperial law and local customs of Holland, than with our municipal statutes, and the nature of a præmunire. Indeed, there goes a tradition, that the queen should in merriment say jestingly to the archbishop, "My lord, I now shall want no money; for I am informed all your goods are forfeited unto me by your calling a council without my consent." But how much of truth herein, God knows. And be it referred to our learned in the law, whether, without danger of such a censure, the two archbishops, by virtue of their place, had not any implicit leave from the queen to assemble divines, for the clearing, declaring, and asserting of difficult truths, provided they innovate or alter nothing in matters of religion.§

And now, I perceive, I must tread tenderly, because I go not (as before) on men's graves, but am ready to touch the quick of some yet alive. I know how dangerous it is to follow truth too near to the heels; yet better it is that the teeth of an historian be struck out of his head for writing the truth, than that they remain still and rot in his jaws, by feeding too much on the sweetmeats of flattery. All that I will say of the credit of these articles is this,—that, as medals of gold and silver, though they will not pass in payment for current coin, because not stamped with the king's inscription, yet they will go with goldsmiths for as much as they are in weight; so, though these articles want authentic reputation to pass for provincial Acts, as lacking sufficient authority, yet will they be readily received of orthodox Christians for as far as their own purity bears con-

* THYSIUS twice printed them at Harderwick, *anno* 1613. † BOGERMAN in his 107th and 108th notes on the second part of Grotius. ‡ In his "Answer to the Notes of Bogerman," second part, p. 566, and so forward to p. 570. § On this whole affair, as well as on other collateral matters belonging to that important period, Fuller's information was very incorrect; a circumstance that operated as one of the principal inducements with Strype to write his accurate "Life of Whitgift," in which the reader will find all the documents requisite to afford a right view of the issue of this controversy. Six years after the publication of FULLER'S "Church History," DR. PETER HEYLIN published his celebrated *Historia Quinquarticularis*, in which he refutes several of these statements.—EDIT.

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formity to God's word.* And though those learned divines be not acknowledged as competent judges to pass definitive sentence in those points, yet they will be taken as witnesses beyond exception; whose testimony is an infallible evidence what was the general and received doctrine of England in that age, about the fore-named controversies.

29. *Bishop Wickham, Dr. Whitaker, Daniel Halseworth, and Robert Southwell end their Lives.*

This year ended the life, First, of Dr. William Wickham, bred in King's-College, in Cambridge, first bishop of Lincoln, after of Winchester, whose name-sake, William Wickham, in the reign of king Edward III., sat in the same see more years than this did weeks. Indeed, we know little of his life, but so much of his death, as we must not mention it without some pity to him, whilst in pain, and praise to God for our own health; such was his torture with the stone before his death, that for fourteen days together he made not water.† Secondly. Worthy Dr. William Whitaker, whose larger character we reserve, God willing, for our "History of Cambridge." And amongst the Romanists, Daniel Halseworth, who, as Pitzæus describes him,‡ (papists give no scant measure in praising those of their own party,) was well skilled in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; an elegant poet, eloquent orator, acute philosopher, expert mathematician, deep-studied lawyer, and excellent divine. Flying from England, he lived successively in Savoy, Rome, and Milan, having too many professions to gather wealth; and with all his arts and parts, both lived in poverty and died in obscurity. More eminent, but more infamous, was the death of Robert Southwell, a Jesuit, born in Suffolk,§ bred beyond the seas, where he wrote abundance of books; who, returning into England, was executed, March 3rd, for a traitor, at London, and honoured for a martyr amongst men of his own religion.

30. *The Complaint of the Seculars against the Jesuits, and principally against Parsons. A.D.* 1596.

The Secular Priests continued their complaints, as against Jesuits in general, so particularly against Robert Parsons. This Parsons about eighteen years since was in England, where, by his statizing and dangerous activity, he had so incensed the queen's Council, that the Secular Priests made him a main occasion why such sharp laws were so suddenly made against catholics in England.‖ But no

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 523.—EDIT. † BISHOP GODWIN in his "Catalogue of the Bishops of Winchester." ‡ *De Angliæ Scriptoribus; ætate* 16, p. 794. § *Idem, ibidem.* ‖ *Declaratio Motuum ad Clementem VIII.* p. 24.

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sooner did danger begin to appear, but away went Parsons beyond the seas; wherein some condemned his cowardliness, and others commended his policy,—seeing such a commander-in-chief, as he was in the Romish cause, ought to repose his person in safety, and might be nevertheless virtually present in the fight, by the issuing-out of his orders to meaner officers. Nor did Parsons, like a wheeling cock, turn aside with intent to return, but ran quite out of the cockpit, and then crowed in triumph when he was got on his own dunghill, safely resident in the city of Rome. Here he compiled—and hence he dispatched—many letters and libels into England; and, amongst the rest, that book of the succession to the English [crown], (entitling the Spaniard thereunto,) setting it forth under the false name of Doleman,* an honest, harmless Secular Priest, and his professed adversary. And, surely, Parsons was a fit fellow to derive the pedigree of the kings of England, who might first have studied to deduce his own descent from a lawful father, being himself (otherwise called "Cowback") *filius populi et filius peccati*, as catholics have observed.† Many letters also he sent over, full of threats, and assuring his party that the land would be invaded by foreigners; writing therein, not what he knew or thought was—but what he desired and endeavoured should be—true. Some of these letters being intercepted, made the queen's officers (as they had just cause) more strict in searching—as her judges more severe in punishing—the papists. Hereupon the Seculars complained, that such proceedings against them (termed "persecution" by them, and "justice" by our state) were caused by the Jesuits, and that Parsons especially, though he had kindled the fire, left others to bear the heat thereof. Yea, which was more, he was not himself contented to sleep in a whole skin at Rome, but lashed others of his own religion, and, having got his neck out of the collar, accused others for not drawing weight enough, taxing the Seculars as dull and remiss in the cause of religion; and, to speak plainly, they differed as hot and cold poison, the Jesuits more active and pragmatical, the Seculars more slow and heavy; but both maintaining treacherous principles, destructive to the Commonwealth.

31. *A general Calm.*

If we look now on the nonconformists, we shall find them all still and quiet. After a storm comes a calm. Wearied with a former blustering, they began now to repose themselves in a sad silence, especially since the condemnation of Udal and Penry had so terrified them, that, though they might have secret designs, we meet not

* CAMDEN'S *Elizabetha in anno* 1594, p. 72. † WATSON'S *Quodlibets*, pp. 109, 236.

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their open and public motions;* so that this century affordeth little more than the moralities of some eminent men.

32. *The Death of Bishop Fletcher and Bishop Coldwell.*

We begin with Richard Fletcher, bishop of London, bred in Bene't College in Cambridge; one of a comely person and goodly presence,—qualities not to be cast away in a bishop, though a bishop not to be chosen for them. He loved to ride the great horse, and had much skill in managing thereof; condemned for very proud, (such his natural stately garb,) by such as knew him not; and commended for humility by those acquainted with him. He lost the queen's favour because of his second unhappy match, and died suddenly, more of grief than any other disease. With him let me couple another heart-broken bishop, John Coldwell, of Salisbury, doctor of physic, (St. Luke, we know, was both an evangelist and physician,) who never enjoyed himself after he had consented (though little better than surprised thereunto) to the alienation of Sherborn manor from the bishopric.

33. *The Death of Laurence Humphrey.*

Here I am at a loss for the date of the death of Laurence Humphrey, but confident I hit the butt, though miss the mark,† as about this time. He was a conscientious and moderate nonconformist, (condemned for lukewarm by such as were scalding hot,) dean of Winchester and Master of Magdalen-College in Oxford, to which he bequeathed a considerable sum of gold, left in a chest, not to be opened, except some great necessity urged thereunto. But, lately, whilst Dr. John Wilkinson was President of the College, this gold was shared between him and the Fellows.‡ And though

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 524.—EDIT. † See Fuller's confession of his own mistake in this volume, p. 92.—EDIT. ‡ In the relation of this affair some errors occur, which are thus corrected by Heylin:—"Our author is mistaken in Dr. Humphrey, though he be willing to entitle him to some benefaction. The sum there found amounted to above twelve hundred double pistolets; the old Doctor [Wilkinson] having no fewer than one hundred for his part of the spoil, and every Fellow thirty a-piece for theirs: each pistolet exchanged at sixteen shillings and sixpence, and yet the exchanger got well by the bargain too. Too great a sum for Dr. Humphrey—who had many children, and no provident woman to his wife—to leave behind him to the college, had he been so minded. The money (as the tradition went in that college) was left there by the founder, [bishop Wainfleet,] to remedy and repair such ruins as either the casualty of fire, or the ravages of a civil war, might bring upon it: to which the nature of the coin (being all French pieces)—remember that the English at that time [A. D. 1459] were masters of a great part of France—gives a further testimony." Fuller, in his "Appeal," (p. 649,) thus candidly acknowledges his mistake: "As I have been mistaken in the *person*, Dr. Humphrey for bishop Wainfleet, donor of this gold, following common report therein; so I could heartily have wished I had also erred in the thing itself;—I mean, that an emotion of such devoted treasure had never been done."—EDIT.

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one must charitably believe the matter not so bad as it is reported, yet the most favourable relation thereof gave a general distaste.

34. *A great Antiquary's good Intention discouraged.*

Sure I am, a great antiquary, lately deceased, (rich as well in his state, as learning,) at the hearing hereof quitted all his intentions of benefaction to Oxford or any place else, on suspicion it would be diverted to other uses. On the same token that he merrily said, "I think the best way for a man to perpetuate his memory, is to procure the pope to canonize him for a saint; for then he shall be sure to be remembered in their calendar: whereas, otherwise, I see all protestant charity subject to the covetousness of posterity to devour it, and bury the donor thereof in oblivion."

35. *The Charity of a Spanish Protestant.*

Mr. Balthazar Zanches, a Spaniard, born in Xeres in Estremadura, founded an alms-house, at Tottenham High-Cross in Middlesex, for eight single people, allowing them competent maintenance. Now, seeing protestant founders are rare, Spanish protestants rarer, Spanish protestant founders in England rarest, I could not pass this over with silence; nor must we forget, that he was the first confectioner or comfit-maker in England, bringing that mystery to London; and, as I am informed, the exactness thereof continues still in his family, in which respect they have successively been the queens' and kings' confectioners.

36. *The Acts in the Parliament. A.D.* 1597.

A Parliament [was] held at Westminster, wherein the deprivation of popish bishops in the first of this queen's reign was declared legal. Some will wonder what need is of this statute at so many years' distance; but the preface intimates the necessity thereof. The legality also of our bishops, and their officers, was again by Act of Parliament confirmed. And whereas there was a pretended concealment of some lands of the bishopric of Norwich, the same by Act of Parliament were settled on that see, and the exchange of lands ratified, made in the reign of king Henry VIII. The contemporary Convocation did nothing of moment.

37, 38. *The Death of Thomas Stapleton, and of Dr. Cosine. A.D.* 1597.

Thomas Stapleton this year ended his life, and was buried at St. Peter's church in Louvain. It is written in his epitaph, *qui Cicestriæ in Angliâ nobili loco natus*, where *Cicestriæ* is taken not for the *city*, but *diocess* of Chichester; having otherwise good assurance

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that he was born at Henfield in Sussex, the same year and month wherein sir Thomas More was beheaded,* observed by the catholics as a grand providence. He was a most learned assertor of the Romish religion, wanting nothing but a true cause to defend. On one account I am beholden unto him; namely, for dissuading Pitzæus† from being a soldier to be a scholar, whose History of our English writers hath so often been useful unto me.

Richard Cosine, doctor of the law and dean of arches, this year ended his life; one of the greatest civilians which our age or nation hath produced; a most moderate man in his own nature, but most earnest assertor of the ecclesiastical discipline; as by his printed works doth appear.

39. *The Death of Robert Turner. A.D.* 1599.

Robert Turner's death was now much bemoaned by the papists. He was born at Barnstaple in Devon, bred for a while in Oxford; whence flying beyond the seas, he became canon of Breslaw in Silesia, and at the same time Privy Counsellor to the duke of Bavaria, falling afterward into his displeasure, probably because more pragmatical than became a foreigner. However, Ferdinand of Gratz, afterwards emperor, took him from the duke to be his own secretary for the Latin tongue, wherein he excelled; as by his printed "Orations" doth appear. He lieth buried at Gratz under a handsome monument.

40. *The Death of Richard Hooker.*

Great was the grief of Protestants for the decease of Richard Hooker, Turner's countryman, as born also in Devonshire, and bred in Corpus-Christi-College in Oxford, living and dying a single man;‡ of whom largely before; his innocency survived to triumph over those aspersions which the malice of others (advantaged by his own dove-like simplicity) had cast upon him. I am informed sir Edwin Sandys hath erected a monument over him, in his parish-church in Kent, where he lieth interred.

41. *An over-politic Act disliked.*

I cannot omit what I find in this year in Mr. Camden's manuscript Life of queen Elizabeth.§ A report was cast out by our politicians, in the midst of harvest, of the danger of a present foreign invasion; done out of design, to prevent the popularity of the earl

* See PITZÆUS in his Life. † *Ibid.* ‡ Hooker's "Life," by Izaak Walton, was not published at this time; otherwise Fuller could not have committed such a mistake as the one here recorded. See also p. 125 of this volume.—EDIT. § Which shortly will be set forth in a new edition.

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of Essex, and to try the people's inclinations. Instantly all were put into a posture of defence; mowers, reapers, all harvest-folk left their work to be employed in musters. This afterwards appeared but a court-project, whereat the country took much distaste; so ill is it to jest with edged tools, especially with scithes and sickles. My author addeth, that people affirmed that such May-games had been fitter in the spring, (when sports were used amongst the Romans to Flora,) and not in the autumn, when people were seriously employed to fetch-in the fruits of the earth. But, by his leave, these expressions flow from critics, and fly far above the capacities of countrymen.

42. *The Death of John Sanderson, and Thomas Case.* *A.D.* 1600.

This century concluded the lives of two eminent Roman catholics; John Sanderson, born in Lancashire, bred in Trinity-College in Cambridge, where he set forth an excellent Logic, called Sanderson's Logic, forty years ancienter than that which his worthy name-sake of Oxford (of a different judgment in religion) hath since printed on the same subject. From Cambridge he fled to Cambray in Artois, where he lived with good comfort, and died with great credit with those of his own persuasion. The other, Thomas Case, of St. John's in Oxford, doctor of physic; it seems, always a Romanist in his heart, but never expressing the same, till his mortal sickness seized upon him.

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THE

CHURCH HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

BOOK X.

CONTAINING THE REIGN OF KING JAMES.

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TO

THE HONOURABLE ROBERT LORD BRUCE,

SOLE SON TO

THE RIGHT HON. THOMAS EARL OF ELGIN.

HAVING, by God's assistance, drawn down my History to the death of queen Elizabeth, some dissuade me from continuing it any further; because that, as St. Peter out of wariness (*aliàs* cowardliness) followed Christ (who was "the Truth," Matt. xxvi. 58) "afar off;" so they lay this down for a maxim,—that the story of modern times must not be written by any alive: a position, in my poor opinion, both disgraceful to historians, and prejudicial to posterity.

Disgraceful to historians.—As if they would make themselves like unto the beasts of the forest, as charactered by David, "who move in the darkness till the sun ariseth, and they get them away," Psalm civ. 20, 22: loving to write of things done at distance, where obscurity may protect their mistakes from discovery; but putting-up their pens as soon as the day dawns of modern times, and they within the reach of reputation.

Prejudicial to posterity.—Seeing, intentions in this nature, long-delayed, are at last defeated. The young man, moved by his mother to marry, returned, that as yet it was "too soon;" and, some years after, pleaded, that now it was "too late." * So some say, truth is not ripe enough to be written in the age we live in, which proveth rotten too much for the next generation

* PLUTARCH in his "Morals."

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faithfully to report, when the impresses of memorable matters are almost worn out; the histories then written having more of the author's hand than footsteps of truth therein.

Sure I am, the most informative histories to posterity, and such as are most highly prized by the judicious, are such as were written by the eye-witnesses thereof; as Thucydides, the reporter of the Peloponnesian war.

However, one may observe such as write the story of their own times like the two messengers who carried tidings to David. Of these, Ahimaaz (sent the rather by permission than injunction) only told David what he knew would please him, acquainting him with his victory. But being demanded of his son's death, he made a tale of a tumult, (no better than an officious lie for himself,) the issue whereof was to him unknown, 2 Sam. xviii. 29. Cushi, the other messenger, having his carriage less of cunning, and more of conscience; informing the king of his son's death, but folding it up in a fair expression: "The enemies of my lord the king, and all that rise against thee to do thee hurt, be as that young man is!" 2 Sam. xviii. 32.

Ahimaaz is imitated by such historians who leave that unwritten which they suspect will be unwelcome. These, following the rule, *Summa lex salus authoris*, when they meet with any necessary but dangerous truth, pass it over with a blank flourished up with some ingenious evasion.

Such writers succeed to plain Cushi in their relations who give a true account of actions; and, to avoid all exasperating terms, (which may make a bad matter worse in relating it,) use the most lenitive language in expressing distasteful matter, adventuring with their own danger to procure the information of others. Truly one is concerned in conscience to transmit to the next age some short intimations of these times, out of fear that records are not so carefully kept in these so many and sudden changes as they were in former ages.

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I know Machiavel was wont to say, that "he who undertakes to write a history must be of no religion;" if so, he himself was the best-qualified of any in his age to be a good historian.

But I believe his meaning was much better than his words; intending therein, that "a writer of histories must not discover his inclination in religion to the prejudice of truth:" Levi-like, who said to his father and mother, "I have not seen them,"—owning no acquaintance of any relations.

This I have endeavoured to my utmost in this Book; knowing, as that oil is adjudged the best that hath no taste at all; so that historian is preferred who hath the least tang of partial reflections.

However, some candour of course is due to such historians, (wherein the courtesy not so great in giving, as the injury in detaining it,) who run the chiding of these present times in hope that after-ages may excuse them. And I am confident, that these my labours shall find the same favour, which *may be* in mere men, *should be* in all gentlemen, *must be* in true Christians; the rather because this Book appeareth patronized by a Dedication to your Honour.

I have selected your lordship for a patron to this part of my History, wherein the reign of king James is contained; under whose peaceable government your grandfather was his Privy Counsellor, and Master of the Rolls; when your family was not brought, but *brought back* into England, where it had flourished barons many years before. Plants are much meliorated by transplanting, especially when after many years they are restored to their native soil as cordial unto them. And thus, the continuance and increase of all happiness to yourself and noble consort, is the unfeigned prayer of

Your Honour's most obliged servant,

THOMAS FULLER.

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THE

CHURCH HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

BOOK X.

SECTION I.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

1. *The Seculars fomented by the Bishop of London against the Jesuits.* 43 Elizabeth. *A.D.* 1601.

THE difference betwixt the Seculars and the Jesuits still continued and increased. Wherefore, bishop Bancroft, counting the Seculars the better but weaker side, afforded them countenance and maintenance in London-house, accommodating them with necessaries to write against their adversaries, hoping the protestants might assault the Romish cause with the greater advantage, when they found a breach made to their hand by the others' own dissensions. But such who bore no good-will to the bishop, beholding the frequent repairing and familiar conversing of such priests in his house, made a contrary construction of his actions, and reported him popishly affected. Thus, those who publicly do things in themselves liable to offence, and privately reserve the reasons of their actions in their own bosoms, may sufficiently satisfy their consciences towards God, but will hardly avoid the censures of men, to which, too unwarily they expose themselves. With more general applause was the bounty of archbishop Whitgift bestowed; who now finished his hospital, founded and endowed by him at Croydon in Surrey, for a Warden, and eight-and-twenty Brethren; as also a free-school, with liberal maintenance for the education of youth. God, the best of creditors, no doubt, long since hath plentifully repaid what was lent to him, in his members.

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2, 3. *Acts in the last Parliament of Queen Elizabeth. Acts of this Year's Convocation.*

The last Parliament in this queen's reign was now begun at Westminster, October 27th, and dissolved the month next following, November 19th. Of such things which at distance may seem to relate to church-affairs, in this Parliament it was enacted, that overseers of the poor should be nominated yearly in Easter-week, under the hand and seal of two Justices-of-Peace;* and that these with the churchwardens should take care for the relief of the poor, binding-out of apprentices, &c. As also, that the Lord Chancellor should award commissions under the Great Seal, into any part of the realm, (as cause should require,) to the bishop of every diocess,† and his chancellor, and any four or more persons of honest behaviour, to inquire by oaths of twelve men, into the mis-employment of any lands or goods given to pious uses; and by their orders to appoint them to be duly and faithfully paid or employed to their true uses and intents. In pursuance of this statute, much good was and is done to this day, in several parts of the kingdom, the law being very tender, that the true intentions of the donor should take effect, as by this eminent instance may appear: By the rule of the law, copyhold land cannot be aliened, but by surrender; but yet if a man devise such land to a charitable use, though it had not been surrendered, this is adjudged good, and shall be construed an appointment to a charitable use within this statute.‡

Now, if we look into the Convocation, parallel to this Parliament, therein we shall find, that it began with a Latin sermon of William Barlow, doctor of divinity, and one of her Majesty's chaplains, (afterwards bishop of Rochester, then of Lincoln,) preaching on this text, *Negotiamini dum venio*, Luke xix. 13. In this Convocation, Matthew Sutcliffe, doctor of the law, and dean of Exeter, was chosen Prolocutor; but nothing save matters-of-course passed therein. Nor find I any eminent divine deceased this year.

4. *Francis Godwin made Bishop of Landaff.*

Francis Godwin, doctor of divinity, sub-dean of Exeter, son of Thomas Godwin, bishop of Wells, (like another Gregory Nazianzen, a bishop, son to a bishop,§) was promoted to the church of Landaff. He was born in the fourth year of queen Elizabeth, who was not a little sensible of and thankful for God's favour unto her, in suffering her so long to hold the helm of the English church, till one born within her reign was found fit to be a bishop. He was stored with

* *Statute* 43 of queen Elizabeth, cap. 2. † *Ibid.* cap. 4. ‡ 15 *Jacobi I.* in Rivet's case in Chancery. § *In Vitâ Greg. Nazianzen.*

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all polite learning, both judicious and industrious in the study of antiquity; to whom not only the church of Landaff, (whereof he well deserved,) but all England is indebted, as for his other learned writings, so especially for his "Catalogue of Bishops." He was translated, *anno* 1617, to Hereford, and died many years after, a very old man, in the reign of king Charles.

5, 6. Watson's "Quodlibets" against the Jesuits. The black Character of Jesuits painted with the Pencil of a Secular Priest. A.D. 1602.

Now came forth a notable book against the Jesuits, written in a scholastic way, by one Watson, a Secular Priest, consisting of ten *quodlibets*, each whereof is subdivided into as many articles. It discovereth the Jesuits in their colours, ferreting them out of all their burrows of equivocation and mental reservation, holding Proteus so hard to it, that, in despite of his changing into many shapes, he is forced to appear in his own proper form. No entire answer, for aught I can learn, was ever returned to this book; the Jesuits, according to their old trick, slighting what they cannot confute, and counting *that* unworthy to be done *which* they found themselves unable to do. Indeed, for matters of fact therein, they are so punctually reported with the several circumstances of time and place, that the guilty consciences of such as are concerned therein (though snapping and snarling at pieces and passages thereof) for the main may well give it over as unanswerable.

Yet the whole book is written with an imbittered style; so that protestant charity hath a better conceit of Jesuits, than to account them altogether so bad. Take one passage of many:—"No, no, their course of life doth show what their study is, and that, howsoever they boast of their perfections, holiness, meditations, and exercises, yet their platform is heathenish, tyrannical, satanical, and able to set Aretine, Lucian, Machiavel, yea, and Don Lucifer, in a sort, to school, as impossible for him, by all the art he hath, to besot men as they do." * This is the same Watson, who, though boasting of the obedience of the Secular Priests to their sovereigns, and taxing the Jesuits for want thereof, was, notwithstanding, himself afterwards executed for a traitor in the reign of king James. It seems, as well Seculars as Jesuits are so loaden with loyalty, that both need the gallows to ease them of the burden thereof.

7. A Quiet in the English Church, and the Cause thereof.

Great at this time was the calm in the English church, the Brethren not endeavouring any thing in opposition to the hierarchy.

* Second *Quodlibet*, third article, p. 62.

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This some impute not to their quietness, but weariness, because so long they had in vain sought to cast off that yoke from them. Besides, they did not so much practise for the present, as project for the future, to procure hereafter an establishment of their ecclesiastical government. For they beheld the queen's old age as a taper of virgin-wax now in the socket, ready to be extinguished; which made them address and apply themselves with all diligence to James king of Scotland, the heir-apparent to the crown, as to the rising sun, who they hoped will be more favourable to their proceedings: hopes not altogether groundless, whilst they considered the power of the presbytery in the church of Scotland, where bishops, though lately restored to their place, were so restrained in their power, that small was their command in church-affairs; which made the Brethren in England thence to promise great matters to themselves; but with what success, shall be seen hereafter. As for Mr. Thomas Cartwright, the chieftain of that party in England, we find him at this time growing rich in the town of Warwick, (there master of an hospital,) by the benevolence and bounty of his followers, where he preached very temperately, according to his promise made to the archbishop.*

8, 9. *Several Reasons assigned of Mr. Cartwright's Moderation. The Character of Mr. Cartwright.*

Some ascribe this his mildness to his old age and experience; it being commonly observed, that, in controversies of this kind, men, when they consult with their own grey hairs, begin to abate of their violence. Others conceive that archbishop Whitgift had conquered him with his kindness, having formerly procured him both his pardon and dismission out of all his troubles; so that his coals of courtesies, heaped on Mr. Cartwright's head, made the good metal (the ingenuity in him) to melt into moderation. For, in his letters written with his own hand, March 24th, *anno* 1601, he confesseth himself much obliged unto him, vouchsafing him the style of "a right reverend father in God, and his lord the archbishop's Grace of Canterbury;" which title of "Grace," he also often yieldeth him throughout his letters, acknowledging his bond of most humble duty so much the straiter, because his Grace's favour proceeded from a frank disposition, without any desert of his own.† Others, and that not improbably, do think that Mr. Cartwright grew sensible, with sorrow, how all sects and schisms, being opposite to bishops, (Brownists, Barrowists, &c.,) did shroud and shelter themselves under his protection, whom he could neither reject with credit, nor receive with

* Sir George Paul, in "the Life of Archbishop Whitgift," p. 54. † *Idem, ut prius.*

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comfort; seeing his conscience could not close with their enormous opinions, and his counsel could not regulate their extravagant violences, which made him by degrees decline their party. Yet, for all this, there want not those who will maintain, that all this while Mr. Cartwright was not more remiss, but more reserved, in his judgment; being still as sound, but not as sharp, in the cause, out of politic intents; like a skilful pilot in a great tempest, yielding to the violence of a storm, therewith to be carried away, contrary to his intents for the present, but waiting when the wind should soon turn about to the north, and blow him and his a prosperous gale, according to their desires.

What his opinions were, may appear by the premisses; and his life may be presumed most pious, it concerning *him* to be strict in his conversation *who* so stickled for the reformation of all abuses in the church: an excellent scholar, pure Latinist, (his travels advantaging the ready use thereof,) accurate Grecian, exact Hebrician; as his Comments on the Proverbs, and other works, do sufficiently testify. But the master-piece of all his writings was, that his Confutation of the Rhemish Translation of the New Testament into English, at the importunity of many ministers of London and Suffolk; and sir Francis Walsingham, the queen's secretary, Mr. Cartwright's especial patron, gave him a hundred pounds to buy him books, and encourage him in that work.* However, the setting-forth thereof was stopped by archbishop Whitgift; probably, we may conceive, because some passages therein did glance at and gird the episcopal discipline in England; and after it had lain thirty years neglected, it was first set forth *anno* 1618, and then, without either privilege or licence; except any will say, that truth is a licence for itself. In a word, no English champion in that age did, with more valour or success, charge and rout the Romish enemy in matters of doctrine.† But when that adversary sometimes was not in the field, then his active spirit fell foul, in point of discipline, with those who otherwise were of his own religion.

10. *Bishop Westphaling, Dean Nowell, Mr. Perkins, Gregory Sayer, and William Harris, depart this World.*

The same year proved fatal to many other eminent clergymen; and I hope, without offence, I may join them together, their bodies at the same time meeting at the grave, though their minds before had parted in different opinions.

(1.) Herbert Westphaling, bishop of Hereford; (though, perchance, his ambiguous death is more properly referred to the last year;) brought up in Christ-Church in Oxford, being the first bishop

* See the preface of Mr. Cartwright's book. † See p. 70 of this volume.—EDIT.

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of that foundation; a man of great piety of life, and of such gravity that he was seldom or never seen to laugh;* leaving no great but a well-gotten estate, out of which he bequeathed twenty pounds *per annum* to Jesus-College in Oxford.

(2.) Alexander Nowell, doctor of divinity, and dean of St. Paul's in London, born in Lancashire, bred in Oxford, afterwards fled into Germany, in the reign of queen Mary. He was the first of English exiles that returned in the days of queen Elizabeth.† And I have read how in a parliament he was chosen burgess of a town of Cornwall; but his election pronounced void, because he was a deacon: a man of a most angelical life and deep learning: a great defender of justification by faith alone, and yet a great practiser of good works; witness two hundred pounds a-year rent, for the maintenance of thirteen students, bestowed on Brasen-nose-College, wherein he had his education:‡ a great honourer of the marriage of the clergy, and yet who lived and died single himself: an aged man, of ninety years of age, yet fresh in his youthful learning; yea, like another Moses, his eyes were not dim, nor did he ever make use of spectacles to read the smallest print.§

(3.) William Perkins, who was born in the first, and died in the last, of queen Elizabeth; so that his life, (as we have elsewhere observed,|| to which we remit the reader,) running parallel with this queen's reign, began, continued, and ended therewith.

(4.) Gregory (before his entrance into religion, Robert) Sayer, bred in Cambridge, then, leaving the University, fled beyond sea, where he became a Benedictine monk, of the congregation of St. Justin in Padua. He lived in several parts of Europe, as at Rheims, Rome, Montcassino in Venice, where he died, and was buried, October 30th, having written many volumes in great esteem with men of his profession.¶

(5.) William Harris, as obscure among protestants, as eminent with the popish party: a Master of Arts of Lincoln-College in Oxford; whence, leaving the land, he fled beyond sea, living at Douay, and afterwards he came over into England;** where, it seems, he had the hap to escape the queen's officers, and to die in his bed. His book called "the Theatre of the most true and ancient Church of England," is highly accounted of Roman catholics.

11. *Relief sent to the City of Geneva.*

About this time the low estate of the city of Geneva, the nursery of the Reformed religion, was lively represented to the prelates,

* GODWIN *De Præsulibus Angliæ*, p. 546. † DONALD LUPTON in his "Life." ‡ CAMDEN'S "Elizabeth" in *anno* 1602. § HUGH HOLLAND in his *Icones Virorum Illustrium*. || In "the Holy State," where see his Life at large. ¶ PITZÆUS *De Scriptoribus Anglicis, ætate decimâ-septimâ*, p. 801. ** *Idem, ibidem.*

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clergy, and well-disposed persons of England; being for the present in a very doleful condition. Long since it had been undone, but because it had so many enemies to undo it; so that, by God's providence, "out of the devourer came meat," Judges xiv. 14; such neighbouring princes and states, which were both willing and able to swallow up this Zoar, did preserve it. For, rather than Savoy should suppress it, Venice, Florence, the popish Cantons in Switzerland, and France itself, would support. But for all this politic geometry, wherewith long it had hung safe betwixt several competitors, it was, lately, shrewdly shaken by the puissance of the duke of Savoy; who, addicted to the Spanish faction, had banished all protestants out of his dominions. Archbishop Whitgift, whose hand was ever open to any pious design, led with his liberal example, and the rest cheerfully followed; so that large sums of money were seasonably made over for the relief of Geneva.

12. *The Death of Queen Elizabeth.*

Queen Elizabeth, the mirror of her sex and age,—having, above forty years, to the admiration of envy itself, managed this kingdom, finding, when she began, few friends that durst help, and leaving no foes that could hurt her,—exchanged her earthly for a heavenly crown; who, as she lived and died an unspotted virgin, so her maiden memory is likely, in this respect, to remain sole and single; seeing history affords no prince to be matched to her fame in all considerable particulars. Her corpse was solemnly interred under a fair tomb in Westminster; the lively draught whereof is pictured in most London—and many country—churches; every parish being proud of the shadow of her tomb: and no wonder, when each loyal subject erected a mournful monument for her in his heart. But, soon after, all English souls were employed equally to divide themselves betwixt exclamations of sorrow for her death, and acclamations of joy for king James succeeding her.

13. *King James sends a welcome Message to the episcopal Party.* 1 James I. *A.D.* 1602.

And now it is strange with what assiduity and diligence the two potent parties, the defenders of episcopacy and presbytery, with equal hopes of success, made, beside private and particular addresses, public and visible applications to king James,—the first to continue, the latter to restore, or rather set up, their government; so that whilst each side was jealous his rival should get the start by early stirring, and rise first in the king's favour, such was their vigilancy, that neither may seem to go to bed; incessantly diligent

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both before and since the queen's death, in despatching posts and messages into Scotland to advance their several designs. We take notice of two principal:—Mr. Lewis Pickering, a Northamptonshire gentleman, and zealous for the presbyterian party, was the third person of quality, who, riding incredibly swift, (good news makes good horsemen!) brought king James the tidings of queen Elizabeth's death. But how far, and with what answer, he moved the king in that cause, is uncertain. Dr. Thomas Nevill, dean of Canterbury, came into Scotland some days after him, (except any will say, that he comes first that comes really to effect what he was sent for,) being solemnly employed by archbishop Whitgift * to his Majesty, in the name of the bishops and clergy of England, to tender their bounden duties, and to understand his Highness's pleasure for the ordering and guiding of ecclesiastical causes. He brought back a welcome answer, to such as sent him, of his Highness's purpose, which was to uphold and maintain the government of the late queen, as she left it settled.

14—17. *Watson's silly Treason. His motley Complices. Their wild Means whereby to attain a mad End. The two Priests executed.*

Soon after followed the treason of William Watson, on this occasion: This Watson, Secular Priest, had written a bitter book against the Jesuits, being one as knowing (though not so secret) of their faults, as their own confessors, taxing them with truth so plain they could not deny, so foul they durst not confess it. Now, such is the charity of Jesuits, that they never owe any man any ill-will, making present payment thereof. These holy fathers (as Watson intimated on the scaffold,† at his death, and forgave them for the same) cunningly and covertly drew him into this action, promoting him, who was ambitious, (though pretending to much mortification,) treasonably to practise his own preferment.

Watson, with William Clark, another of his own profession, having fancied a notional treason, imparted it to George Brooke, one angry with nature, not so much for making him lame, as a younger brother. These break it to Brooke's brother, the lord Cobham, to the lord Gray of Whaddon, and sir Walter Raleigh,‡—the one a known protestant, the other a reputed Puritan, the third an able statesman; beside some other knights, displeased with their present fortunes, (how quickly is discontent inflamed into disloyalty!) because, since the turning of the wheel, at the queen's death, on the wrong side of preferment. Watson devised an oath of secrecy for

* SIR GEORGE PAUL in the archbishop's "Life," num. 126. † STOW's "Chronicle," p. 831. ‡ See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 527.—EDIT.

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them all, which was no more than needful, considering their different interests, rather pieced than united, patched than pieced, together.

Had one lost his religion, he might have found it (though I confess a treason is but a bad place to seek it in) in this conspiracy, wherein men of all persuasions were engaged. Their parts were as different as their opinions; some of them being conceived too wise to begin—and others too weak to finish—so dangerous a design. The ends they propounded to themselves, (as they were charged therewith,) were, to kill the king, raise rebellion, alter religion, at least gain a toleration, and procure a foreign invasion, with many more things, which may be spoken easier in a minute than done in an age, especially their interest being not much at home, and nothing abroad. They ante-divided all offices of state betwixt themselves,—lord marshal to one, treasurer to another, master of the horse to a third, secretary to a fourth, &c. Only sir Walter Raleigh, able to discharge any, had no particular office assigned unto him. Watson was to be lord chancellor, being very fit for the place, had he but as much skill to decide causes as write *Quodlibets*. There wanted nothing to estate them in all these offices, but only their getting of them.

Wonder not that this treason was discovered so soon, but covered so long. The two priests alone, with George Brooke, were executed, November 29th; who, to use the words of king James in his letter to sir Benjamin Tichbourne, sheriff of Hampshire, (for the plague being in London, term was removed to Winchester, where they were tried,) *vaire the principall plotteris and intisaris of all the rest, to the embracing of the saidis treasonabil machinations.* The rest were pardoned their lives, not their lands. We must not forget, that the priests pleaded the silliest for themselves of all that were arraigned; alleging that their practice against the king could not be treason, because done against him before he was crowned; Watson instancing in Saul, who was anointed in Ramah, 1 Sam. x. 1, and afterward made king in Mizpeh, 1 Sam. x. 24. Clark insisted on Rehoboam, as being no king till the people had made him so, 1 Kings xii. 1; not remembering (what our lawyers there minded them of) the difference betwixt successive kings, deriving their claim from their ancestors, and one newly-elected; the English Crown also being as incapable of an inter-regnum, as nature of a vacuity. Mean time the Jesuits looked on, and laughed at Watson's execution, to see how bunglingly Secular Priests went about a treason, resolving in the next platform thereof (which now they were contriving) to rectify the errors Watson had committed: not to engage in a squint-eyed company, where two did not look the same way, but to select a competency of cordial catholics for the purpose.

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18, 19. *Mr. Cartwright dedicates a Book to King James. Mr. Cartwright's Death.*

No sooner was king James settled on the English throne, but Mr. Cartwright presented unto him his Latin comment on Ecclesiastes, thankfully mentioning in his Dedication, how he had, some twenty years before, been chosen to be Professor in a Scotch University, though declining the acceptance thereof, because of his pastoral charge, being then minister of the English congregation at Antwerp: Thanks, perchance, not so proper to the person of king James, (though in loyalty and good manners justly tendered unto him,) as due rather to those who in his minority steered the affairs of Scotland. Nor let any wonder, that an Englishman should be proffered preferment in Scotland, seeing it was but one for another, remembering that I have read in the Life of Mr. Knox that he was offered an English bishopric in the reign (as I take it) of king Edward VI., and likewise refused the same.

But Mr. Cartwright survived not long after, (otherwise, no doubt, we should have heard of him in Hampton-court Conference, as the champion of his party,) who died at the age of sixty, on the 27th of December following. To what we have formerly largely written of his character, we now only add, that he was born in Hertfordshire, and married the sister of Mr. Stubbs, whose hand was struck off for writing an interpreted libel against queen Elizabeth's marriage with Monsieur.* This I dare boldly say, she was a most excellent wife, if she proved like her brother, whom Mr. Camden (no great friend of Puritans) cordially commendeth for a right honest man, generally beloved whilst living, and lamented when dead. He [Cartwright] was afflicted towards his old age with many infirmities, insomuch that he was forced continually to study upon his knees.† My ears shall be deaf to the uncharitable inference of those, who impute this extraordinary painful posture as a just punishment upon him, in that he had so bitterly inveighed against the gesture of those as superstitious who reverently received the sacrament on their knees. Mr. Dod preached his funeral sermon.

20. *The Presbyterian Petition to the King and Parliament.*

And now, because there was a general expectation of a parliament suddenly to succeed, the presbyterian party, that they might not be surprised before they had their tackling about them, went about to get hands of the ministers to a petition, which they intended seasonably to present to the king and parliament. Mr. Arthur Hildersham, and Mr. Stephen Egerton, with some others, were chosen, and

* CAMDEN in his "Elizabeth." † See his Life lately set forth by Mr. Clark.

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chiefly intrusted to manage this important business. This was called "the Millenary Petition," as *one of a thousand;* * though indeed there were but seven hundred and fifty preachers' hands set thereunto: but those all collected only out of five-and-twenty counties.† However, for the more rotundity of the number, and grace of the matter, it passeth for a full thousand; which, no doubt, the collectors of the names (if so pleased) might easily have completed. I dare not guess what made them desist before their number was finished; whether they thought that these were enough to do the deed, and more were rather for ostentation than use; or, because disheartened by the intervening of the Hampton-court Conference, they thought that these were even too many to petition for a denial. It is left as yet uncertain, whether this Conference was by the king's favour graciously tendered; or by the mediation of the lords of his Council, powerfully procured; or by the bishops, as confident of their cause, voluntarily proffered; or by the ministers' importunity, effectually obtained. Each opinion pretends to probability, but the last most likely. And, by what means soever this Conference was compassed, Hampton-Court was the place, the 14th of January the time, and the following names the persons who were employed therein.

For Conformity.—Archbishop of Canterbury, Whitgift. Bishop of London, Bancroft; Durham, Matthews; Winchester, Bilson; Worcester, Babington; St. David's, Rudd; Chichester, Watson; Carlisle, Robinson; Peterborough, Dove. Dean of the Chapel, of Christ-Church, of Worcester; Westminster, Andrews; St. Paul's, Overall; Chester, Barlow; Salisbury, Bridges; ‡ of Windsor, Dr. Field and Dr. King.

Against Conformity.—Dr. Reynolds and Dr. Sparks; Mr. Knewstubbs and Mr. Chaderton. These remaining in a room without, were not called in the first day.

Moderator.—King James.

Spectators.—All the lords of the Privy Council, whereas some at times interposed a few words.

Place.—A withdrawing-room within the privy chamber.

21. *The first Day's Conference at Hampton-Court. A.D.* 1604.

To omit all gratulatory preambles, as necessary when spoken, as needless if now repeated, we will present only the substance of this day's Conference; his Majesty thus beginning it:—

* See Mr Hildersham's "Life," set forth by Mr. Clark. † See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 528.—Edit. ‡ Though all these deans were summoned by letters, and present in the Presence-chamber; yet only five (namely, of the Chapel, Westminster, Paul's, Chester, and Salisbury) on the first day were called in.

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"IT is no novel device, but according to the example of all Christian princes, for kings to take the first course for the establishing of the church, both in doctrine and policy. To this the very Heathen related in their proverb, *A Jove principium:* particularly, in this land, king Henry VIII., toward the end of his reign, altered much, king Edward VI. more, queen Mary reversed all, and, lastly, queen Elizabeth (of famous memory*) settled religion as now it standeth.

"Herein I am happier than they, because they were fain to alter all things they found established; whereas I see yet no such cause to change, as to confirm, what I find well-settled already. For, blessed be God's gracious goodness, who hath brought me into the promised land, where religion is purely professed, where I sit amongst grave, learned, and reverend men, not as before, elsewhere, a king without state, without honour, without order, where beardless boys would brave us to the face.

"And, I assure you, we have not called this assembly for any innovation; for we acknowledge the government ecclesiastical, as now it is, to have been approved by manifold blessings from God himself, both for the increase of the gospel, and with a most happy and glorious peace. Yet because nothing can be so absolutely ordered, but that something may be added thereunto, and corruption in any state (as in the body of man) will insensibly grow either through time or persons; and because we have received many complaints since our first entrance into this kingdom, of many disorders and much disobedience to the laws, with a great falling away to popery; our purpose therefore is, like a good physician, to examine and try the complaints, and fully to remove the occasions thereof if scandalous, cure them if dangerous, and take knowledge of them if but frivolous; thereby to cast a sop into Cerberus's mouth, that he bark no more. For this cause we have called you, bishops and deans, in, severally by yourselves, not to be confronted by the contrary opponents; that if any thing shall be found meet to be redressed, it might be done without any visible alteration.

"Particularly, there be some special points wherein I desire to be satisfied, and which may be reduced to three heads: (1.) Concerning the Book of Common-Prayer, and Divine Service used in the church. (2.) Excommunication in ecclesiastical courts. (3.) The providing of fit and able ministers for Ireland.

"In the Common-Prayer Book I require satisfaction about three things:

"First, about Confirmation. For the very name thereof, if arguing a confirming of baptism, as if this sacrament without it were of no

* Note, his Majesty never remembered her, but with some honourable addition.

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validity, is plainly blasphemous. For though at the first use thereof in the church it was thought necessary that baptized infants, who formerly had answered by their *patrini*, should, when come to years of discretion, after their profession made by themselves, be confirmed with the blessing of the bishop, I abhor the abuse wherein it is made a sacrament, or corroboration to baptism.

"(2.) As for absolution, I know not how it is used in our church, but have heard it likened to the pope's pardons. There be indeed two kinds thereof from God: One *general;* all prayers and preaching importing an absolution: The other *particular*, to special parties, having committed a scandal, and repenting. Otherwise where excommunication precedes not, in my judgment there needs no absolution.

"(3.) Private Baptism is the third thing wherein I would be satisfied in the Common-Prayer. If called *private* from the place, I think it agreeable with the use of the primitive church; but if termed *private*, that any beside a lawful minister may baptize, I utterly dislike it."

And here his Majesty grew somewhat earnest in his expressions, against the baptizing by women and laics.

"In the second head of Excommunication, I offer two things to be considered of: First, the matter; Secondly, the persons.

"For the First: I would be satisfied whether it be executed (as it is complained of to me) in light causes, and that too commonly, which causeth the undervaluing thereof.

"For the persons: I would be resolved, why chancellors and commissaries, being laymen, should do it, and not rather the bishops themselves, or some minister of gravity and account, deputed by them for the more dignity to so high and weighty a censure. As for providing ministers for Ireland, I shall refer it, in the last day's Conference, to a consultation."

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.*—Confirmation hath been used in the catholic church ever since the apostles; and it is a very untrue suggestion, (if any have informed your Highness,) that the church of England holds baptism imperfect without it, as adding to the virtue and strength thereof.

BISHOP OF LONDON.—The authority of Confirmation depends not only on antiquity, and the practice of the primitive church, but is an apostolical institution, named in express words, Heb. vi. 2;† and so did Mr. Calvin expound the very place, earnestly wishing the restitution thereof in the Reformed churches.

The bishop of Carlisle is said gravely and learnedly to have

* He addressed himself to the king on his knee.

† Citing CYPRIAN, *Ep.* 73, and JEROME *adversus Luciferiam*.

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urged the same, and the bishop of Durham noted something out of St. Matthew for the imposition of hands on children.

The conclusion was this: "For the fuller explanation *that we make Confirmation neither a sacrament nor a corroboration thereof*, their lordships should consider whether it might not without alteration (whereof his Majesty was still very wary) be entitled *an Examination with a confirmation*."

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.—As for the point of Absolution, wherein your Majesty desires satisfaction: it is clear from all abuse or superstition, as it is used in our church of England, as will appear on the reading both of the Confession and Absolution following it, in the beginning of the Communion-Book.

Here the king perused both, and returned.

HIS MAJESTY.—I like and approve them, finding it to be very true what you say.

BISHOP OF LONDON.—It becometh us to deal plainly with your Majesty. There is also in the book a more particular and personal Absolution in *the Visitation of the Sick*.

Here the dean of the chapel turned unto it and read it.

BISHOP OF LONDON.—Not only the Confessions of Augusta, Boheme, and Saxon,* retain and allow it, but Mr. Calvin also doth approve both such a general and such a private (for so he terms it) Confession and Absolution.

HIS MAJESTY.—I exceedingly well approve it, being an apostolical and godly ordinance, given in the name of Christ, to one that desireth it, upon the clearing of his conscience.

The conclusion was this,—that the bishops should consult, whether unto the Rubric of the General Absolution, these words, "Remission of sins," might not be added for explanation-sake.

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.—To the point of Private Baptism: the administration thereof by women and lay persons is not allowed in the practice of the church, but inquired of, and censured by bishops in their visitations.

HIS MAJESTY.—The words of the book cannot but intend a permission of women and private persons to baptize.

BISHOP OF WORCESTER.—The doubtful words may be pressed to that meaning; yet the compilers of the book did not so intend them, as appeareth by their contrary practice. But they propounded them ambiguously, because otherwise (perhaps) the book would not (then) have passed the parliament.

To this he cited the testimony of the archbishop of York.

BISHOP OF LONDON.—Those reverend men intended not by

* These he severally recited.

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ambiguous terms to deceive any, but thereby intended a permission of private persons to baptize, in case of necessity. (Here he produced the letters of some of those first compilers.) This is agreeable to the practice of the ancient church, when three thousand being baptized in a day, Acts ii. 41, (which for the apostles alone to do, was at the least improbable,) some being neither priests nor bishops, must be presumed employed therein; and some Fathers are of the same opinion.

Here he spake much and earnestly about the necessity of baptism.

His Majesty.—That in the Acts was an act extraordinary, and done before a church was settled and grounded; wherefore no sound reasoning thence to a church stablished and flourishing. I maintain the necessity of baptism, and always thought the place, John iii. 5, "Except one be born again of water," &c., was meant thereof. It may seem strange to you, my lords, that I think you in England give too much to baptism, seeing, fourteen months ago, in Scotland, I argued with my divines there for attributing too little unto it; insomuch that a pert minister asked me, if I thought baptism so necessary, that, if omitted, the child should be damned. I answered, "No: but if you, called to baptize a child, though privately, refuse to come, I think YOU shall be damned." But this necessity of baptism I so understand, that it is necessary to be had, if lawfully to be had; that is, ministered by lawful ministers, by whom alone, and no private person in any case, it may be administered: though I utterly dislike all re-baptization on those whom women or laics have baptized.

Bishop of Winchester.—To deny private persons to baptize in case of necessity, were to cross all antiquity, and the common practice of the church; it being a rule agreed on amongst divines, that the minister is not of the essence of the sacrament.

His Majesty.—Though he be not of the essence of the sacrament, yet is he of the essence of the right and lawful ministry thereof, according to Christ's commission to his disciples, "Go preach, and baptize," &c. Matt. xxviii. 19.

The result was this,—to consult, whether in the Rubric of Private Baptism, which leaves it indifferently to all, these words, "Curate or lawful minister," may not be inserted.

For the point of Excommunication, his Majesty propounded, whether in causes of lesser moment the name might not be altered, and the same censure retained? Secondly. Whether, in place thereof, another coercion, equivalent thereunto, might not be invented? Which all sides easily yielded unto, as long and often desired; and so was the end of the first day's Conference.

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22. *The second Day's Conference at Hampton-Court.*

On Monday, January 16th, they all met in the same place, with all the deans and doctors above-mentioned; Patrick Galloway, minister of Perth, in Scotland, admitted also to be there; and hopeful prince Henry sate on a stool by his father.

The king made a pithy speech to the same purpose which he made the first day, differing only in the conclusion thereof, being an address to the four opposers of conformity there present, whom he understood the most grave, learned, and modest of the aggrieved sort, professing himself ready to hear at large what they could object, and willed them to begin.

DR. REYNOLDS.—All things disliked or questioned may be reduced to these four heads:—

(1.) That the doctrine of the church might be preserved in purity, according to God's word.

(2.) That good pastors might be planted in all churches to preach the same.

(3.) That the church-government might be sincerely ministered according to God's word.

(4.) That the Book of Common-Prayer might be fitted to more increase of piety.

For the First: May your Majesty be pleased, that the Book of Articles of Religion, concluded on, 1562, may be explained where obscure, enlarged where defective; namely, whereas it is said, article XVI.: "After we have received the Holy Ghost, we may depart from grace;" those words may be explained with this or the like addition, "Yet neither totally nor finally." To which end it would do very well, if the nine orthodoxal assertions concluded on at Lambeth might be inserted into the Book of Articles.

Secondly. Whereas it is said in article XXIII., that it is not lawful for any *in* the congregation to preach, before he be lawfully called: these words ought to be altered, because implying one *out of* the congregation may preach, though not lawfully called.

Thirdly. In article XXV., there seemeth a contradiction; one passage therein confessing Confirmation to be a depraved imitation of the apostles, and another grounding it on their example.

BISHOP OF LONDON.—May your Majesty be pleased, that the ancient canon may be remembered: *Schismatici contra episcopos non sunt audiendi.* And, there is another decree of a very ancient council,—that no man should be admitted to speak against that whereunto he hath formerly subscribed. And as for you, Dr. Reynolds, and your sociates, how much are ye bound to his

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Majesty's clemency, permitting you, contrary to the statute *primo Elizabethæ*, so freely to speak against the Liturgy and discipline established! Fain would I know the end you aim at, and whether you be not of Mr. Cartwright's mind, who affirmed, that we ought in ceremonies rather to conform to the Turks than to the papists. I doubt you approve his position, because here appearing before his Majesty in Turkey-gowns, not in your scholastic habits, according to the order of the universities.

His Majesty.—My lord bishop, something in your passion I may excuse, and something I must mislike. I may excuse you thus far,—that I think you have just cause to be moved, in respect that they traduce the well-settled government, and also proceed in so indirect a course, contrary to their own pretence, and the intent of this meeting. I mislike your sudden interruption of Dr. Reynolds, whom you should have suffered to have taken his liberty; for there is no order, nor can be any effectual issue, of disputation, if each party be not suffered, without chopping, to speak at large. Wherefore, either let the Doctor proceed, or frame your answer to his motions already made, although some of them are very needless.

Bishop of London.—Upon the first motion concerning falling from grace, may your Majesty be pleased to consider how many in these days neglect holiness of life, presuming on persisting in grace upon predestination: "If I shall be saved, I shall be saved." A desperate doctrine, contrary to good divinity, wherein we should reason rather *ascendendo* than *descendendo*, FROM our obedience to God and love to our neighbour, TO our election and predestination. As for the doctrine of the church of England touching predestination; it is in the very next paragraph, namely, "We must receive God's promises in such wise as they be generally set forth to us in holy scripture, and in our doings the will of God is to be followed which we have expressly declared unto us in the word of God."

His Majesty.—I approve it very well, as consonant with the place of Paul, "Work out your salvation with fear and trembling." Yet let it be considered of, whether any thing were meet to be added for clearing of the doctor's doubt, by putting in the word "often," or the like. Mean time, I wish that the doctrine of predestination may be tenderly handled, lest on the one side God's omnipotency be questioned by impeaching the doctrine of his eternal predestination, or on the other side a desperate presumption ar-reared, by inferring the necessary certainty of persisting in grace.

Bishop of London.—The second objection of the doctor's is vain; it being the doctrine and practice of the church of England, that none but a licensed minister may preach, nor administer the Lord's supper.

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HIS MAJESTY.—As for Private Baptism, I have already with the bishops taken order for the same.

Then came they to the second point of Confirmation: and, upon the perusal of the words of the article, his Majesty concluded the pretended contradiction a cavil.

BISHOP OF LONDON.—Confirmation is not so much founded on the place in the Acts of the Apostles, but upon Heb. vi. 2; which was the opinion (beside the judgment of the Fathers) of Mr. Calvin, on Heb. vi. 2; and Dr. Fulke, on Acts viii. 17; neither needeth there any farther proof, seeing (as I suppose) he that objected this holds not Confirmation unlawful; but he and his party are vexed that the use thereof is not in their own hands, for every pastor to confirm his own parish; for then it would be accounted an apostolical institution, if Dr. Reynolds were pleased but to speak his thoughts therein.

DR. REYNOLDS.—Indeed, seeing some diocess of a bishop hath therein six hundred parishes, it is a thing very inconvenient to permit Confirmation to the bishop alone; and I suppose it impossible that he can take due examination of them all who come to be confirmed.

Here the bishop of London thought himself touched, because about six hundred and nine in his diocess.

BISHOP OF LONDON.—To the matter of fact, I answer, that bishops in their visitations appoint either their chaplains, or some other ministers, to examine them who are to be confirmed, and lightly confirm none but by the testimony of the parsons and curates, where the children are bred and brought up. To the opinion I answer, that none of all the Fathers ever admitted any to confirm but bishops alone. Yea, even St. Jerome himself (otherwise no friend to bishops) confesseth the execution thereof was restrained to bishops only.*

BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.—Dr. Reynolds, I would fain have you, with all your learning, show where ever Confirmation was used in ancient times by any other but bishops. These used it, partly to examine children, and, after examination, by imposition of hands, (the Jewish ceremony of blessing,) to bless and pray over them: and partly to try whether they had been baptized in the right form or no. For in former ages some baptized (as they ought) "in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." Some (as the Arians) "in the name of the Father" as the greater, "and the Son" as the less. Some "in the name of the Father, by the Son, in the Holy Ghost." Some not in the name of the Trinity, but only "in the

* *Ecclesiæ salus in summi sacerdotis dignitate pendet, cui si non exors quædam et ab omnibus eminens data potestas, tot in ecclesiis efficientur schismata quot sacerdotes.*

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death of Christ." Whereupon catholic bishops were constrained to examine them who were baptized *in remotis*, concerning their baptism, if right to confirm them,—if amiss, to instruct them.

His Majesty.—I dissent from the judgment of St. Jerome in his assertion, that bishops are not of divine ordination.

Bishop of London.—Unless I could prove my ordination lawful out of the scriptures, I would not be a bishop four hours longer.

His Majesty.—I approve the calling and use of bishops in the church; and it is my aphorism, "No bishop, no king;" nor intend I to take Confirmation from the bishops, which they have so long enjoyed; seeing as great reason that none should confirm, as that none should preach, without the bishop's licence. But let it be referred, whether the word "examination" ought not to be added to the Rubric in the title of Confirmation in the Communion-Book. And now, Dr. Reynolds, you may proceed.

Dr. Reynolds.—I protest I meant not to gall any man, though I perceive some took personal exceptions at my words, and desire the imputation of schism may not be charged upon me.* To proceed on article XXXVII., wherein are these words, "The bishop of Rome hath no authority in this land:" these are not sufficient, unless it were added, "nor ought to have any."

His Majesty.—*Habemus jure quod habemus;* and, therefore, inasmuch as it is said "he hath not," it is plain enough *that he ought not to have.*

Here passed some pleasant discourse betwixt the king and lords about Puritans, till, returning to seriousness, there began the

Bishop of London.—May it please your Majesty to remember the speech of the French ambassador, Monsieur Rognée, upon the view of our solemn service and ceremony; namely, that if the Reformed churches in France had kept the same order, there would have been thousands of protestants more than there are.

Dr. Reynolds.—It were well if this proposition might be added to the Book of Articles: "The intention of the minister is not of the essence of the sacrament;" the rather, because some in England have preached it to be essential: and here again I could desire that the nine "Orthodoxal Assertions," concluded at Lambeth, may be generally received.

His Majesty.—I utterly dislike the first part of your motion, thinking it unfit to thrust into the Book of Articles every position negative; which would swell the book into a volume as big as the Bible, and confound the reader. Thus, one Mr. Craig in Scotland,

* It seems the bishop of London, jealous that he was reflected on, (as is afore said,) called the doctor "schismatic."

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with his, "I renounce and abhor," his multiplied detestations and abrenunciations, so amazed simple people, that, not able to conceive all their things, they fell back to popery, or remained in their former ignorance. If bound to this form, the confession of my faith must be in my table-book, not in my head.

Because you speak of intention, I will apply it thus: If you come hither with a good intention to be informed, the whole work will sort to the better effect; but if your intention be to go as you came, (whatsoever shall be said,) it will prove the intention is very material and essential to the end of this present action.

As for the nine "Assertions" you speak of, I cannot suddenly answer, not knowing what those propositions of Lambeth be.

BISHOP OF LONDON.—May it please your Majesty, this was the occasion of them: By reason of some controversies arising in Cambridge about certain points of divinity, my lord's Grace assembled some divines of special note to set down their opinions, which they drew into nine "Assertions," and so sent them to the university for the appeasing of those quarrels.

HIS MAJESTY.—When such questions arise amongst scholars, the quietest proceedings were to determine them in the university, and not to stuff the Book of Articles with all conclusions theological.

Secondly. The better course would be to punish the broachers of false doctrine, than to multiply Articles; which, if never so many, cannot prevent the contrary opinions of men till they be heard.

DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S.—May it please your Majesty, I am nearly concerned in this matter, by reason of a controversy betwixt me and some other in Cambridge, upon a proposition, which I there delivered, namely, that "whosoever (though before justified) did commit any grievous sin, as adultery, murder, &c., do become, *ipso facto*, subject to God's wrath, and guilty of damnation, *quoad præsentem statum*, until they repent; yet so that those who are justified according to the purpose of God's election, (though they might fall into grievous sin, and thereby into the present estate of damnation,) yet never totally nor finally from justification; but were in time renewed by God's Spirit unto a lively faith and repentance." Against this doctrine some did oppose, teaching that persons once truly justified, though falling into grievous sins, remained still in the state of justification, before they actually repented of these sins; yea, and, though they never repented of them through forgetfulness or sudden death, they nevertheless were justified and saved.

HIS MAJESTY.—I dislike this doctrine, there being a necessity of conjoining repentance and holiness of life with true faith; and that is hypocrisy, and not justifying faith, which is severed from them. For although predestination and election depend not on any

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qualities, actions, or works of man which are mutable, but on God's eternal decree; yet such is the necessity of repentance, after known sins committed, that without it no reconciliation with God, or remission of sins.

Dr. Reynolds.—The Catechism in the Common-Prayer Book is too brief, and that by Mr. Nowell, (late dean of Paul's,) too long for novices to learn by heart. I request, therefore, that one uniform Catechism may be made, and none other generally received.

His Majesty.—I think the doctor's request very reasonable; yet so, that the Catechism may be made in the fewest and plainest affirmative terms that may be, not like the many ignorant Catechisms in Scotland, set out by every one who was the son of a good man; insomuch that what was Catechism-doctrine in one congregation was scarcely received as orthodox in another. And herein I would have two rules observed: First. That curious and deep questions be avoided in the fundamental instruction of a people. Secondly. That there should not be so general a departure from the papists, that every thing should be accounted an error wherein we agree with them.

Dr. Reynolds.—Great is the profanation of the sabbath-day, and contempt of your Majesty's proclamation; which I earnestly desire may be reformed.

This motion found an unanimous consent.

Dr. Reynolds.—May your Majesty be pleased that the Bible be new translated, such as are extant not answering the original.

And he instanced in three particulars:—

Gal. iv. 25, in the original συστοιχεῖ is ill translated, "Bordereth." Psalm cv. 28, in the original, "They were not disobedient," is ill translated, "They were not obedient." Psalm cvi. 30, in the original, "Phinehas executed judgment," is ill translated, "Phinehas prayed."

Bishop of London.—If every man's humour might be followed, there would be no end of translating.

His Majesty.—I profess I could never yet see a Bible well translated in English; but I think, that, of all, that of Geneva is the worst. I wish some special pains were taken for an uniform translation; which should be done by the best-learned in both universities, then reviewed by the bishops, presented to the Privy Council, lastly, ratified by royal authority, to be read in the whole church, and no other.

Bishop of London.—But it is fit that no marginal notes should be added thereunto.

His Majesty.—That caveat is well put in; for in the Geneva translation, some notes are partial, untrue, seditious, and savouring of traitorous conceits: As when from Exodus i. 19, disobedience to

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kings is allowed in a marginal note; and, 2 Chron. xv. 16, king Asa taxed in the note for only *deposing* his mother for idolatry, and not *killing* her. To conclude this point: let errors in the matter of faith be amended, and indifferent things be interpreted, and a gloss added unto them. For as Bartolus de Regno saith, that "a king with some weakness is better than still a change;" so, rather a church with some faults than an innovation. And surely, if these were the greatest matters that grieved you, I need not have been troubled with such importunate complaints.

DR. REYNOLDS.—May it please your Majesty, that unlawful and seditious books be suppressed, such as Ficlerus, a papist, *De Jure Magistratûs in Subditos*, applied against the late queen for the pope.

BISHOP OF LONDON.—There is no such licentious divulging of those books; and none have liberty, by authority, to buy them, except such as Dr. Reynolds, who was supposed would confute them. And if such books come into the realm by secret conveyances, perfect notice cannot be had of their importation. Besides, Ficlerus was a great disciplinarian: whereby it appears what advantage that sort gave unto the papists, who, *mutatis personis*, apply their own arguments against princes of their religion, though for my part I detest both the author and applier alike.

THE LORD CECIL.—Indeed, the unlimited liberty of dispersing Popish and seditious pamphlets in Paul's Church-yard, and both the Universities, hath done much mischief; but especially one called *Speculum Tragicum*.

HIS MAJESTY.—That is a dangerous book, indeed.

LORD H. HOWARD.—Both for matter and intention.

LORD CHANCELLOR.—Of such books, some are Latin, some are English; but the last, dispersed, do most harm.

SECRETARY CECIL.—But my lord of London (and no man else) hath done what he could to suppress them.

HIS MAJESTY.—Dr. Reynolds, you are a better college-man than a statesman, if meaning to tax the bishop of London for suffering those books, between the Secular Priests and Jesuits, to be published; which he did by warrant from the Council, to nourish a schism betwixt them.

LORD CECIL.—Such books were tolerated, because by them the title of Spain was confuted.

LORD TREASURER.—And because therein it appears, by the testimony of the priests themselves, that no papists are put to death for conscience only, but for treason.

DR. REYNOLDS.—Indeed, I meant not such books as were printed in England, but only such as came from beyond the seas.

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And now, to proceed to the second general point, concerning the planting of learned ministers: I desire they be in every parish.

His Majesty.—I have consulted with my bishops about it, whom I have found willing and ready herein. But, as *subita evacuatio* is *periculosa*; so *subita mutatio*. It cannot presently be performed, the Universities not affording them. And yet they afford more learned men than the realm doth maintenance; which must be first provided. In the mean time, ignorant ministers, if young, are to be removed, if there be no hope of amendment; if old, their death must be expected, because Jerusalem cannot be built up in a day.

Bishop of Winchester.—Lay-patrons much cause the insufficiency of the clergy, presenting mean clerks to their cures; (the law admitting of such sufficiency;) and, if the bishop refuseth them, presently a *quare impedit* is sent out against him.

Bishop of London.—Because this, I see, is a time of moving petitions, (this he spake kneeling,) may I humbly present two or three to your Majesty? First. That there may be amongst us a praying ministry, it being now come to pass, that men think it is the only duty of ministers to spend their time in the pulpit. I confess, in a church newly to be planted, preaching is most necessary; not so, in one long-established, that prayer should be neglected.

His Majesty.—I like your motion exceeding well, and dislike the hypocrisy of our time, who place all their religion in the ear, whilst prayer (so requisite and acceptable, if duly performed) is accounted and used as the least part of religion.

Bishop of London.—My second motion is, that, until learned men may be planted in every congregation, godly Homilies may be read therein.

His Majesty.—I approve your motion, especially where the living is not sufficient for the maintenance of a learned preacher. Also, where there be multitudes of sermons, there I would have Homilies read divers times. (Here the king asked the assent of the plaintiffs, and they confessed it.) A preaching ministry is best; but, where it may not be had, godly prayers and exhortations do much good.

Lord Chancellor.*—Livings rather want learned men, than learned men livings; many in the universities pining for want of places. I wish, therefore, some may have single coats (one living) before others have doublets (pluralities). And this method I have observed in bestowing the king's benefices.

Bishop of London.—I commend your honourable care that way; but a doublet is necessary in cold weather.

* Egerton, lord Ellesmere.

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LORD CHANCELLOR.—I dislike not the liberty of our church, in granting to one man two benefices; but speak out of mine own purpose and practice, grounded on the aforesaid reason.

BISHOP OF LONDON.—My last motion is, that pulpits may not be made pasquils, wherein every discontented fellow may traduce his superiors.

HIS MAJESTY.—I accept what you offer; for the pulpit is no place of personal reproof. Let them complain to me, if injured.

BISHOP OF LONDON.—If your Majesty shall leave yourself open to admit of all complaints, your Highness shall never be quiet, nor your under-officers regarded; whom every delinquent, when censured, will threaten to complain of.

HIS MAJESTY.—I mean, they shall complain to me by degrees. First, to the ordinary; from him to the archbishop; from him to the lords of the Council; and, if in all these no remedy be found, then to myself.

DR. REYNOLDS.—I come now to subscription,* as a great impeachment to a learned ministry; and therefore entreat it may not be exacted as heretofore; for which many good men are kept out, though otherwise willing to subscribe to the statutes of the realm, Articles of Religion, and the king's supremacy. The reason of their backwardness to subscribe, is, because the Common-Prayer enjoineth the Apocrypha-books to be read in the church, although some chapters therein contain manifest errors repugnant to scripture. For instance: Ecclesiasticus xlviii. 10, Elias in person is said to come before Christ, contrary to what is in the New Testament of Elias in resemblance, that is, John the Baptist, Matt. xi. 14; Luke i. 17.

BISHOP OF LONDON.—Most of the objections against those books are the old cavils of the Jews, renewed by St. Jerome, who first called them Apocrypha; which opinion, upon Ruffinus's challenge, he, after a sort, disclaimed.

BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.—Indeed, St. Jerome saith, *Canonici sunt ad informandos mores, non ad confirmandam fidem.*

HIS MAJESTY.—To take an even order betwixt both: I would not have all canonical books read in the church:† nor any chapter out of the Apocrypha, wherein any error is contained. Wherefore, let Dr. Reynolds note those chapters in the Apocrypha-books wherein those offences are, and bring them to the archbishop of Canterbury against Wednesday next. And now, doctor, proceed.

DR. REYNOLDS.—The next scruple against subscription, is,

* This concerneth the fourth general head, (namely, the Communion Book,) as he first propounded it; however, here he took occasion to urge it. † Namely, in the Dominical Gospels.

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because it is twice set down in the Common-Prayer Book, "Jesus said to his disciples," when by the text in the original, it is plain, that he spake to the pharisees.

His Majesty.—Let the word "disciples" be omitted, and the words, "Jesus said," be printed in a different letter.

Mr. Knewstubs.—I take exceptions at the Cross in baptism; whereat the weak brethren are offended, contrary to the counsel of the apostle, Romans xiv., 1 Corinth. viii.

Here we omit Mr. Knewstubs's exception against the interrogatories in baptism; because he spake so perplexedly that his meaning is not to be collected therein.

His Majesty.—*Distingue tempora, et concordabunt Scripturæ.* Great the difference betwixt those times and ours. Then, a church not fully settled; now, ours long established. How long will such brethren be weak? Are not forty-five years sufficient for them to grow strong in? Besides, who pretends this weakness? We require not subscriptions of laics and idiots, but of preachers and ministers, who are not still (I trow) to be fed with milk, being enabled to feed others. Some of them are strong enough, if not headstrong; conceiving themselves able enough to teach him who last spake for them, and all the bishops in the land.

Mr. Knewstubs.—It is questionable whether the church hath power to institute an outward significant sign.

Bishop of London.—The Cross in baptism is not used otherwise than a ceremony.

Bishop of Winchester.—Kneeling, lifting up of the hands, knocking of the breast, are significant ceremonies, and these may lawfully be used.

Dean of the Chapel.—The Rabbins write, that the Jews added both signs and words at the institution of the passover; namely, when they ate sour herbs, they said, "Take and eat these in remembrance," &c. When they drank wine, they said, "Drink this in remembrance," &c. Upon which addition and tradition, our Saviour instituted the sacrament of his last supper, thereby approving, a church may institute and retain a sign significant.

His Majesty.—I am exceeding well satisfied in this point, but would be acquainted about the antiquity of the use of the Cross.

Dr. Reynolds.—It hath been used ever since the apostles' time. But the question is, How ancient the use thereof hath been in baptism?

Dean of Westminster.—It appears out of Tertullian, Cyprian, and Origen, that it was used *in immortali lavacro.*

Bishop of Winchester.—In Constantine's time it was used in baptism.

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HIS MAJESTY.—If so, I see no reason but that we may continue it.

MR. KNEWSTUBS.—Put the case, the church hath power to add significant signs, it may not add them where Christ hath already ordained them; which is as derogatory to Christ's institution, as if one should add to the Great Seal of England.

HIS MAJESTY.—The case is not alike; seeing, the sacrament is fully finished, before any mention of the Cross is made therein.

MR. KNEWSTUBS.—If the church hath such a power, the greatest scruple is, how far the ordinance of the church bindeth, without impeaching Christian liberty.

HIS MAJESTY.—I will not argue that point with you, but answer as kings in parliament, *Le roy s'avisera*. This is like Mr. John Black, a beardless boy, who told me, the last Conference in Scotland,* that he would hold conformity with his Majesty in matters of doctrine; but every man, for ceremonies, was to be left to his own liberty. But I will have none of that; I will have one doctrine, one discipline, one religion, in substance and in ceremony. Never speak more to that point,—how far you are bound to obey.

DR. REYNOLDS.—Would that the Cross (being superstitiously abused in popery) were abandoned, as the brasen serpent was stamped to powder by Hezekiah, because abused to idolatry.

HIS MAJESTY.—Inasmuch as the Cross was abused to superstition in time of popery, it doth plainly imply that it was well used before. I detest their courses who peremptorily disallow of all things which have been abused in popery; and know not how to answer the objections of the papists, when they charge us with novelties, but by telling them, we retain the primitive use of things, and only forsake their novel corruptions. Secondly. No resemblance betwixt the brasen serpent, (a material, visible thing,) and the sign of the Cross, made in the air. Thirdly. Papists, as I am informed, did never ascribe any spiritual grace to the Cross in baptism. Lastly. Material Crosses, to which people fell down in time of popery, (as the idolatrous Jews to the brasen serpent,) are already demolished, as you desire.

MR. KNEWSTUBS.—I take exception at the wearing of the Surplice, a kind of garment used by the priests of Isis.

HIS MAJESTY.—I did not think, till of late, it had been borrowed from the Heathen, because commonly called "a rag of Popery." Seeing now we border not upon Heathens, neither are any of them conversant with or commorant amongst us, thereby to be confirmed in Paganism; I see no reason but for comeliness-sake it may be continued.

* In December, 1601.

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DR. REYNOLDS.—I take exception at these words in the marriage, "With my body I thee worship."

HIS MAJESTY.—I was made believe, the phrase imported no less than Divine adoration, but find it an usual English term; as when we say, "a gentleman of worship;" and it agreeth with the scriptures, "giving honour to the wife." As for you, Dr. Reynolds, (this the king spake smiling,) many men speak of Robin Hood, who never shot in his bow: If you had a good wife yourself, you would think all worship and honour you could do her were well bestowed on her.

DEAN OF SARUM.—Some take exception at the ring in marriage.

DR. REYNOLDS.—I approve it well enough.

HIS MAJESTY.—I was married with a ring, and think others scarce well-married without it.

DR. REYNOLDS.—Some take exceptions at the churching of women, by the name of "purification."

HIS MAJESTY.—I allow it very well. Women being loath of themselves to come to church, I like this or any other occasion to draw them thither.

DR. REYNOLDS.—My last exception is against committing ecclesiastical censures to lay-chancellors, the rather, because it was ordered, *anno* 1571, that lay-chancellors, in matters of correction, and, *anno* 1589, in matters of instance, should not excommunicate any, but be done only by them who had power of the keys, though the contrary is commonly practised.

HIS MAJESTY.—I have conferred with my bishops about this point, and such order shall be taken therein as is convenient. Meantime, go on to some other matter.

DR. REYNOLDS.—I desire, that, according to certain provincial constitutions, the clergy may have meetings every three weeks:—

(1.) First, in rural deaneries, therein to have prophesying, as archbishop Grindal and other bishops desired of her late Majesty.

(2.) That such things as could not be resolved on there, might be referred to the archdeacons' visitations.

(3.) And so to the episcopal synod, to determine such points before not decided.

HIS MAJESTY.—If you aim at a Scottish presbytery, it agreeth as well with monarchy, as God and the devil. Then Jack, and Tom, and Will, and Dick shall meet and censure me and my Council. Therefore I reiterate my former speech, *Le roy s'avisera.* Stay, I pray, for one seven years, before you demand; and then if you find me grow pursy and fat, I may, perchance, hearken unto you; for that government will keep me in breath, and give me

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work enough. I shall speak of one matter more, somewhat out of order, but it skilleth not. Dr. Reynolds, you have often spoken for my supremacy, and it is well. But know you any here or elsewhere, who like of the present government ecclesiastical, and dislike my supremacy?

DR. REYNOLDS.—I know none.

HIS MAJESTY.—Why, then, I will tell you a tale: After that the religion restored by king Edward VI. was soon overthrown by queen Mary here in England, we in Scotland felt the effect of it. For, thereupon, Mr. Knox writes to the queen regent, a virtuous and moderate lady; telling her, that she was the supreme head of the church, and charged her, as she would answer it at God's tribunal, to take care of Christ's Evangel, in suppressing the popish prelates, who withstood the same. But how long, trow you, did this continue? Even till, by her authority, the popish bishops were repressed, and Knox, with his adherents, being brought in, made strong enough. Then began they to make small account of her supremacy, when, according to that *more light* wherewith they were illuminated, they made a farther reformation of themselves. How they used the poor lady my mother, is not unknown, and how they dealt with me in my minority. I thus apply it: my lords the bishops, (this he said, putting his hand to his hat,) I may thank you that these men plead thus for my supremacy. They think they cannot make their party good against you, but by appealing unto it. But if once you were out and they in, I know what would become of my supremacy; for, "No bishop, no king!" I have learned of what cut they have been, who, preaching before me since my coming into England, passed over, with silence, my being supreme governor in causes ecclesiastical. Well, doctor, have you any thing else to say?

DR. REYNOLDS.—No more, if it please your Majesty.

HIS MAJESTY.—If this be all your party hath to say, I will make them conform themselves, or else I will harry them out of the land, or else do worse.

Thus ended the second day's Conference; and the third began on the Wednesday following, January 18th; many knights, civilians, and doctors of the law being admitted thereunto, because the High Commission was the principal matter in debate.

23. *The third Day's Conference at Hampton-Court.*

HIS MAJESTY.—I understand, that the parties named in the High Commission are too many, and too mean; and the matters they deal with, base, such as ordinaries at home in their courts might censure.

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ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.—It is requisite their number should be many; otherwise I should be forced often-times to sit alone, if, in the absence of the lords of the Council, bishops, and judges at law, some deans and doctors were not put into that Commission, whose attendance I might command with the more authority. I have often complained of the meanness of matters handled therein, but cannot remedy it. For though the offence be so small, that the ordinary may—the offender oft-times is so great and contumacious that the ordinary dare not—punish him; and so is forced to crave help at the High Commission.

A NAMELESS LORD.*—The proceedings in that Court are like the Spanish Inquisition; wherein men are urged to subscribe more than law requireth; and, by the oath *ex officio*, forced to accuse themselves, being examined upon twenty or twenty-four articles on a sudden without deliberation, and for the most part against themselves.

In proof hereof, he produced a letter of an ancient honourable Counsellor, *anno* 1584, verifying this usage to two ministers in Cambridgeshire.

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.—Your lordship is deceived in the manner of proceeding. For, if the article touch the party for life, liberty, or scandal, he may refuse to answer. I can say nothing to the particulars of the letter, because twenty years since; yet doubt not but at leisure to give your lordship satisfaction.

Here we omit a discourse about subscription, because not methodized into the speech of several persons.

LORD CHANCELLOR.—There is necessity and use of the oath *ex officio*, in divers courts and causes.

HIS MAJESTY.—Indeed, civil proceedings only punish facts; but it is requisite that fame and scandals be looked unto in courts ecclesiastical; and yet great moderation is to be used therein:

(1.) *In gravioribus criminibus.*

(2.) In such whereof there is a public fame caused by the inordinate demeanour of the offender.

And here he soundly described the oath *ex officio*, for the ground thereof, the wisdom of the law therein, the manner of proceeding thereby, and profitable effect from the same.

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.—Undoubtedly your Majesty speaks by the special assistance of God's Spirit.

BISHOP OF LONDON.—I protest, my heart melteth with joy, that Almighty God, of his singular mercy, hath given us such a king, as, since Christ's time, the like hath not been.

This he spake on his knee.

* I dare not guess him, for fear of failing.

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Then passed there much discourse between the king, the bishops, and the lords, about the quality of the persons and causes in the High Commission,—rectifying excommunications in matters of less moment, punishing recusants, providing divines for Ireland, Wales, and the northern borders. Afterwards the four preachers were called in, and such alterations in the Liturgy were read unto them, which the bishops, by the king's advice, had made, and to which, by their silence, they seemed to consent.

HIS MAJESTY.—I see the exceptions against the Communion-Book are matters of weakness; therefore if the persons reluctant be discreet, they will be won betimes, and by good persuasions; if indiscreet, better they were removed; for by their factions many are driven to be papists. From you, Dr. Reynolds, and your associates, I expect obedience and humility, the marks of honest and good men; and that you would persuade others abroad by your example.

DR. REYNOLDS.—We here do promise to perform all duties to bishops, as reverend fathers, and to join with them against the common adversary for the quiet of the church.

MR. CHADERTON.—I request the wearing of the Surplice, and the Cross in baptism, may not be urged on some godly ministers in Lancashire; fearing, if forced unto them, many won by their preaching of the gospel will revolt to popery; and I particularly instance in the vicar of Rochdale.

This he spake kneeling.

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.—You could not have light upon a worse; for, not many years ago, (as my lord chancellor* knows,) it was proved before me, that, by his unreverent usage of the eucharist, (dealing the bread out of a basket, every man putting in his hand, and taking out a piece,) he made many loathe the communion, and refuse to come to church.

HIS MAJESTY.—It is not my purpose, and I dare say it is not the bishops' intent, presently and out of hand, to enforce these things without fatherly admonitions, conferences, and persuasions premised. But I wish it were examined, whether such Lancashire ministers, by their pains and preaching, have converted any from popery, and withal be men of honest life and quiet conversation. If so, let letters be written to the bishop of Chester,† (who is a grave and good man,) to that purpose, that some favour may be afforded unto them, and let the lord archbishop write the letters.

BISHOP OF LONDON.—If this be granted, the copy of these letters will fly all over England; and then all nonconformists will

* Who, being there present, averred the same. † This was Richard Vaughan, afterwards bishop of London.

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make the like request, and so no fruit follow of this Conference, but things will be worse than they were before. I desire, therefore, a time may be limited, within the compass whereof they shall conform.

His Majesty.—I assent thereunto; and let the bishop of the diocess set down the time.

Mr. Knewstubs.—I request (here he fell down on his knees) the like favour of forbearance to some honest ministers in Suffolk. For, it will make much against their credits in the country, to be now forced to the surplice, and cross in baptism.

Archbishop of Canterbury.—Nay, sir,——

His Majesty.—Let me alone to answer him. Sir, you show yourself an uncharitable man. We have here taken pains, and, in the end, have concluded on unity and uniformity; and you, forsooth, must prefer the credits of a few private men before the peace of the church. This is just the Scotch argument, when any thing was concluded which disliked some humours. Let them either conform themselves shortly, or they shall hear of it.

Lord Cecil.—The indecency of *ambling* communions is very offensive, and hath driven many from the church.

Bishop of London.—And, Mr. Chaderton, I could tell you of *sitting* communions in Emmanuel-College.

Mr. Chaderton.—It is so, because of the seats so placed as they be; and yet we have some kneeling also in our chapel.

His Majesty.—No more hereof for the present, seeing they have jointly promised hereafter to be quiet and obedient.

Whereat he rose up to depart into an inner chamber.

Bishop of London.—God's goodness be blessed for your Majesty, and give health and prosperity to your Highness, your gracious queen, the young prince, and all the royal issue!

24—26. *The general Censure of the Conferencers. The Nonconformists' Complaint. The Product of this Conference.*

Thus ended the three days' Conference; wherein how discreetly the king carried himself, posterity, out of the reach of flattery, is the most competent judge—such matters being most truly discerned at distance. It is generally said, that herein he went *above* himself; that the bishop of London appeared *even with* himself; and Dr. Reynolds fell much *beneath* himself. Others observed, that archbishop Whitgift spake most gravely; Bancroft, when out of passion, most politicly; Bilson, most learnedly; and of the divines, Mr. Reynolds, most largely; Knewstubs, most affectionately; Chaderton, most sparingly. In this scene, only Dr. Sparks was κωφὸν πρόσωπον, making use of his hearing, not speech, converted (it seems) to the

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truth of what was spoken, and soon after setting-forth a treatise of unity and uniformity.

But the nonconformists complained, that the king sent for their divines, not to have their scruples satisfied, but his pleasure propounded; not that he might know what they could *say*, but they what he would *do* in the matter. Besides, no wonder if Dr. Reynolds a little lost himself, whose eyes were partly dazzled with the light of the king's Majesty, partly daunted with the heat of his displeasure. Others complain that this Conference is partially set forth only by Dr. Barlow, dean of Chester, their professed adversary, to the great disadvantage of their divines.* And when the Israelites go down to the Philistines, to whet all their iron tools, no wonder if they set a sharp edge on their own, and a blunt one on their enemies' weapons.

This Conference produced some alterations in the Liturgy; women's baptizing of infants, formerly frequent, hereafter forbidden; in the Rubric of absolution, "remission of sins" inserted; Confirmation termed also "an examination" of children; and some words altered in the Dominical Gospels, with a resolution for a new translation of the Bible. But whereas it was hitherto disputable whether the north, where he long lived, or the south, whither he lately came, should prevail most on the king's judgment in church-government; this doubt was now clearly decided. Henceforward many cripples in conformity were cured of their former halting therein; and such who knew not their own till they knew the king's mind in this matter, for the future quietly digested the ceremonies of the church.

27. *The Copy of the Millenary Petition.*

We have formerly made mention of the *Millenarius* petition for reformation, which about this time was solemnly presented to his Majesty, and which here we have truly exemplified:—

"THE HUMBLE PETITION OF THE MINISTERS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, DESIRING REFORMATION OF CERTAIN CEREMONIES AND ABUSES OF THE CHURCH.

"To the most Christian and excellent prince, our gracious and dread sovereign, James, by the grace of God, &c. We, the ministers of the church of England that desire reformation, wish a long, prosperous, and happy reign over us in this life, and in the next everlasting salvation.

"Most gracious and dread sovereign, seeing it hath pleased the Divine Majesty, to the great comfort of all good Christians, to advance

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 529.—EDIT.

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your Highness, according to your just title, to the peaceable government of this church and commonwealth of England; we, the ministers of the gospel in this land, neither as factious men affecting a popular parity in the church, nor as schismatics aiming at the dissolution of the state ecclesiastical; but as the faithful servants of Christ, and loyal subjects to your Majesty, desiring and longing for the redress of divers abuses of the church, could do no less, in our obedience to God, service to your Majesty, love to his church, than acquaint your princely Majesty with our particular griefs. For, as your princely pen writeth, 'The king, as a good physician, must first know what peccant humours his patient naturally is most subject unto, before he can begin his cure.' And, although divers of us that sue for reformation have formerly, in respect of the times, subscribed to the Book, some upon protestation, some upon exposition given them, some with condition, rather than the church should have been deprived of their labour and ministry; yet now, we, to the number of more than a thousand, of your Majesty's subjects and ministers, all groaning as under a common burden of human rites and ceremonies, do, with one joint consent, humble ourselves at your Majesty's feet to be eased and relieved in this behalf. Our humble suit, then, unto your Majesty is, that [of] these offences following, some may be removed, some amended, some qualified:—

"I. *In the church-service.*—That the Cross in baptism, interrogatories ministered to infants, Confirmation, as superfluous, may be taken away: baptism not to be ministered by women, and so explained: the cap and surplice not urged: that examination may go before the communion: that it be ministered with a sermon: that divers terms of *priests* and *absolution*, and some other used, with the ring in marriage, and other such like in the Book, may be corrected: the longsomeness of service abridged: church-songs and music moderated to better edification: that the Lord's day be not profaned, the rest upon holy-days not so strictly urged: that there may be an uniformity of doctrine prescribed: no popish opinion to be any more taught or defended: no ministers charged to teach their people to bow at the name of Jesus: that the canonical scriptures only be read in the church.

"II. *Concerning church-ministers.*—That none hereafter be admitted into the ministry but able and sufficient men; and those to preach diligently, and especially upon the Lord's day: that such as be already entered, and cannot preach, may either be removed, and some charitable course taken with them for their relief; or else to be forced, according to the value of their livings, to maintain preachers: that non-residency be not permitted: that king Edward's statute for the lawfulness of ministers' marriage be revived: that ministers be

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not urged to subscribe but, according to the law, to the Articles of Religion, and the king's supremacy only.

"III. *For church-livings and maintenance.*—That bishops leave their commendams; some holding prebends, some parsonages, some vicarages with their bishoprics: that double-beneficed men be not suffered to hold, some two, some three benefices with cure, and some two, three, or four dignities besides: that impropriations annexed to bishoprics and colleges be demised only to the preachers-incumbents, for the old rent: that the impropriations of laymen's fees may be charged with a sixth or seventh part of the worth, to the maintenance of the preaching minister.

"IV. *For church-discipline.*—That the discipline and excommunication may be administered according to Christ's own institution; or, at the least, that enormities may be redressed: as, namely, that excommunication come not forth under the name of lay persons, chancellors, officials, &c.: that men be not excommunicated for trifles, and twelve-penny matters: that none be excommunicated without consent of his pastor: that the officers be not suffered to extort unreasonable fees: that none having jurisdiction, or registers' places, put out the same to farm: that divers popish canons (as for restraint of marriage at certain times) be reversed: that the longsomeness of suits in ecclesiastical courts, which hang sometimes two, three, four, five, six, or seven years, may be restrained: that the oath *ex officio*, whereby men are forced to accuse themselves, be more sparingly used: that licences for marriage, without bans asked, be more cautiously granted.

"These, with such other abuses yet remaining, and practised in the church of England, we are able to show not to be agreeable to the scriptures, if it shall please your Highness farther to hear us, or more at large by writing to be informed, or by conference among the learned to be resolved. And yet we doubt not but that, without any farther process, your Majesty, of whose Christian judgment we have received so good a taste already, is able of yourself to judge of the equity of this cause. God, we trust, hath appointed your Highness our physician to heal these diseases. And we say with Mordecai to Esther, 'Who knoweth, whether you are come to the kingdom for such a time?' Thus your Majesty shall do that which, we are persuaded, shall be acceptable to God; honourable to your Majesty in all succeeding ages; profitable to his church, which shall be thereby increased; comfortable to your ministers, who shall be no more suspended, silenced, disgraced, imprisoned for men's traditions; and prejudicial to none, but to those that seek their own quiet, credit, and profit in the world. Thus, with all dutiful submission, referring ourselves to your Majesty's pleasure

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for your gracious answer, as God shall direct you; we most humbly recommend your Highness to the Divine Majesty; whom we beseech for Christ's sake to dispose your royal heart to do herein what shall be to his glory, the good of his church, and your endless comfort.

"Your Majesty's most humble subjects, the ministers of the gospel, that desire not a disorderly innovation, but a due and godly reformation."

28, 29. *The Issue of this Petition; Universities justly nettled thereat.*

This calm and still but deep petition, being (as is aforesaid) presented to the king, it was given out that his Majesty lent it a favourable ear; that some great ones about him gave it a consenting entertainment; that some potent strangers (I understand of the Scottish nation) had undertaken the conduct and managing thereof. Whether indeed it was so, God knows, or whether these things were made to make the people,—the van pretending a victory, that the rear might follow the more comfortably. Sure it is, this petition ran the gantlet throughout all the prelatical party, every one giving it a lash, some with their pens, more with their tongues; and the dumb ministers (as they term them) found their speech most vocal against it. The universities (and justly) found themselves much aggrieved, that the petitioners should proportion a seventh part only out of an impropriation in a layman's fee; whilst those belonging to colleges and cathedrals should be demised to the vicars at the old rent, without fine, without improvement: whereas scholars, being children of the prophets, counted themselves most proper for church revenues; and this motion, if effected, would cut off more than the nipples of the breasts of both universities in point of maintenance.

Cambridge therefore began, and passed a Grace in their congregation, that whosoever in their university should, by word or writing, oppose the received doctrine and discipline of England, or any part thereof, should *ipso-facto* be suspended from their former and excluded from all future degrees. Oxford followed, recompensing the slowness of her pace with the firmness of her footing, making a strong and sharp confutation of the petition. But, indeed, king James made the most real refutation thereof, not resenting it (whatsoever is pretended) according to the desires and hopes (not to say the reports) of such who presented it. And after his Majesty had discountenanced it, some Hotspurs of the opposite party began to maintain, (many copies thereof being scattered into vulgar hands,) that now the property thereof was altered from a petition into a libel, and such papers [were] defamatory of the present government, punishable by the statute, *primo Elizabethæ*.

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30, 31. *Other Millenary Petitions. Unfair Dealing in procuring of Hands.*

Under favour, I conceive this petition, by us lately exemplified, the proper Millenary Petition. Otherwise I observe, that Millenary Petition is *vox æquivoca*, and attributed to all petitions with numerous and indefinite subscriptions, which were started this year concerning church-reformation. Many there were of this kind, moving for more or less alteration, as the promoters of them stood affected. For all men's desires will then be of the same size, when their bodies shall be of the same stature. Of these, one, most remarkable, required a subscription in manner as followeth:—"We, whose names are under written, do agree to make our humble petition to the king's Majesty, that the present state of the church may be farther reformed in all things needful, according to the rule of God's holy word, and agreeable to the example of other Reformed churches, which have restored both the doctrine and discipline, as it was delivered by our Saviour Christ, and his holy apostles."

Two things are remarkable therein: First. That this was no present petition, but a preparative thereunto, which in due time might have proved one, if meeting with proportionable encouragement. Secondly. That it went farther than the former, as not being for the *καθαίρειν*, but for the *αἴρειν*; not for "the paring, pruning, and purging, but for the extirpating and abolishing of bishops, and conforming church-government to foreign presbytery." Whether the subscribers to this petition were, for the main, a recruit of new persons, or a resumption of those who under-writ the former, I dare not define. Probably many, sensible that before they were petition-bound, enlarged themselves now in their additional desires. For, such who ask no more than what they would have, commonly receive less than what they ask; seeing petitions of this nature are seldom granted in full latitude, without some abatement. They allowed, therefore, some over-measure in their requests, that, the surplusage being defalked, the remainder might, in some manner, give them satisfaction.

Sure I am, the prelatical party complained, that, to swell a number, the nonconformists did not choose but scrape subscribers; not to speak of the ubiquitariness of some hands, the same being always present at all petitions. Indeed, to the first, only ministers were admitted; but to the latter brood of petitions, no hand which had five fingers was refused. Insomuch that Master George (since lord) Goring, who then knew little and cared less for church-government, (as unable to govern himself,) being then (fifty years since) rather a youth than a man, a boy than a youth, set his hand thereunto, in the right, I believe, of his mother, a good lady, much

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addicted to that party; and king James would in merriment make sport with him, to know what reasons moved him, at that age, to this subscription. But, enough of these petitioners: Perchance we shall hear more of them the next parliament.

SECTION II.

TO MATTHEW GILLYE, ESQUIRE.

SOLOMON saith, "And there is a Friend that is nearer than a brother," Prov. xviii. 24. Now, though I have read many writers on the text, your practice is the best comment; which hath most truly expounded it unto me. Accept this, therefore, as the return of the thanks of your respectful friend.

1. *The Death of Archbishop Whitgift.*

CAUSELESS jealousies attend old age; as appears by archbishop Whitgift, who ended his life, according to his own desire, that he might not live to see the parliament; being more scared than hurt, as fearing some strange opposition therein, and an assault of unconformists on church-discipline, fiercer than his age-feebled body should be able to resist.* Born he was of ancient parentage at Great Grimsby in Lincolnshire, bred in Cambridge, admitted in Queen's-College, removed Scholar to Pembroke-Hall, (where Mr. Bradford was his tutor,) translated Fellow to Peter-House, returned Master to Pembroke, thence advanced Master of Trinity-College; successively parson of Teversham, prebend of Ely, dean of Lincoln, bishop of Worcester, where the queen forgave him his first-fruits,—a rare gift for her, who was so good an housewife of her revenues. Yea, she constantly called him her "little black husband;" which favour nothing elated his gravity, carrying himself as one unconcerned in all worldly honour. He survived the queen not a full year, getting his bane by going in a cold morning by barge to Fulham, there to consult with the bishops about managing their matters in the ensuing parliament. And no wonder if those few sparks of natural heat were quickly quenched with a small cold in him, who was then above seventy-two years of age. He died of the

* See the preface to Hampton-Court Conference.

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palsy; one of the worthiest men that ever the English hierarchy did enjoy.

2—7. *Mr. Prynne, censuring Whitgift, censured. His Untruth of Anselm. His Slander of Whitgift, and silly Taxing of his Train. Whitgift's Care of and Love to Scholars. His Burial and Successor.*

But a modern writer, in his voluminous book against the practices of English prelates, bitterly inveigheth against him whom he termeth "a pontifical" (meaneth he paganish, or popish?) "bishop," and chargeth him with many misdemeanours: give me leave a little, without bitterness, both to pass my censure on his book, and make this archbishop's just defence against his calumniation. First. In general, behold the complexion of his whole book; and it is black and swarthy in the uncharitable subject and title thereof: "An Historical Collection of the several execrable Treasons, Conspiracies, Rebellions, Seditions, State-schisms, Contumacies, anti-monarchical Practices, and Oppressions of English Prelates," &c. Thus he weeds men's lives, and makes use, only to their disgrace, of their infirmities; mean time suppressing many eminent actions, which, his own conscience knows, were performed by them. What a monster might be made out of the best beauties in the world, if a limner should leave what is lovely, and only collect into one picture what he findeth amiss in them! I know there be white teeth in the blackest Blackamoor, and a black bill in the whitest swan. Worst men have something to be commended, best men something in them to be condemned. Only to insist on men's faults, to render them odious, is no ingenuous employment. God, we know, so useth his fan, that he keepeth the corn, but driveth away the chaff. But who is he that winnoweth so, as to throw away the good grain, and retain the chaff only?

Besides, it containeth untruths, or, at the best, uncertainties; which he venteth with assurance to posterity. For instance: speaking of Walter Tyrrel, the French knight, casually killing king William Rufus in New Forest, with an arrow glancing from a tree, he saith, that, in all likelihood, Anselm archbishop of Canterbury, our Whitgift's predecessor, with fore-plotted treason hired Tyrrel to murder the king in this manner.* Now, to condemn the memory of so pious and learned a man as Anselm was, (though I will not excuse him in all things,) five hundred years after the fact pretended, on his own single bare surmise, contrary to the constant current of all authors, (no one whispering the least suspicion thereof,) hath,

* Page 10.

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I believe, but little of law and nothing of gospel therein. Let the glancing of Tyrrel's arrow mind men how they "bend their bows to shoot arrows, even bitter words," Psalm lxiv. 3, at the memory of the deceased, lest it rebound back, (not as his did to hit a stander-by, but) justly to wound him who unjustly delivered it.

But, to come to our reverend Whitgift: First, he chargeth him for troubling the judges with his contestations about prohibitions, endeavouring to enlarge his ecclesiastical jurisdiction. This, being the accusation but of a common lawyer, and that in favour of his own courts, I leave to some doctor of the civil or canon law, as most proper to make answer thereunto. Only, whereas he saith, that Whitgift did it to the prejudice of the queen's prerogative, surely she knew her own privileges so well, (beside those of her Council to teach her,) that she would never have so favourably reflected on him, if sensible (wise princes having a tender touch in that point) that he any way went about to abridge her royal authority.*

Secondly. He taxeth him for his extraordinary train, of above sixty men-servants, (though not so extravagant a number, if his person and place be considered,) "who were all trained up to martial affairs, and mustered almost every week; his stable being well furnished with store of great horses." But was it a fault in those martial days, when the invasion of a foreign foe was daily suspected, to fit his family for their own and the kingdom's defence? Did not Abraham, that heavenly prophet and holy patriarch, arm his "trained servants in his own house," in his victorious expedition against the king of Sodom? Gen. xiv. 14. Yea, if churchmen of an anti-prelatical spirit had not since tampered more dangerously with training of servants, (though none of their own,) both learning and religion had, perchance, looked, at this day, with a more cheerful countenance.

Whereas it intimates, that this archbishop had been better employed "in training up scholars for the pulpit, than soldiers for the field;" know, that as the latter was performed, the former was not quitted by him. Witness many worthy preachers bred under him in Trinity-College, and more elsewhere relieved by him. Yea, his bounty was too large to be confined within the narrow seas; Beza, Drusius, and other foreign protestant divines, tasting freely thereof. Nor was his liberality only a cistern for the present age, but a running river from a fresh fountain, to water posterity in that school of Croydon, which he hath beautifully built, and bountifully endowed. More might be said, in the vindication of this worthy prelate from his reproachful pen. But I purposely forbear; the

* Page 149.

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rather, because it is possible, that the learned gentleman since,* upon a serious review of his own work, and experimental observation of the passages of this age, may be more offended with his own writing herein, than others take just exception thereat.

Archbishop Whitgift was buried at Croydon, March 27th, the earl of Worcester and lord Zouch, his pupils, attending his hearse; and bishop Babington, his pupil also, made his funeral sermon, choosing for his text, 2 Chron. xxiv. 15, 16, and paralleling the archbishop's life with gracious Jehoiada. Richard Bancroft, bishop of London, brought up in Jesus-College, succeeded him in the archbishopric; whose actions, in our ensuing History, will sufficiently deliver his character, without our description thereof.

8—11. *A beneficial Statute for the Church. A Contrivance by the Crown to wrong the Church. Two eminent Instances of former Alienation of Bishopric-Lands. Several Censures on this new Statute.*

Come we now to the parliament assembled; and amongst the many Acts which passed therein, none more beneficial for the church than that which made the king himself and his successors incapable of any church-land to be conveyed unto them, otherwise than for three lives, or twenty-one years. Indeed, a statute had formerly been made, the thirteenth of queen Elizabeth,† which, to prevent final alienation of church-land, did disable all subjects from accepting them; but in that statute a liberty was left unto the Crown to receive the same.‡ It was thought fit to allow to the Crown this favourable exception, as to the patron-general of the whole English church; and it was but reason for the sovereign, who originally gave all the loaf to the church, on occasion to resume a good shiver thereof.

But he who shuts ninety-nine gates of Thebes, and leaveth one open, shuts none in effect. Covetousness (shall I say, an apt scholar to learn, or an able master to teach, or both?) quickly found out a way to invade the lands of the church, and evade the penalty of the law; which thus was contrived: Some potent courtier first covertly contracts with a bishop, (some whereof, though *spiritual* in title, were too *temporal* in truth, as more minding their private profit than the public good of the church,) to pass over such a

* This was written in 1654, six years before the Restoration, and four years after Pryane had been imprisoned for opposing Cromwell and the Independents, and for his prominent aid in all attempts for the re-establishment of monarchical power. See the note in p. 582 of FULLER'S "Appeal of injured Innocence."—EDIT. † See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 530.—EDIT. ‡ Because it was not forbidden in the statute in express words.

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proportion of land to the Crown. This done, the said courtier begs the land of the queen even before her Highness had tasted thereof, or the lips of her exchequer ever touched the same; and so an estate thereof is settled on him and his heirs for ever. And thus covetousness came to her desired end; though forced to go a longer journey, and fain to fetch a farther compass about.

For instance: Dr. Coldwell, doctor of physic, and bishop of Salisbury, gave his see a very strong purge, when he consented to the alienation of Sherborne manor from his bishopric. Indeed, the good old man was shot between wind and water, and his consent was assaulted in a dangerous juncture of time to give any denial. For, after he was elected bishop of Salisbury, and after all his church-preferments were disposed of to other persons, yet before his election was confirmed past a possibility of a legal reversing thereof, sir W. Raleigh is importunate with him to pass Sherborne to the Crown, and effected it, though indeed a good round rent was reserved to the bishopric. Presently sir Walter beggeth the same of the queen, and obtained it. Much after the same manner sir —— Killegrew got the manor of Crediton, a bough almost as big as all the rest of the body, from the church of Exeter, by the consent of Dr. Babington the bishop thereof.

To prevent future wrong to the church in that kind, it was now enacted, that the Crown itself, henceforward, should be incapable of any such church-land to be conveyed unto it. Yet some were so bold as to conceive this law void in the very making of it, and that all the obligation thereof consisted, not in the strength of the law, but only in the king's and his successors' voluntary obedience thereunto; accounting it injurious for any prince in parliament to tie his successors, who neither can nor will be concluded thereby farther than it stands with their own convenience. However, it was to stand in force, till the same power should be pleased to rescind it. But others beheld this law, not with a politic, but religious eye, conceiving the King of heaven, and the king of England, the parties concerned therein, and accounting it sacrilege for any to alienate what is given to God in his church.

12. *King James a great Church-Lover.*

Thus was the king graciously pleased to bind himself for the liberty of the church. He knew full well all courtiers'—and especially his own countrymen's—importunity in asking, and perhaps was privy to his own impotency in denying; and, therefore, by this statute, he eased himself of many troublesome suitors. For hereafter no wise man would beg of the king what was not in his power to grant, and what, if granted, could not legally be conveyed to any

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petitioner. Thus his Majesty manifested his good-will and affection to religion; and, although this law could not finally preserve church-lands to make them immortal, yet it prolonged their lives for many years together.

13. *The Acts of this Convocation, why as yet not recovered.*

Pass we now into the Convocation, to see what was done there. But here the history thereof, as I may say, is "shot betwixt the joints of the armour;" in the interval, after Whitgift's death, and before Bancroft's removal to Canterbury; so that I can find the original thereof neither in the office of the vicar-general, nor in the registry of London; nor can I recover it, as yet, from the office of the dean and chapter of Canterbury, where most probably it is to be had, the jurisdiction belonging to them in the vacancy.

14. *Many Canons made therein, Bishop Bancroft sitting President.*

Take this as the result thereof: A book of canons was compiled, not only being the sum of the queen's articles, orders of her commissioners, advertisements, canons of 1571 and 1597, which were in use before; but also many more were added, the whole number amounting unto one hundred and forty-one. Some wise and moderate men supposed so many laws were too heavy a burden to be long borne, and that it had been enough for the episcopal party to have triumphed, not insulted, over their adversaries in so numerous impositions. However, an explanation was made, in one of the canons, of the use of the Cross in baptism, to prevent scandal; and learned Thuanus, in his History, taketh an especial notice thereof.

15. *Bishop Rudd, why opposing the Oath against Simony.*

Motion being made in this Convocation about framing an oath against simony, to be taken by all presented to church-preferment, bishop Rudd of St. David's, as conscientious as any of his Order, and free from that fault, opposed it; chiefly, because he thought it unequal, that the patron should not be forced, as well as the clerk, to take that oath. Whereupon it was demanded of him, whether he would have the king to take that oath when he presented a bishop or dean; and hereat the bishop sat down in silence.

16, 17. *The Petition of the Town of Ripon to Queen Anne. King James's bountiful Grant. These Lands since twice sold.*

About this time the corporation of Ripon in Yorkshire presented their petition to queen Anne on this occasion: They had a

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fair collegiate church, stately for the structure thereof, formerly erected by the nobility and gentry of the vicinage; the means whereof, at the dissolution of abbeys, were seized on by the king, so that small maintenance was left to the minister of that populous parish. Now, although Edwin Sandys, archbishop of York, with the earl of Huntingdon, lord Burleigh and Sheffield, successively Presidents of the North, had recommended their petition to queen Elizabeth, they obtained nothing but fair unperformed promises: whereupon, now the Riponeers humbly addressed themselves to queen Anne; and hear her answer unto them:—

"ANNA R.—ANNE, by the grace of God, queen of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, &c., to all, to whom these presents shall come, greeting:—Whereas there hath been lately exhibited and recommended unto us a frame and platform of a College general, to be planted and established at Ripon in the county of York, for the manifold benefit of both the Borders of England and Scotland: upon the due perusing of the plot aforesaid, hereunto annexed, and upon signification given of the good liking and approbation of the chief points contained therein, by sundry grave, learned, and religious parties, and some other of honourable place and estate; we have thought good, for the ample and perpetual advancement of learning and religion, in both the Borders of our aforesaid realms, to condescend to yield our favour and best furtherance thereunto: and for the better encouraging of other honourable and worthy personages to join with us in yielding their bounty and benevolence thereunto, we have and do signify and assure, and by the word of a sacred princess and queen, do expressly promise to procure, with all convenient speed, to and for the yearly better maintenance of the said College, all and every of the requests specified and craved to that end, in a small schedule hereunto annexed. In confirmation whereof, we have signed these presents by our hand and name above-mentioned, and have caused our privy signet to be set unto the same. Dated at our Honour at Greenwich, July 4th, *anno Domini* 1604, and of our reign," &c.

After the sealing thus subscribed; *Gulielmus Toulerius, Secretarius de mandato serenissimæ Annæ Reginæ Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ, Hiberniæ.*

Such need never fear success who have so potent a person to solicit their suit. King James, being forward of himself to advance learning and religion, and knowing Christ's precept, "Let your light shine before men;" knew also that Ripon was an advantageous place for the fixing thereof; as which, by its commodious position in the north, there would reflect lustre almost equally into England and Scotland. Whereupon he founded a dean and chapter of seven prebends,

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allowing them two hundred forty seven-pounds a-year, out of his own Crown-land, for their maintenance.

I am informed, that lately the lands of this church are, by mistake, twice sold to several purchasers; namely: Once under the notion of dean-and-chapter's lands; and again, under the property of king's lands. I hope the chapmen, when all is right-stated betwixt them, will agree amongst themselves on their bargain. Mean time, Ripon church may the better comport with poverty, because only remitted to its former condition.

18. *The Petition of the Family of Love to King James.*

The Family of Love (or Lust rather) at this time presented a tedious petition to king James; so that it is questionable, whether his Majesty ever graced it with his perusal; wherein they endeavoured to clear themselves from some misrepresentations, and, by fawning expressions, to insinuate themselves into his Majesty's good opinion; which here we present:—

"To the king's most excellent Majesty, James I., by the grace of God king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

"Most gracious and sovereign lord, whereas there is published in a book written by your Highness, as an instruction to your most noble son,* (whom Almighty God bless with much honour, happiness, and long life,) of a people that are of a vile sect among the Anabaptists, called 'the Family of Love,' who do hold and maintain many proud, uncharitable, unchristian, and most absurd opinions, unto whom your Highness doth also give the name of Puritans, assuming in the said book, that divers of them (as Brown, Penry, and others) do accord with them in their foul errors, heady and fantastical opinions; which are there set down at large by your Majesty; advising your royal son (as is most meet) to punish them, if they refuse to obey the law, and will not cease to stir up rebellion.

"Now, most gracious sovereign, because it is meet that your Highness should understand, by their supplication, and declaration of the truth herein by themselves, (of whom your Majesty hath been thus informed,) prostrate at your princely feet, as true, faithful, loyal, and obedient subjects, to all your laws and ordinances, civil, politic, spiritual, temporal; they with humble hearts do beseech your princely Majesty to understand, and that the people of the Family of Love, or of God, do utterly disclaim and detest all the said absurd and self-conceited opinions, and disobedient and erroneous sorts of the Anabaptists, Brown, Penry, Puritans, and all other proud-minded

* In his *Basilicon Doron.*

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sects and heresies whatsoever; protesting, upon pain of our lives, that we are not consenting nor agreeing with any such brain-sick preachers, nor their rebellious and disobedient sects whatsoever, but have been, and ever will be, truly obedient to your Highness and your laws, to the effusion of our blood, and expenses of our goods and lands in your Majesty's service; highly lauding Almighty God, who hath so graciously and peaceably appointed unto us such a virtuous, wise, religious, and noble king, and so careful and impartial a justiciar to govern over us; beseeching Him daily to bless your Highness with his godly wisdom and holy understanding, to the furtherance of his truth and godliness, and with all honour, happiness, peace, and long life, and to judge rightly between falsehood and truth.

"And because your Majesty shall have a perfect view, or an assured persuasion, of the truth of the same our protestation, if therefore there be any indifferent man of the kingdom, that can justly touch us with any such disobedient and wicked handling of ourselves, as seemeth by your Majesty's book it hath been informed unto your Highness, unless they be such mortal enemies, the disobedient Puritans, and those of their heady humours, before-named, who are much more zealous, religious, and precise, in the tithing of mint, anise, and cummin, and in the preferring of such like pharisaical and self-chosen outward traditions and grounds, or hypocritical righteousness, than in the performing of judgment, mercy, and faith, and such like true and inward righteousness, which God doth most chiefly require and regard, Matt. xxiii. 23, &c., and whose malice hath—for twenty-five years past and upwards, and ever since, with very many untrue suggestions, and most foul errors, and odious crimes, the which we could then, if need were, prove—sought our utter overthrow and destruction. But that we have behaved ourselves in all orderliness and peaceableness of life where we dwell, and with whom we had to deal, or if we do vary or swerve from the established religion in this land, either in service, ceremonies, sermons, or sacraments, or have publicly spoken or inveighed, either by word or writing, against our late sovereign princess's government in cases spiritual or temporal, then let us be rejected for sectaries, and never receive the benefit of subjects.

"Only, right gracious sovereign, we have read certain books brought forth by a German author, under the characters of H. N.;* who affirmeth therein, that he is prepared, chosen, and sent of God to minister and set forth the most holy service of the love of God, and Christ, or of the Holy Ghost, unto the children of men upon

* Henry Nicholas.

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the universal earth; out of which service or writings we be taught all dutiful obedience towards God and magistrates, and to live a godly and honest life, and to love God above all things, and our neighbours as ourselves; agreeing therein with all the holy scriptures as we understand them. Against which author and his books we never yet heard or knew any law established in this realm by our late gracious sovereign, but that we might read them without offence; whose writings we suppose, under your Highness's correction, your Majesty hath never yet seen or perused, heard of by any indifferent nor true information. For the said H. N., in all his doctrine and writings, (being, as we are credibly informed, as much matter in volume, if they were all compiled together, as the whole Bible containeth,) doth neither take part with nor write against any particular party or company whatsoever, as naming them by their names, nor yet praise or dispraise any of them by name; but doth only show in particular in his said writings, as, saith he, the unpartial service of love requireth what is good or evil for every one, wherein the man hath right or wrong in any point, whether it be in the state of his soul towards God, or in the state of his body towards the magistrates of the world and towards one another, to the end that all people (when they hear or read his writing, and do thereby perceive their sin, and estranging from God and Christ) might endeavour them to bring forth the due fruits of repentance, which is reformation and newness of life, according as all the holy scriptures doth likewise require the same of every one, and that they might in that sort become saved through Jesus Christ, the only Saviour of all the world.

"Notwithstanding, dear sovereign, yet hath the said author and his doctrine a long time, and still is most shamefully and falsely slandered by our foresaid adversaries both in this land, and in divers others, as to be replenished with all manner of damnable errors, and filthy liberty of the flesh.

"And we his well-willers and favourers in the upright drift of his doctrine, as aforesaid, have also been of them complained of and accused unto our late gracious sovereign, and the magistrates of this land, both long time past, and now lately again, as to be a people so infected and stained with all manner of detestable wickedness and errors, that are not worthy to live upon the earth, but yet would never present any of his books unto his Majesty to peruse; nor yet set them forth in any indifferent or true manner to the view of the world, lest their malicious and slanderous reports and accusations against the same and us should thereby be revealed and disproved to their great shame. Through which their most odious and false complaints against us, the magistrates did then, and also have now lately, cast divers of us into prison, to our great hinderance and dis-

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credit; but yet have never proved against us, by sufficient and true testimony, any one of their foul accusations, as the records in such cases, and the magistrates that have dealt therein, can testify; but are so utterly void of due and lawful proof thereof, that they have framed divers subtile articles for us, being plain and unlearned men, to answer upon our oath, whereby to urge and gather some things from ourselves, so to prove their false and unchristian accusations to be true, or else will force us to renounce, recant, and condemn that which we do not wilfully maintain nor justify; (much like as it was practised in the primitive church against the Christians;) yea, they are not ashamed to lay their own and all other men's disobedient and wicked acts (of what profession soever it be) upon our backs, to the end cunningly to purchase favour and credit to themselves, and to make us seem monstrous and detestable before the magistrates and the common people everywhere; for that we and the doctrine of H. N. might, without any indifferent trial, and lawful or orderly proceedings as heretofore hath been used in the Christian church in such cases for confuting and condemning of heresy, be utterly rooted out of the land; with divers other most cruel practices, proceeding out of their bitter and envious hearts towards us, tending to the same unchristian and merciless purpose; the which we will here omit to speak of, because we have already been overtedious to your Highness, and most humbly crave your most gracious pardon and patience therein, in respect we speak to clear ourselves of such matters as may touch our lives and liberties, (which are two of the chiefest jewels that God hath given to mankind in this world,) and also for that we have few friends, or any other means than this, to acquaint your Highness with the truth and state of our cause, whereof we think your Majesty is altogether ignorant; but have very many enemies, whom we do greatly suspect will not be slack to prosecute their false and malicious purpose against us unto your Highness, even like as they have accustomed in times past to do unto our late sovereign queen; through which prevailing in their slanderous defacing of us and our cause, divers of us, for want of friends to make it rightly known unto her Majesty, have sundry times been constrained to endure their injurious dealing towards us, to our great vexation and hinderance.

"Wherefore, most gracious sovereign, this is now our humble suit unto your Highness, that when your kingly affairs of importance, which your Majesty hath now in hand, shall be well overpast, (for the prosperous performance whereof we will, as duty bindeth us, daily pray unto Almighty God,) that then your Highness will be pleased (because we have always taken the same author's work aforesaid to proceed out of the great grace and love of God and

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Christ, extended towards all kings, princes, rulers, and people, upon the universal earth, as he in many of his works doth witness no less, to their salvation, unity, peace, and concord in the same godly love) to grant us that favour, at your Majesty's fit and convenient time, to peruse the books yourself with an impartial eye, conferring them with the holy scriptures, wherein it seemeth, by the books that are set forth under your Highness's name, that you have had great travail, and are therefore better able to judge between truth and falsehood. And we will, whensoever it shall please your Highness to appoint the time, and to command and license us thereto, do our best endeavours to procure so many of the books as we can out of Germany, (where they be printed,) to be delivered unto your Majesty, or such godly, learned, and indifferent men, as it shall please your Majesty to appoint.

"And we will also, under your Highness's lawful license, and commandment in that behalf, do our like endeavour to procure some of the learned men in that country, (if there be any yet remaining alive that were well-acquainted with the author and his works in his life-time, and who likewise have exercised his works ever since,) to come over and attend upon your Majesty at your appointed time convenient; who can much more sufficiently instruct and resolve your Highness in any unusual words, phrase, or matter, that may haply seem dark and doubtful to your Majesty, than any of us in this your land are able to do.

"And so, upon your Highness's advised consultation and censure thereupon, (finding the same works heretical or seditious, and not agreeable to God's holy word and testimonies of all the scriptures,) to leave them, to take them as your Majesty's laws shall therein appoint us; having no intent or meaning to contend or resist thereagainst, however it be, but dutifully to obey thereunto according to the counsel of scriptures, and also of the said author's work.

"And our further humble suit unto your Highness is, that, of your gracious favour and clemency, you will grant and give order unto your Majesty's officers in that behalf, that all of us your faithful loving subjects, who are now in prison in any part of this your realm for the same cause, may be released upon such bail or bond as we are able to give; and that neither we, nor any of that company, (behaving ourselves orderly and obediently under your Highness's laws,) may be any further persecuted or troubled therein, until such time as your Majesty and such godly, learned, and indifferent men of your clergy, as your Highness shall appoint thereto, shall have advisedly consulted and determined of the matter, whereby we may not be utterly wasted by the great charge of imprisonment and persecution, and by the hard dealing of our

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adversaries; for we are but a people few in number, and yet most of us very poor in worldly wealth.

"O sacred prince! we humbly pray that the Almighty will move your princely heart with true judgment to discern between the right and the wrong of our cause, according to that most certain and Christian rule set down by our Saviour Christ unto his disciples, 'Ye shall know the tree by the fruit,' Matt. xii. 33; and in our obedience, peaceable and honest lives and conversation, to protect us; and in our disobedience and misdemeanour to punish us, as resisters of God's ordinance, of the kingly authority, and most high office of justice committed to your Majesty to that purpose towards your subjects, Rom. xiii.

"And, gracious sovereign, we humbly beseech your Highness with princely regard in equity and favour to ponder and grant the humble suit contained in this most lowly supplication of your loyal, true-hearted, faithful subjects; and to remember that your Majesty, in your book of princely, grave, and fatherly advice to the happy prince, your royal son, doth conclude, *Principis est parcere subjectis et debellare superbos;* and then, no doubt, God will bless your Highness, with all your noble offspring, with peace, long life, and all honours and happiness, long to continue over us; for which we will ever pray with incessant prayers to the Almighty."

I find not what effect this their petition produced; whether it was slighted, and the petitioners looked upon as inconsiderable, or beheld as a few frantic folk out of their wits; which consideration alone often melted their adversaries' anger into pity unto them.

19—22. *The Familists will in no wise be accounted Puritans. Phrases in their Petition censured. Mr. Rutherford causelessly asperseth the Bishops and Courtiers of Queen Elizabeth. Familists turned into modern Ranters.*

The main design driven on in the petition is, to separate themselves from the Puritans, (as persons odious to king James,) that they might not fare the worse for their vicinity unto them; though these Familists could not be so desirous to leave them as the others were glad to be left by them. For if their opinions were so senseless, and the lives of these Familists so sensual, as is reported, no *purity* at all belonged unto them.

Some take exceptions at their prayer for king James; wishing him, and his, "peace, long life, all honour and happiness," without mentioning of life eternal and the blessings thereof.* Whilst others are so much of "the Family of Charity," to this Family of

* Samuel Rutherford in his "Survey," p. 353.

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Love, as to excuse the omission as casual, or else extend "happiness" as comprehensive of the world to come. Others are more justly offended to see gold and dung joined togethes; God's word and the words of H. Nicholas equally yoked by them as infallible alike. They confess in this book "some unusual words which are dark and doubtful," which at this day is affected by many sectarists, (whilst truth is plain and easy,) amusing people with mystical expressions, which their auditors understand not, and, perchance, not they themselves. So that, as one saith very well of their high-soaring pretended spiritual language, that "it is a great deal too high for this world, and a great deal too low for the world to come."

I find one, in his confutation of this petition, inveighing against our bishops, that they were friends unto Familism, and favoured the promoters thereof; adding moreover, that "few of the prelatical way refuted them." Now, though the best friends of bishops, yea, and the bishops themselves, will confess they had too many faults; yet, I am confident, this is a false and uncharitable aspersion upon them. No better is that when he saith, that "divers of the court of queen Elizabeth, and some nobles, were Familists;"* wherein, I am sure, plenty of instances hath put him to such a penury that he cannot insist upon any one. But I am inclined the rather to pardon his error herein, because the author reporting this is a foreigner then living in Scotland; and, should I treat of the character of the court of king James at Edinburgh at the same time, possibly my pen, at so great a distance, might commit far worse mistakes.

Some will say, "Where are these Familists now-a-days?" Are they utterly extinct, or are they lost in the heap of other sects, or are they concealed under a new name?" The last is most probable. This Family, which shut their doors before, keeps open house now. Yea, "Family" is too narrow a name for them, they are grown so numerous. Formerly, by their own confession in this petition, they had three qualities,—"few, poor, and unlearned;" for, the last, *billa vera*, their lack of learning, they still retain, being otherwise many, and some rich, but all under the name of "Ranters;" and thus I fairly leave them, on condition they will fairly leave me, that I may hear no more of them for delivering truth and my own conscience in what I have written concerning their opinions.

23. *The Death of Hall and Eli.*

I find no protestant tears dropped on the grave of any eminent divine this year. But we light on two Romanists dying beyond sea, much lamented: One, Richard Hall, bred in Christ's-College,

* In his notes on his "Petition of Survey," p. 349.

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in Cambridge, whence he ran over to Rome, whence he returned into the Low Countries, and died canon and official of the cathedral of St. Omer: The other, Humphrey Eli, an Herefordshire-man by birth, Fellow of St. John's, in Oxford; whence going beyond sea, at Rome he commenced doctor of law, and afterwards died professor thereof, in the university of Ponta Mousan.* He is charactered to be, *jurisperitus doctus, pauper, et pacificus*, "a lawyer learned, poor, and peaceable." And thus much my charity can easily believe of him: but the distich † (the epitaph I take it on his tomb) is damnably hyperbolical:—

Albion hæreseos velatur nocte; viator,
Desine mirari, sol suus hic latitat.

"Wonder not, England's dark with error's night;
For, lo, here buried lies her sun so bright!"

Or else the poet lies who made the verses. But his ashes shall not be disturbed by me.

21—30. *The Plotters in the Powder Treason. Garnet's deciding a Case of Conscience. Two other Difficulties removed. The Odium must be cast on the Puritans. Will-worship a painful Labour. God gives them Warning to desist, but they will take none. The Latitude of their Design.* A.D. 1605.

The Romish Catholics now utterly despairing, either by flattery to woo, or force to wrest, any free and public exercise of their religion, some of them entered into a damnable and devilish conspiracy, to blow up the Parliament-house with gunpowder. In this plot were engaged,—(1.) Robert Catesby; (2.) Thomas Percy; (3.) Sir Everard Digby; (4.) Francis Tresham; (5.) Robert Winter; (6.) Thomas Winter; (7.) John Wright; (8.) Christopher Wright; (9.) Ambrose Rookwood; (10.) Robert Keyes; (11.) John Grant; (12.) Thomas Bates, Catesby's man; (13.) Guido Faux [Guy Fawkes]. Twelve, beside their foreman. But, how "honest and true," let their ensuing action declare. Surely, all of resolute spirits, most of ancient families, some of plentiful fortunes, and Percy, though weak in purse himself, pretended to command the wealthiest coffers of another.

But, a treason without a Jesuit or one of Jesuited principles therein, is like a dry wall without either lime or mortar. Gerrard must be the cement, with the sacrament of secrecy, to join them together. Garnet and Tismond (whelps of the same litter) commended and encouraged the design. But here an important scruple

* In the duchy of Lorraine. † PITZÆUS *De illustribus Angliæ Scriptoribus*, p. 804.

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was injected,—How to part their friends from their foes in the parliament, they having many in the House, of alliance, yea, of the same (in conscience a nearer kindred) religion with themselves. To slay the righteous with the wicked, be it far from God, Gen. xviii. 25, and all good men. And yet, as such an unpartial destruction was uncharitable; so an exact separation seemed as impossible. Here Garnet, instead of untying, cut this knot asunder with this his sharp decision: "That, in such a case as this, it was lawful to kill friend and foe together." Indeed, the good husbandman in the gospel permitted the tares to grow for the corn's sake, Matt. xiii. 29; whereas here, by the contrary counsel of the Jesuit, the corn (so they reputed it) was to be rooted-up for the tares' sake.

This scruple in conscience thus satisfied by Garnet, two other difficulties in point of performance presented themselves. For, Charles duke of York, probably by reason of his minority, would not be present, and the lady Elizabeth would certainly be absent from the Parliament-house. How then should these two (the next heirs to the crown) be compassed within their power? But, for the first, Percy proffered his service, promising to possess himself, by a fraudulent force, of the person of the duke. Catesby undertook the other difficulty, under a pretended hunting-match, (advantaged thereunto by the vicinity of Ashby to the lord Harrington's, where the princess had her education,) to train her into their command. All rubs thus removed, their way was made as smooth as glass,—and as slippery too, as by the sequel may appear.

But first be it remembered, that, though these plotters intended at last with honour to own the action, when success had made all things secure; yet they purposed, when the blow was first given, and whilst the act was certain, but the success thereof doubtful, to father the fact on the Puritans. They thought their backs were broad enough to bear both the sin and shame; and that this saddle, for the present, would finely fit their backs, whose discontent, as these plotters would pretend, unable otherwise to achieve their desired alteration in church-government, had, by this damnable treason, effected the same. By transferring the fact on the then most innocent Puritans, they hoped, not only to decline the odium of so hellish a design, but also, by the strangeness of the act and unsuspectedness of the actors, to amuse all men, and beget an universal distrust, that every man would grow jealous of himself. And whilst such amazement tied, in a manner, all men's hands behind them, these plotters promised themselves the working-out their own ends, part by their home-strength, and the rest by calling-in the assistance of foreign princes.

They fall a-working in the vault. Dark the place, in the depth

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of the earth; dark the time, in the dead of the night; dark the design, all the actors therein concealed by oath from others, and thereby combined amongst themselves. O! how easy is any work, when high merit is conceived the wages thereof! In piercing through the wall nine feet thick, they erroneously conceived that they thereby hewed forth their own way to heaven.* But they digged more with their silver in an hour, than with their iron in many days; namely, when, discovering a cellar hard by, they hired the same, and these pioneers saved much of their pains by the advantage thereof. And now all things were carried so secretly, no possibility of any detection, seeing the actors themselves had solemnly sworn that they would not—and all others might as safely swear they could not—make any discovery thereof.

But so it fell out, that the sitting of the parliament was put off from time to time; namely, from the seventh of February, (whereon it was first appointed to meet,) it was adjourned till the fifth of October, and afterward, from the fifth of October, put off till the fifth of November; and accordingly their working in the vault, which attended the motion of the parliament, had several distinct intermissions, and resumptions thereof; as if Divine Providence had given warning to these traitors, by the slow proceeding and oft adjourning of the parliament, mean time seriously to consider what they went about, and seasonably to desist from so damnable a design, as suspicious at last it would be ruined which so long had been retarded. But no taking-off their wheels will stay those chariots from drowning, which God hath decreed shall be swallowed in the Red Sea, Exodus xiv. 25.

"Behold! here is fire and wood; but where is the lamb for the burnt-offering?" Alas! a whole flock of lambs were not far off, all appointed to the slaughter:—the king, prince Henry, peers, bishops, judges, knights, and burgesses, all designed to destruction. "Let me smite him," said Abishai of Saul, "even at once, and I will not smite him the second time," 1 Sam. xxvi. 8. So here, a blow so sound, secret, and sudden, was intended [that] it would not need iteration: Once and ever, the first act would finish all in an instant. But, thanks be to God, nothing was blown up but the treason, or brought to execution but the traitors.

31—34. *The apish Behaviour of Keyes. The mystical Letter. The first Search proves ineffectual. The second Search discovers all.*

Indeed, some few days before the fatal stroke should be given, Master Keyes, being at Tichmarsh in Northamptonshire, at the

* Speed's "Chronicle" in king James.

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house of Master Gilbert Pickering, his brother-in-law, (but of a different religion, as a true protestant,) suddenly whipped out his sword, and in merriment made many offers therewith at the heads, necks, and sides of many gentlemen and gentlewomen then in his company. This then was taken as a mere frolic, and for the present passed accordingly; but afterwards, when the treason was discovered, such as remembered his gestures thought thereby he did *act* what he intended to *do* if the plot had taken effect; hack and hew, kill and slay, all eminent persons of a different religion from themselves.

"Curse not the king; no, not in thy thought; for a bird of the air shall carry the voice," Eccles. x. 20; as here such a discovery was made. With a pen, fetched from the feather of a fowl, a letter was written to the lord Mounteagle, in manner following:—

"My Lord,

"Out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation; therefore, I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance at this Parliament. For, God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time. And think not slightly of this advertisement, but retire yourself into your country, where you may expect the event in safety. For, though there be no appearance of any stir, yet, I say, they shall receive a terrible blow this Parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm; for the danger is past so soon as you have burned the letter. And I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it; to whose holy protection I commend you."

A strange letter, from a strange hand, by a strange messenger: without date to it, name at it, and (I had almost said) sense in it: a letter, which, even when it was opened, was still sealed, such the affected obscurity therein.

The lord Mounteagle, as loyalty advised him, communicates the letter to the earl of Salisbury, he to the king. His Majesty, on the second perusal, expounded the mystical "blow" meant therein must be by gunpowder; and gives order for searching the rooms under the Parliament-house, under pretence to look for lost hangings, which were conveyed away. The first search, about evening, discovered nothing but Percy's cellar, full of wood, and Johnson his man (under that name was Faux disguised) attending therein. However, the name of Percy and sight of Faux so quickened the jealousy of the lord Mounteagle, that this first slight search led to a second scrutiny, more strictly and secretly performed.

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This was made at midnight by sir Thomas Knevet, gentleman of his Majesty's privy chamber, and others, into the vault under the Parliament-house. There "the mystery of iniquity" was quickly discovered; a pile of fuel, faced over with billets, lined under with thirty-six barrels of powder, beside iron bars, to make the force of the fire more effectual. Guido Faux was apprehended in the outward room, with a dark-lantern in his hand, (the lively emblem of their design, whose dark side was turned to man, whilst the light part was exposed to God,) and three matches, ready to give fire to the train. This caitiff professed himself only grieved that he was not in the inner room, to blow himself and them all up together; affirming moreover, that, not God, but the devil, made the discovery of the plot.

35—38. *The Traitors fly, and are taken. Catesby and Percy fight desperately for their Lives. The Lord is just. The Rest are legally executed.*

Mean time, Catesby, Percy, Rookwood, both the Wrights, and Thomas Winter, were hovering about London, to attend the issue of the matter. Having sate so long abrood and hatching nothing, they began to suspect all their eggs had proved addle. Yet, betwixt hope and fear, they and their servants post down into the country, through Warwick and Worcester, into Staffordshire. Of traitors they turn felons, breaking up stables, and stealing horses as they went. But many of their own men, by a far more lawful felony, stole away from their masters, leaving them to shift for themselves. The neighbouring counties, and their own consciences, rise up against these riotous roisters, as yet unknown for traitors. At last sir Richard Walsh, High Sheriff of Worcestershire, overtook them at Holbeck in Staffordshire, at the house of Mr. Stephen Littleton; where, upon their resistance, the two Wrights were killed, Rookwood and Thomas Winter shrewdly wounded.

As for Percy and Catesby, they fought desperately for their lives, as knowing, no quarter but *quartering* would be given unto them; and, as if they scorned to turn their backs to any but themselves, setting back to back, they fought against all that assaulted them. Many swords were drawn upon them, but gunpowder must do the deed, which discharged that bullet which despatched them both.

Never were two bad men's deaths more generally lamented of all good men; only on this account,—that they lived no longer, to be forced to a farther discovery of their secret associates.

It must not be forgotten, how, some hours before their apprehension, as these plotters were drying dank gunpowder in an inn, a miller, casually coming in, (haply not heeding the *black meal* on the

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hearth,) by careless casting-on of a billet, fired the gunpowder. Up flies the chimney, with part of the house: all therein are frighted, most hurt; but especially Catesby and Rookwood had their faces soundly scorched, so bearing in their bodies, not στίγματα, "the marks of our Lord Jesus Christ," Gal. vi. 17, but the print of their own impieties. Well might they guess, how good *that their cup of cruelty* was, whose dregs they meant others should drink, by *this little sip* which they themselves had unwillingly tasted thereof.

The rest were all at London solemnly arraigned, convicted, condemned. So foul the fact, so fair the proof, they could say nothing for themselves. Master Tresham dying in the prison, prevented a more ignominious end.

(1.) Sir Everard Digby, Robert Winter, Grant, and Bates, were hanged, drawn, and quartered, at the west end of St. Paul's, January 30th. Three of them, but especially sir Everard Digby, died very penitently and devoutly; only Grant expressed most obstinacy at his end.

(2.) Thomas Winter, Ambrose Rookwood, Keyes, and Faux were executed, as the former, in the Parliament-yard in Westminster, January 31st. Keyes followed Grant in his obstinacy, and Faux showed more penitency than all the rest.*

(3.) Garnet, Provincial of the English Jesuits, was arraigned some weeks after, by four several names,† and executed on the Saturday; which he said was called *institutio crucis;* of whom largely in the next year.

They all craved testimony, that they died Roman catholics. My pen shall grant them this their last and so equal petition, and bears witness to all whom it may concern, that they lived and died in the Romish religion. And although the heinousness of their offence might, with some colour of justice, have angered severity into cruelty against them; yet so favourably were they proceeded with, that most of their sons or heirs, except since disinherited by their own prodigality, at this day enjoy their paternal possessions.

39—41. *The Presumption of a posthume Report justly censured. The Memory of this Treason perpetuated by Act of Parliament. Just Complaint that the Day is no better observed.*

Heaven having thus defeated hell of its desired success, earth since hath endeavoured to defraud heaven of its deserved praise. A posthume report is brought forth into the world, (nursed, as it is fit, by the mothers thereof,) that king James was privy to this plot all

* STOW's "Chronicle," p. 882. † *Ibid.* p. 883.

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along; and that his observing ran parallel with the traitors' acting therein, so that he could discover it when he pleased, but was not pleased to discover it until the eve of the fifth of November: a fancy inconsistent with that ordinary piety which all charitable men must allow king James as a Christian, and with that extraordinary policy which his adversaries admire in him as a statesman. Was it probable, that he would tempt God so profanely, as solemnly to thank him for revealing that to him which he knew before? Would king James's wisdom (not to say, his wariness, not to say, his fearfulness) dally so long with destruction, as to put it off to the last hour, when, *uno actu, tactu; ictu, nictu*, all might have been confounded? Was it not hard for him to equivocate before such a master of equivocation as Garnet the Jesuit was? who, certainly, if he had smelt any juggling of king James therein, would, no doubt, have proclaimed it to all the world at his execution. I deny not, but that the king, both by intelligence from foreign parts, and secret information from those secular priests that bishop Bancroft secretly kept in his house, was advertised in general of some great plot which the Jesuited papists were hatching against the ensuing parliament: but, for the particulars, that riddling letter brought him the first notice thereof, whatsoever is fancied to the contrary. But, if wild conjectures in such cases from obscure authors shall be permitted to justle for credit against received records, all former unquestionable history will be quickly reduced to an universal uncertainty. But there is a generation of people, who, to enhance the reputation of their knowledge, seem not only, like moths, to have lurked under the carpets of the council-table, but, even like fleas, to have leaped into the pillows of princes' bed-chambers; thence deriving their private knowledge of all things, which were, or were not, ever done or thought of. In defiance of whom I add: "Give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." Let king James, by reading the letter, have the credit of discovering this plot to the world, and God the glory for discovering it unto king James.

A learned author,* making mention of this treason, breaketh forth into the following rapture:—

Excidat illa dies ævo, ne postera credant
Secula; nos certè taceamus, et obruta multâ
Nocte tegi propriæ patiamur crimina gentis.

"O! let that day be quite dash'd out of time,
And not believed by the next generation:
In night of silence we 'll conceal the crime,
Thereby to save the credit of our nation."

* CAMDEN'S "Britannia" in Middlesex.

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A wish, which, in my opinion, hath more of poetry than of piety therein, and from which I must be forced to dissent. For, I conceive not the credit of our countrymen concerned in this plot; not beholding this as a national act, whose actors were but a party of a party,—a desperate handful of discontented persons of the papistical faction. May the day indeed be ever forgotten as to the point of *imitation*, but be ever remembered to the *detestation* thereof! May it be solemnly transmitted to all posterity, that they may know how bad man can be to destroy, and how good God hath been to deliver! that especially we Englishmen may take notice, how woful we might have been, how happy we are, and how thankful we ought to be. In order whereunto the parliament (first moved therein by sir Edward Mountague, afterward baron of Boughton) enacted an annual and constant memorial of that day to be observed.

Certainly, if this plot had taken effect, the papists would have celebrated this day with all solemnity, and it should have taken the upper hand of all other festivals. The more therefore the shame and pity, that, amongst protestants, the keeping of this day, not as yet full fifty years old, begins already to wax weak and decay. So that the red letters, wherein it is written, seem daily to grow dimmer and paler in our English Calendar. God forbid, that our thankfulness for this great deliverance, formerly so solemnly observed, should hereafter be like the squibs which the apprentices in London make on this day; and which give a great flash and crack at the first, but soon after go out in a stink.

42, 43. *The Death of Archbishop Hutton. A foul Mistake rectified.*

Matthew Hutton, archbishop of York, ended his religious life; descended from an ancient family of Hutton-Hall, as I take it, in Lancashire; Fellow of Trinity-College in Cambridge, to the enlarging whereof he gave a hundred marks; afterwards Master of Pembroke-Hall, and Margaret Professor; then bishop of Durham, and archbishop of York. One of the last times that ever he preached in his cathedral was on this occasion: The catholics in Yorkshire were commanded by the queen's authority to be present at three sermons; and at the two first behaved themselves so obstreperously, that some of them were forced to be gagged before they would be quiet. The archbishop preached the last sermon most gravely and solidly, taking for his text, "He that is of God heareth God's words: ye therefore hear them not, because ye are not of God," John viii. 47.

Here I must clear the memory of this worthy prelate from a mistake committed, surely not wilfully, but through false intelligence,

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by a pen,* otherwise more ingenuous, and professing respect to him, and some familiarity with him:—

"This archbishop's eldest son is a knight, lately sheriff of Yorkshire, and of good reputation. One other son he had, Luke Hutton by name, so valiant that he feared not men, nor laws; and, for a robbery done on St. Luke's day, for name's sake, he died as sad a death (though I hope with a better mind) as the thief of whom St. Luke writes. The archbishop herein showed that constancy and severity worthy of his place; for he would not endeavour to save him, as the world thought he easily might."

THE TRUTH.—This worthy prelate had but three sons: (1.) Mark, who died young. (2.) Sir Timothy Hutton, knighted *anno* 1605, and sheriff of Yorkshire. (3.) Sir Thomas Hutton, knight, who lived and died also respected in his own country. As for this Luke Hutton, he was not his, but son to Dr. Hutton, prebendary of Durham.

This archbishop was a learned man, excepted even by a Jesuit, (who wrote in disgrace of the English as neglecting the reading of Fathers,) and another Matthew more, *qui unus in paucis versare patres dicitur*. He founded a hospital in the north, and endowed it with a yearly revenue of thirty-five pounds.

44. *The Death of the Bishops of Rochester and Chichester.*

Two other bishops this year also ended their lives. In March, John Young,† doctor in divinity, once master of Pembroke-Hall in Cambridge, bishop of Rochester, in which see he sat above twenty-seven years. And Anthony Watson, Fellow of Christ's-College, in Cambridge; first dean of Bristol, and afterwards bishop of Chichester; whom queen Elizabeth made her almoner; namely, after bishop Fletcher, at whose indiscreet second marriage the queen took distaste. Bishop Watson died in September, and always led a single life.

45—50. *Garnet's Education and early Viciousness; canvassed in the Tower by the Protestant Divines. Confession only of Ante-facts. Earl of Salisbury's Question answered. Garnet's Arraignment and Condemnation. Popish false Relations disproved. A.D.* 1606.

Father Henry Garnet was now most solemnly and ceremoniously brought to the scaffold; who, because he is cried up by the papists for so precious a piece of piety, we will be the larger in the delivery of his true character. For, although we will not cast dirt on the foulest face, it is fit we should wash off the paint of counterfeit

* SIR JOHN HARRINGTON in his additional to bishop Godwin, p. 192. † See BISHOP GODWIN in his "Catalogue."

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holiness from the hypocritical pretenders thereunto. Bred he was in Winchester school; where, with some other scholars, he conspired to cut off his schoolmaster's, Bilson's, right hand,* (early his enmity against authority retrenching his riot,) but that his design was discovered. Being prepositor of the school, (whose frown or favour was considerable to those under his inspection,) he sodomitically abused five or six of the handsomest youths therein.† Hereupon his schoolmaster advised him, yea, he advised himself, rather silently to slink away, than to stand candidate for a repulse in his preferment to New-College. Over he fled to Rome; where, after some years, he so improved himself, that, from a prepositor over boys, he was made Provincial over men, even the whole Order of English Jesuits.

Hence he returned into England, and was not only privy to, but a principal plotter of, the gunpowder-treason. Being attached, and imprisoned in the Tower, the earl of Salisbury, and Dr. Overal, dean of St. Paul's, with other divines, repaired unto him, charging it on his conscience for not revealing so dangerous a conspiracy. Garnet pleaded for himself, that it was concredited unto him under the solemn seal of confession; the violation whereof he accounted the highest impiety. This they disproved; because he had discoursed thereof, frequently and publicly, with Catesby, Gerrard, and Greenwood,—circumstances inconsistent with the essential secrecy of confession. Garnet sought to salve himself with a fine distinction, so fine that it brake to pieces in the spinning,—that it was told him *in viâ ad confessionem*, "in order to confession;" which, though wanting some formalities thereof, did equally oblige his conscience to conceal it.

Dean Overal rejoined, that confession was of *ante-facts*, not *post-facts*; and that it is not *confession*, but *menacing*, to impart to a priest intended villanies. He farther urged, that their most conscientious casuists allowed, yea, enjoined priests' discovery in such case, when a greater good accrued by revealing than concealing such secrecies. "I was minded," quoth Garnet, "to discover the plot, but not the persons therein."

Here the earl of Salisbury interposed: "And who," said he, "hindered you from discovering the plot?" "Even you yourself," answered Garnet; "for I knew full well, should I have revealed the plot, and not the plotters, you would have racked this poor body of mine to pieces, to make me confess." And, now we have mentioned the rack, know, that never any rack was used on Garnet, except a wit-rack, wherewith he was worsted, and this cunning archer outshot in his own bow. For, being in prison with father Oldcorne, *aliàs* Hall,

* Attested by bishop Bilson of Winchester, alive at Garnet's death, and many years after. † ROBERT ABBOT in his *Antilogia*, Epistle to the Reader.

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his confessor, they were put into an equivocating room, as I may term it, which pretended nothing but privacy, yet had a reservation of some invisible persons within it, ear-witnesses to all the passages betwixt them, whereby many secrecies of Garnet's were discovered.*

In Guildhall he was arraigned before the lord mayor, and the lords of the Privy Council; sir Baptist Hicks, afterwards viscount Camden, being foreman of the jury, consisting of knights, esquires, and the most substantial citizens, whose integrities and abilities were above exception. I see, therefore, no cause why the defender of Garnet, after his death, accuseth those men as incompetent or improper for their place; as if he would have had him tried *per pares*, by a jury of Jesuits, (and would he have them all Provincials too?) who I believe, though summoned, would unwillingly have appeared in that place. Garnet, pleading little against pregnant proofs, was condemned, and some days after, (May 3rd,) publicly executed in St. Paul's church-yard.

The secretary of the Spanish ambassador, (for we charitably believe his master honester and wiser,) writing into Spain and Italy what here he took upon hearsay, filled foreign countries with many falsehoods concerning Garnet's death.

AS, NAMELY,	WHEREAS,
(1.) That he manifested much alacrity of mind, in the cheerfulness of his looks at his death.	(1.) He betrayed much servile fear and consternation of spirit, much beneath the erected resolution of a martyr.
(2.) His zealous and fervent prayers much moved the people.	(2.) His prayers were faint, cold, and perplexed, oft interrupted, with his listening to and answering of others.
(3.) The people hindered the hangman from cutting the rope, and quartering him while alive.	(3.) That favour, by special order from his Majesty, was mercifully indulged unto him.
(4.) The people so clawed the executioner, that he hardly escaped with life.	(4.) No violence was done unto him, able many years after to give a cast of his office, if need required.
(5.) When he held up Garnet's head to the people, there was a panic silence, none saying, "God save the king."	(5.) Acclamations in that kind were as loud and general, as heretofore on the same occasion.

Thus suffered father Garnet; after whose death some subtle persons have impudently broached, and other silly people senselessly

* ABBOT in *Antilogid*, cap. i. fol. 5.

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believed, a certain miracle of his working, which we here relate as we find it reported:—

51—55. *The solemn Tale of Garnet's Straw-Miracle. Garnet's Picture appears in a Straw. This Miracle not presently done; not perfectly done. Garnet's Beatification occasioned by this mock Miracle. A.D.* 1607.

John Wilkinson, a thorough-paced catholic, living at St. Omers, posted over into England, as having a great desire to get and keep some of Garnet's relics. Great was his diligence in coming early before others to the place of his execution, which advantaged him near to Garnet's person; and greater his patience in staying till all was ended, and the rest of the people departed: when, behold, a straw, besprinkled with some drops of his blood, and having an ear of corn at the end thereof, leaped up on this Wilkinson, not taking the rise of its leap from the ground, he was sure; but whether from the scaffold, or from the basket wherein Garnet's head was, he was uncertain.* Was not this Wilkinson made of jet, that he drew this straw so wonderfully unto him? Well, however it came to pass, joyfully he departs with this treasure, and deposits the same with the wife of Hugh Griffith, a tailor, a zealot of his own religion, who provided a crystal case for the more chary keeping thereof.

Some weeks after, upon serious inspection of this straw, the face of a man (and we must believe it was Garnet's) was perceived therein, appearing on the outside of a leaf, which covered a grain within it, and where the convexity thereof represented the prominency of the face with good advantage. Wilkinson, Hugh Griffith and his wife, Thomas Laithwaite, and others, beheld the same; though there be some difference in *their* depositions, *whose* eyes had the first happiness to discover this portraiture. Soon after, all England was *belittered* with the news of this *straw*, and catholics cried it up for no less than a miracle.

There are two infallible touchstones of a true miracle, which always is done εὐθέως, "presently," and τελείως, "perfectly." Neither of these on examination appeared here. For when this straw salient leaped first up into Wilkinson's lap, it is to be presumed, that he, having it so long in his possession, critically surveyed the same, the volume whereof might quickly be perused; and yet then no such effigiation was therein discovered, which, some nineteen weeks after, became visible, about the nineteenth of September following. Surely, had this pregnant straw gone out its full time of forty weeks, it would have been delivered of a perfect picture indeed;

* ABBOT, lib. *ut prius*, cap. xiv. fol. 198; out of whom, for the main, all this story is taken, with the confutation thereof.

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whereas now, miscarrying before that time, wonder not if all things were not so complete therein.

For the face therein was not so exact, as which might justly entitle heaven to the workmanship thereof. Say not, "It was done in too small a scantling to be accurate;" for *Deus est maximus in minimis*, "God's exquisiteness appears the most in models." [See] Exodus viii. 18. Whereas, when witnesses were examined about this mock miracle before the archbishop of Canterbury, Francis Bowen deposed, that he believed that a good artisan might have drawn one more curiously; and Hugh Griffith himself attested, that it was no more like Garnet, than to any other man who had a beard; and that it was so small, none could affirm it to resemble him; adding moreover, that there was no glory or streaming rays about it, which some did impudently report.

However, this inspirited straw was afterward copied out, and at Rome printed in pomp, with many superstitious compartments about it, (as a coronet, a cross, and nails,) more than ever were in the original. Yea, this miracle, how silly and simple soever, gave the ground-work to Garnet's beatification by the pope some months after. Indeed, Garnet complained before his death, that he could not expect that the church should own him for a martyr, (and signified the same in his letter to his dear mistress Anne, but for her surname call her Garnet, or Vaux, as you please,) because nothing of religion, and only practices against the state were laid to his charge. It seemed good therefore to his Holiness, not to canonize Garnet for a solemn saint, much less for a martyr, but only to beatificate him; which, if I mistake not, in their heavenly heraldry is by papists accounted the least and lowest degree of celestial dignity, and yet a step above the commonalty, or ordinary sort of such good men as are saved. This he did to qualify the infamy of Garnet's death, and that the perfume of this new title might outscent the stench of his treason. But we leave this Garnet (loath longer to disturb his blessedness) in his own place, and proceed to such church-matters as were transacted in this present parliament.

56. *Acts against Papists in Parliament, but principally the Oath of Obedience.*

Evil manners prove often, though against their will, the parents of good laws; as here it came to pass. The parliament, begun and holden at Westminster, November 5th, and there continued till May 27th following, enacted many things for the discovering and repressing of popish recusants, extant at large in the printed Statutes. Whereof none was more effectual, than that oath of obedience which every catholic was commanded to take, the form

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whereof is here inserted; the rather, because this oath may be termed, like two of Isaac's wells, *Esek* and *Sitnah*, "contention" and "hatred," Genesis xxvi. 20, 21; the subject of a tough controversy betwixt us and Rome, about the legal urging and taking thereof; protestants no less learnedly asserting than papists did zealously oppose the same. The form of which oath is as followeth:—

"I, A. B., do truly and sincerely acknowledge, profess, testify, and declare in my conscience before God and the world, that our sovereign lord king James is lawful and rightful king of this realm, and of all other his Majesty's dominions and countries; and that the pope, neither of himself, nor by any authority of the church or see of Rome, or by any other means with any other, hath any power or authority to depose the king, or to dispose any of his Majesty's kingdoms or dominions, or to authorize any foreign prince to invade or annoy him or his countries, or to discharge any of his subjects of their allegiance and obedience to his Majesty, or to give licence or leave to any of them to bear arms, raise tumult, or to offer any violence or hurt to his Majesty's royal person, state, or government, or to any of his Majesty's subjects within his Majesty's dominions.

"Also I do swear from my heart, that, notwithstanding any declaration or sentence of excommunication or deprivation, made or granted, or to be made or granted, by the pope or his successors, or by any authority derived or pretended to be derived from him or his see, against the said king, his heirs, or successors, or any absolution of the said subjects from their obedience; I will bear faith and true allegiance to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, and him and them will defend to the uttermost of my power, against all conspiracies and attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against his or their persons, their crown, and dignity, by reason or colour of any such sentence or declaration, or otherwise; and will do my best endeavour to disclose and make known unto his Majesty, his heirs, and successors, all treasons, and traitorous conspiracies, which I shall know, or hear of, to be against him, or any of them.

"And I do farther swear, that I do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure, as impious and heretical, this damnable doctrine and position, that princes, which be excommunicated or deprived by the pope, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever.

"And I do believe, and in conscience am resolved, that neither the pope nor any person whatsoever hath power to absolve me of this oath, or any part thereof; which I acknowledge by good and full authority to be lawfully ministered unto me, and do renounce

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all pardons and dispensations to the contrary. And all these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to these express words, by me spoken, and according to the plain and common-sense and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation or mental evasion or secret reservation whatsoever. And I do make this recognition and acknowledgment heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the true faith of a Christian. So HELP ME GOD!"

This oath was devised to discriminate the pernicious from the peaceable papists. "Sure bind, sure find." And the makers of this were necessitated to be larger therein, because it is hard to strangle equivocation; which, if unable by might to break—will endeavour by sleight to slip—the halter.

57. *The Pope's two Briefs against this Oath.*

No sooner did the news thereof arrive at the ears of his Holiness, but presently he dispatched his brief into England, prohibiting all catholics to take this oath, so destructive to their own souls and the see of Rome; exhorting them patiently to suffer persecution, and manfully to endure martyrdom.* And, because report was raised, that the pope wrote this brief "not of his own accord and proper will, but rather for the respect and at the instigation of others;" next year he sent a second to give faith and confirmation to the former.† Notwithstanding all which, this oath, being tendered to—was generally taken by—catholics, without any scruple or regret. And particularly, George Blackwell, arch-priest of the English, being apprehended and cast into prison, by taking this oath wrought his own enlargement; which made cardinal Bellarmine, some forty years ago acquainted with him, in his letters kindly to reprove him for the same.‡

58. *Pens tilting at Pens about the Lawfulness of this Oath.*

And now, the alarm being given, "whether this oath was lawful or no," both parties of protestants and papists drew forth their forces into the field. King James undertook the pope himself; the wearer of three, against the wearer of a triple crown, (an even match,) effectually confuting his briefs. Bishop Andrews takes Bellarmine to task; bishop Barlow pours out upon Parsons; Dr. Morton, Dr. Robert Abbot, Dr. Buckeridge, Dr. Collins, Dr. Burrel, Mr. Thomson, Dr. Peter Moulin, maintain the legality of the oath, against Suarez, Eudæmon, Becanus, Cofteteus, [Coeffetau,] Peleterius, and others; to whose worthy works the reader is

* See KING JAMES's Works, p. 250. † Extant, *ibid.* p. 258. ‡ Extant, *ibid.* p. 206.

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referred for his farther satisfaction. I may call at—not go into—these controversies, lest, by staying so long, I be benighted in my way; the rather, because the nearer we approach our home, the longer the miles grow; I mean, matter multiplieth toward the conclusion of our work. And now it is not worth the while to go into the contemporary Convocation, where we meet with nothing but formality and continuations.

SECTION III.

THOMÆ DACRES, DE CHESHUNT, ARMIGERO.

AUDISTI sæpius de rotundâ tabulâ, quam Wintonia jactitat: hanc regem Arthurum instituisse ferunt; ne inter milites ejus discumbentes aliquid discordiæ ob πρωτοκαθεδρίαν oriretur.

Nôsti quales olim libri fuerunt cùm in gyrum rotarentur. Hinc adhuc inter Latinos VOLUMEN a *volvendo* obtinet. Nihil igitur interest quo ordine patroni mei collocentur, cum in circulari formâ inter primum et imum nihil sit discriminis.

Sed quorsùm hæc? Cùm genus tuum, licèt splendidum, (tanta est comitas quæ te illustrem reddidit,) non fastuosè consulas. Tibi omnia prospera. Vale.

1. *The Names, Places, and several Employments of the Translators of the Bible.*

WE may remember, that one of the best things produced by [the] Hampton-Court Conference was, a resolution in his Majesty for a new translation of the Bible. Which religious design was now effectually prosecuted; and the translators, being seven-and-forty in number, digested into six companies, and several books assigned them, in order as followeth, according unto the several places wherein they were to meet, confer, and consult together; so that nothing should pass without a general consent.

WESTMINSTER, *Ten.*—Dr. Andrews, Fellow and Master of Pembroke-Hall in Cambridge, then Dean of Westminster, after Bishop of Winchester: Dr. Overal, Fellow of Trinity-College, Master of Catherine-Hall in Cambridge, then Dean of St. Paul's,

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after Bishop of Norwich: Dr. Saravia: Dr. Clarke, Fellow of Christ-College in Cambridge, Preacher in Canterbury: Dr. Laifield, Fellow of Trinity-College in Cambridge, Parson of St. Clement-Danes; being skilled in architecture, his judgment was much relied on for the fabric of the tabernacle and temple: Dr. Leigh, archdeacon of Middlesex, Parson of Allhallows-Barking: Mr. Burgley: Mr. King: Mr. Thompson: Mr. Bedwell of Cambridge, and, I think, of St. John's, Vicar of Tottenham nigh London.—*The Pentateuch; the story from Joshua to the first book of the Chronicles, exclusively.*

CAMBRIDGE, *Eight.*—Mr. Lively: Mr. Richardson, Fellow of Emmanuel, after D.D., Master first of Peter-House, then of Trinity-College: Mr. Chaderton, after D.D., Fellow first of Christ-College, then Master of Emmanuel: Mr. Dillingham, Fellow of Christ-College, beneficed at —— in Bedfordshire, where he died a single and a wealthy man: Mr. Andrews, after D.D., brother to the bishop of Winchester, and Master of Jesus-College: Mr. Harrison, the reverend Vice-Master of Trinity-College: Mr. Spalding, Fellow of St. John's in Cambridge, and Hebrew Professor therein:* Mr. Bing, Fellow of Peter-House in Cambridge, and Hebrew Professor therein.—*From the first of the Chronicles, with the rest of the story, and the Hagiographa; namely, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Canticles, Ecclesiastes.*

OXFORD, *Seven.*—Dr. Harding, President of Magdalen-College: Dr. Reynolds, President of Corpus-Christi-College: Dr. Holland, Rector of Exeter-College, and King's Professor: Dr. Kilby, Rector of Lincoln-College, and Regius Professor: Mr. Smith, after D.D., and Bishop of Gloucester. He made the learned and religious preface to the translation: Mr. Brett, of a worshipful family, beneficed at Quainton in Buckinghamshire: Mr. Faireclowe.—*The four greater Prophets, with the Lamentations, and the twelve lesser Prophets.*

CAMBRIDGE, *Seven.*—Dr. Duport, Prebend of Ely, and Master of Jesus-College: Dr. Brainthwait, first Fellow of Emmanuel, then Master of Gonvile and Caius College: Dr. Radcliffe, one of the senior Fellows of Trinity-College: Mr. Ward, Emmanuel, after D.D., Master of Sidney-College, and Margaret Professor: Mr. Downes, Fellow of St. John's-College, and Greek Professor: Mr. Boyse, Fellow of St. John's-College, Prebend of Ely, Parson of Boxworth in Cambridgeshire: Mr. Ward, Regal, after D.D., Prebend of Chichester, Rector of Bishop-Waltham in Hampshire.—*The Prayer of Manasseh, and the rest of the Apocrypha.*

* See our catalogue of the Hebrew professors in Cambridge to marshal their succession.

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OXFORD, *Eight.*—Dr. Ravis, Dean of Christ-Church, afterwards Bishop of London: Dr. Abbot, Master of University-College, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury: Dr. Eedes: Mr. Thompson: Mr. Savill: Dr. Peryn: Dr. Ravens: Mr. Harmer.—*The four Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, Apocalypse.*

WESTMINSTER, *Seven.*—Dr. Barlow, of Trinity-Hall in Cambridge, Dean of Chester, after Bishop of Lincoln: Dr. Hutchenson: Dr. Spencer: Mr. Fenton: Mr. Rabbet: Mr. Sanderson: Mr. Dakins.—*The Epistles of St. Paul, the Canonical Epistles.*

2. *The King's Instructions to the Translators.*

Now, for the better ordering of their proceedings, his Majesty recommended the following rules by them to be most carefully observed:—

(1.) The ordinary Bible read in the church, commonly called the Bishops' Bible, to be followed, and as little altered as the original will permit.

(2.) The names of the prophets, and the holy writers, with the other names in the text, to be retained as near as may be, accordingly as they are vulgarly used.

(3.) The old ecclesiastical words to be kept, namely, as the word "church" not to be translated *congregation*, &c.

(4.) When any word hath divers significations, that to be kept which hath been most commonly used by the most eminent Fathers, being agreeable to the propriety of the place, and the analogy of faith.

(5.) The division of the chapters to be altered either not at all, or as little as may be, if necessity so require.

(6.) No marginal notes at all to be affixed, but only for the explanation of the Hebrew or Greek words, which cannot without some circumlocution so briefly and fitly be expressed in the text.

(7.) Such quotations of places to be marginally set down, as shall serve for the fit reference of one scripture to another.

(8.) Every particular man of each company to take the same chapter or chapters; and, having translated, or amended them severally by himself where he thinks good, all to meet together, confer what they have done, and agree for their part what shall stand.

(9.) As any one company hath dispatched any one book in this manner, they shall send it to the rest, to be considered of seriously and judiciously; for, his Majesty is very careful in this point.

(10.) If any company, upon the review of the book so sent, shall doubt or differ upon any places, to send them word thereof, note the places, and therewithal send their reasons: to which if they con-

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sent not, the difference to be compounded at the general meeting, which is to be of the chief persons of each company, at the end of the work.

(11.) When any place of special obscurity is doubted of, letters to be directed by authority, to send to any learned in the land for his judgment in such a place.

(12.) Letters to be sent from every bishop, to the rest of his clergy, admonishing them of this translation in hand; and to move and charge as many as, being skilful in the tongues, have taken pains in that kind, to send his particular observations to the company either at Westminster, Cambridge, or Oxford.

(13.) The directors in each company to be the deans of Westminster and Chester, for that place; and the king's professors in the Hebrew and Greek in each university.

(14.) These translations to be used, when they agree better with the text than the bishops' Bible; namely, Tindal's, Matthew's, Coverdale's, Whitchurch's, the Geneva.

Beside the said directions before-mentioned, three or four of the most ancient and grave divines in either of the universities, not employed in translating, to be assigned by the Vice-Chancellor, upon conference with the rest of the heads, to be overseers of the translations, as well Hebrew as Greek, for the better observation of the fourth rule above-specified.

3. *Mr. Lively's Death.*

The untimely death of Mr. Edward Lively, (much weight of the work lying on his skill in the oriental tongues,) happening about this time, ("happy that servant whom his master, when he cometh, findeth so doing,") not a little retarded their proceedings. However, the rest vigorously, though slowly, proceeded in this hard, heavy, and holy task; nothing offended with the censures of impatient people, condemning their delays, (though indeed but due deliberation,) for laziness. Our pen for the present taketh its leave of them, not doubting but within two years to give a good account of them, or rather that they will give a good account of themselves.

4—6. *The Death of Dr. Reynolds. A strange Encounter. His admirable Parts and Piety. Most conformable in his Practice to the Church of England.*

In the translating of the Bible, one of the eminent persons employed therein was translated into a better life, May 21st; namely, Dr. John Reynolds,* king's professor in Oxford, born in

* He was bachelor of arts before bishop Jewel's death.

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Devonshire, with bishop Jewel and Mr. Hooker, and all three bred in Corpus-Christi-College in Oxford. No one county in England bare three such men, (contemporary at large,) in what college soever they were bred; no college in England bred such three men, in what county soever they were born.

This John Reynolds at the first was a zealous papist, whilst William his brother was as earnest a protestant; and afterwards Providence so ordered it, that, by their mutual disputation, John Reynolds turned an eminent protestant, and William an inveterate papist, in which persuasion he died.

This gave the occasion to an excellent copy of verses, concluding with this distich:—

Quod genus hoc pugnæ est? ubi victus gaudet uterque,
Et simul alteruter se superâsse dolet.

"What war is this? when conquer'd both are glad,
And either to have conquer'd other sad."

Daniel saith, "Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased," Dan. xii. 4. But here indeed was a strange transcursion, and remarkable the effects thereof.

His memory was little less than miraculous, he himself being the truest table to the multitude of voluminous books he had read over; whereby he could readily turn to all material passages in every leaf, page, volume, paragraph,—not to descend lower, to lines and letters. As his memory was a faithful *index*, so his reason was a solid *judex*, of what he read; his humility set a lustre on all, (admirable that the whole should be so low, whose several parts were so high,) communicative of what he knew to any that desired information herein, like a tree loaden with fruit, bowing down its branches to all that desired to ease it of the burden thereof, deserving this epitaph:—*Incertum est utrum doctior an melior.*

His disaffection to the discipline established in England was not so great as some bishops did suspect, or as more nonconformists did believe. No doubt, he desired the abolishing of some ceremonies for the ease of the conscience of others, to which in his own practice he did willingly submit, constantly wearing hood and surplice, and kneeling at the sacrament. On his death-bed he earnestly desired absolution, according to the form of the church of England, and received it from Dr. Holland, whose hand he affectionately kissed,* in expression of the joy he received thereby. Dr. Featley made his funeral oration in the college; sir Isaac Wake, in the university.

* DR. CRACKENTHORPE, in his defence of the English against Spalato.

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7—10. *Mr. Molle's Birth and Breeding; his sad Dilemma; his Constancy in the Inquisition; his Death in Durance.*

About this time Mr. John Molle, governor to the Lord Ross in his travels, began his unhappy journey beyond the seas. This Mr. Molle was born in or near South-Molton in Devon. His youth was most spent in France, where both by sea and land he gained much dangerous experience. Once the ship he sailed-in sprung a leak; wherein he and all his company had perished, if a Hollander, bound for Guernsey, passing very near, had not speedily taken them in; which done, their ship sunk immediately. Being Treasurer for sir Thomas Shirley of the English army in Brittany, he was in the defeat of Cambray wounded, taken prisoner, and ransomed; Providence designing him neither to be swallowed by the surges, nor slain by the sword, but in due time to remain a land-mark of Christian patience to all posterity. At last he was appointed by Thomas earl of Exeter, who formerly had made him examiner in the Council of the North, to be governor in travel to his grandchild, the lord Ross; undertaking the charge with much reluctancy, (as a presage of ill-success,) and with a profession and a resolution not to pass the Alps.

But a vagary took the lord Ross to go to Rome; though some conceive this motion had its root in more mischievous brains. In vain doth Mr. Molle dissuade him, grown now so wilful he would in some sort govern his governor. What should this good man do? To leave him, were to desert his trust; to go along with him, was to endanger his own life. At last his affections to his charge so prevailed against his judgment, that unwillingly-willing he went with him. Now, at what rate soever they rode to Rome, the fame of their coming came thither before them; so that no sooner had they entered their inn, but officers asked for Mr. Molle, took and carried him to the Inquisition-house, where he remained a prisoner, whilst the lord Ross was daily feasted, favoured, entertained; so that some will not stick to say, that here he changed no religion for a bad one.

However, such Mr. Molle's glorious constancy, that, whilst he looked forward on his cause, and upwards to his crown, neither frights nor flattery could make any impression on him. It is questionable, whether his friends did more pity his misery or admire his patience. The pretence and allegation of his so long and strict imprisonment was, because he had translated Du Plessis's book of "The Visibility of the Church," out of French into English; but, besides, there were other contrivances therein, not so fit for a public relation. In vain did his friends in England, though great and many, endeavour his enlargement by exchange, for one or more Jesuits or priests, who were prisoners here; papists beholding this

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Molle as "a man of a thousand," who, if discharged the Inquisition, might give an account of Romish cruelty to their great disadvantage.

In all the time of his durance, he never heard from any friend,* nor any from him, by word or letter; no Englishman being ever permitted to see him, save only one, namely, Mr. Walter Strickland, of Boynton-house, in Yorkshire. With very much desire and industry, he procured leave to visit him, an Irish friar being appointed to stand by and be a witness of their discourse. Here he remained thirty years in restraint; and in the eighty-first year of his age died a prisoner, and constant confessor of Christ's cause. God be magnified in and for the sufferings of his saints!

11. *The Death of Bishop Vaughan.*

In this year Richard Vaughan, doctor of divinity, bred in St. John's-College, in Cambridge, successively bishop of Bangor, Chester, and London, ended his life: a corpulent man, but spiritually-minded; such his integrity, not to be bowed (though force was not wanting) to any base connivance to wrong the church he was placed in. His many virtues made his loss to be much bemoaned.

12—17. *Mr. Brightman's Birth and Breeding. A Patron paramount. Exceptions against Mr. Brightman's Book. His angelical Life. His sudden Death. Whence we derive our Intelligence.*

Greater was the grief, which the death of Mr. Thomas Brightman caused to the disaffectors of the church-discipline of England. He was born in the town of Nottingham, bred in Queen's-College, in Cambridge; where a constant opposition, in point of judgment about ceremonies, was maintained between him and Dr. Meryton, afterwards dean of York. Here he filled himself with abilities for the ministry, waiting a call to vent himself in the country.

It happened, this very time, that sir John, son to Mr. Peter Osborne, (both lovers of learned and godly men,) not only bought and restored the rectory of Hawnes in Bedfordshire (formerly alienated) to the church, but also built thereon from the ground a fair house, which he furnished with fitting utensils for the future incumbent thereof. This done, at his desire of an able minister, Dr. Whitaker recommended Mr. Brightman unto him, on whom sir John not only freely conferred the living, but also the profits of two former years, which the knight inned at his own cost, and kept in his possession.

* So I am informed by a letter from Mr. Henry Molle, his son.

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Here Mr. Brightman employed himself, both by preaching and writing, to advance God's glory, and the good of the church; witness his learned Comments in most pure Latin on the Canticles and Revelation; though for the latter greatly grudged-at on several accounts:—

(1.) For the title thereof, conceived too insolent for any creature to affix, "A Revelation of the Revelation;" except immediate inspiration, which made the lock, had given the key unto it.

(2.) For being over-positive in his interpretations; the rather, because the Rev. Mr. Calvin himself, being demanded his opinion of some passages in the Revelation, (as a learned man reporteth,*) answered ingenuously, that he knew not at all what so obscure a writer meant.

(3.) For over-particularizing in personal expositions; applying several angels mentioned therein, to the lord Cromwell, archbishop Cranmer, Cecil lord Burleigh, &c.;† such restrictiveness being unsuitable with the large concernment of scripture; as if England, half an island in the western corner, were more considerable than all the world besides, and the theatre whereon so much should be performed.

(4.) In resembling the church of England to lukewarm Laodicea, praising and preferring the purity of foreign protestant churches.

Indeed, his daily discourse was against episcopal government, which, he declared, would shortly be pulled down. He spake also of great troubles, which would come upon the land; of the destruction of Rome, and the universal calling of the Jews; affirming, that some then alive should see all these things effected.

However, his life was most angelical, by the confession of such who in judgment dissented from him. His manner was always to carry about him a Greek Testament, which he read over every fortnight; reading the Gospels and the Acts, the first; the Epistles and the Apocalypse, the second week. He was little of stature, and (though such commonly choleric) yet never known to be moved with anger; and therefore when his pen falls foul on Romish superstition, his friends account it zeal, and no passion.

His desire was to die a sudden death, if God so pleased;—surely not out of opposition to the English Liturgy, praying against the same, but for some reasons best known to himself. God granted him his desire,—a death, sudden in respect of the shortness of the time, though premeditated on and prepared for by him, who "waited

* BODIN in his "Method of History," cap. 7. † Rev. xiv. 18, he maketh archbishop Cranmer the angel to have power over the fire; and, Rev. xvi. 5, he makes William Cecil, lord treasurer of England, the angel of the waters, (if lord admiral, it had been more proper,) justifying the pouring-out of the third vial.

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for his change," and, being a watchful soldier, might be assaulted, not surprised. For, riding in a coach with sir John Osborne, and reading of a book, (for he would lose no time,) he fainted; and, though instantly taken out in a servant's arms, and set on his lap, on a hillock, all means affordable at that instant being used for his recovery, died on the place, on the twenty-fourth of August, and is buried in the chancel of Hawnes, (Rev. Dr. Bulkley preaching his funeral sermon,) after he had faithfully fed his flock therein for fifteen years.

He was a constant student, much troubled before his death with obstructions both of the liver and gall; and is supposed by physicians to have died of the latter, about the fifty-first year of his age. And now, no doubt, he is in the number of those virgins, who "were not defiled with women, and follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth," Rev. xiv. 4; who always led a single life, as preferring a bed *unfilled*, before a bed *undefiled*. This my intelligence I have received by letter, from my worthy friend, lately gone to God, Mr. William Buckly, bachelor of divinity, and once Fellow of Queen's College, in Cambridge; who, living hard by Hawnes, (at Clifton,) at my request diligently inquired, and returned this his character, from aged, credible persons, familiar with Mr. Brightman.

18. *A.D.* 1608.

This year silently slipped away in peace, plenty, and prosperity; being ended before effectually begun, as to any memorable church-matter therein. Indeed, all the reign of king James was better for one to live under, than to write of; consisting of a champaign of constant tranquillity, without any tumours of trouble to entertain posterity with.

19—24. *An Act for Chelsea-College. The Glory of the Design. King James's Mortmain and personal Benefaction. Dr. Sutcliffe's Bounty. The Structure. The first Provost and Fellows. A.D.* 1609.

In the Parliament now sitting at Westminster, (in whose parallel Convocation nothing of consequence,) the most remarkable thing enacted was the Act made to enable the Provost and Fellows of Chelsea-College to dig a trench out of the river Lea; "to erect engines, water-works, &c., to convey and carry water in close pipes under-ground, unto the city of London and the suburbs thereof, for the perpetual maintenance and sustentation of the Provost and Fellows of that College, and their successors, by the rent to be made of the said waters so conveyed." Where, first lighting on the mention of this College, we will consider it in a fourfold capacity;

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(1.) As intended and designed. (2.) As growing and advanced. (3.) As hindered and obstructed. (4.) As decaying and almost, at the present, ruined. I shall crave the reader pardon, if herein I make excursions into many years, (but without discomposing of our chronology on the margin,) because it is my desire, though the college be left imperfect, to finish and complete my description thereof, so far as my best intelligence will extend; being herein beholden to Dr. Samuel Wilkinson, the fourth and present Provost of that College, courteously communicating unto me the considerable records thereof.

It was intended for a spiritual garrison, with a magazine of all books for that purpose; where learned divines should study and write in maintenance of all controversies against the papists. Indeed, the Romanists herein may rise up, and condemn those of the protestant confession. For, as Solomon used not his military men for any servile work, in building the temple, whereof the text assigneth this reason, "For they were men of war," 2 Chron. viii. 9; so the Romish church doth not burden their professors with preaching, or any parochial encumbrances, but reserves them only for polemical studies. Whereas, in England, the same man reads, preacheth, catechizeth, disputes, delivers sacraments, &c. So that, were it not for God's marvellous blessing on our studies, and the infinite odds of truth on our side, it were impossible, in human probability, that we should hold up the bucklers against them. Beside the study of divinity, at the least two able historians were to be maintained in this College, faithfully and learnedly to record and publish to posterity all memorable passages in church and commonwealth.

In pursuance of this design, his Majesty incorporated the said foundation, by the name of "king James's College in Chelsea;" and bestowed on the same, by his letters-patent, the reversion of good land in Chelsea, then in possession of Charles earl of Nottingham, the lease thereof not expiring till about thirty years hence; and also gave it a capacity to receive of his loving subjects any lands, not exceeding in the whole the yearly value of three thousand pounds.

Next king James, let me place Dr. Matthew Sutcliffe, dean of Exeter; who, though no prince by birth, seems little less by his bounty to this college. As Araunah, but a private subject, gave things "as a king" to God's service, 2 Sam. xxiv. 23; such the royal liberality of this doctor, bestowing on this college the farms of, (1.) Kingston, in the parish of Staverton; (2.) Of Hazzard, in the parish of Haberton; (3.) Of Appleton, in the parish of Churchton; (4.) Of Kramerland, in the parish of Stoke-rivers: all

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in the county of Devon, and, put together, richly worth three hundred pounds *per annum*. Beside this, by his will, dated November 1st, 1628, he bequeathed unto Dr. John Prideaux, and Dr. Clifford, (as feoffees in trust, to settle the same on the college,) the benefit of the extent on a statute of four thousand pounds, acknowledged by sir Lewis Stukeley, &c.; a bountiful benefaction, and the greater, because the said doctor had a daughter, and she children of her own. And, although this endowment would scarce make the "pot of pottage" seethe for "the sons of the prophets," 2 Kings iv. 38, 39; yet, what feasts would it have made in his private family, if continued therein! Seeing therefore so public a mind in so private a man, the more the pity that this good doctor was deserted, Uriah-like, engaged in the fore-front to fight alone against an army of difficulties, 2 Sam. xi. 15; which he encountered in this design, whilst such men basely retired from him, who should have seasonably succoured and seconded him in this action.

The fabric of this college was begun on a piece of ground called Thameshot, containing about six acres, and then in possession of Charles earl of Nottingham, who granted a lease of his term therein to the said Provost, at the yearly rent of seven pounds ten shillings. King James laid the first stone thereof, and gave all the timber requisite thereunto, which was to be fetched out of Windsor Forest. And yet that long range of building, which alone is extant, scarce finished at this day, (thus made, though not of free stone, of free timber,) as I am informed, cost (O the dearness of church and college-work!) full three thousand pounds. But, alas! what is this piece (not an eighth part) to a double quadrant, beside wings on each side, which was intended? If the aged fathers, who remembered the magnificence of Solomon's—wept at the meanness of the second—temple, Ezra iii. 12; such must needs be sad who consider the disproportion betwixt what was performed, and what was projected in this college; save that I confess, that the destruction of beautiful buildings, once really extant, leave greater impressions in men's minds, than the miscarriages of only intentional structures, and the faint ideas of such future things as are probably propounded, but never effected.

And here we will insert the number and names of the Provost and first Fellows, (and some of them probable to be last Fellows, as still surviving,) as they were appointed by the king himself, *anno* 1610, May 8th.

PROVOST.—Matthew Sutcliffe, dean of Exeter.

FELLOWS.—(1.) John Overal, dean of St. Paul's; (2.) Thomas Morton, dean of Winchester; (3.) Richard Field, dean of Glouces-

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ter; (4.) Robert Abbot, D.D. (5.) John Spenser, D.D. (6.) Miles Smith, D.D. (7.) William Covitt, D.D. (8.) John Howson, D.D. (9.) John Layfield, D.D. (10.) Benjamin Charrier, D.D. (11.) Martin Fotherby, D.D. (12.) John Boys, D.D. (13.) Richard Bret, D.D. (14.) Peter Lily, D.D. (15.) Francis Burgley, D.D. (16.) William Hellier, archdeacon of Barnstable; (17.) John White, Fellow of Manchester-College.

HISTORIANS.—William Camden, Clarencieux; John Haywood, doctor of law.

See here none, who were actual bishops, were capable of places in this college. And, when some of these were afterwards advanced to bishopries, others translated to heaven, king James, by his now letters-patent, November 14th, 1622, substituted others in their room. Amongst whom the archbishop of Spalato (but no more than dean of Windsor in England) was most remarkable.

25—27. *The King's Letters to the Archbishop; and his to the Bishops. Divers Opinions touching the Non-Proceeding of the College. The present sad Condition of it.*

To advance this work, his Majesty, *anno* 1616, sent his letters to the archbishop of Canterbury, to stir up all the clergy in his province to contribute to so pious a work, according to the tenor thereof here inserted:—

"WHEREAS the enemies of the gospel have ever been forward to write and publish books for confirming of erroneous doctrine, and impugning the truth, and now of late seem more careful than before to send daily into our realms such their writings, whereby our loving subjects, though otherwise well-disposed, might be seduced, unless some remedy thereof should be provided: we, by the advice of our Council, have lately granted a corporation, and given our allowance for erecting a college at Chelsea, for learned divines to be employed to write, as occasion shall require, for maintaining the religion professed in our kingdoms, and confuting the impugners thereof. Whereupon, Dr. Sutcliffe, designed Provost of the said college, hath now humbly signified unto us, that, upon divers promises of help and assistance towards the erecting and endowing the said college, he hath at his own charge begun, and well proceeded in building, as doth sufficiently appear by a good part thereof already set up in the place appointed for the same: we, therefore, being willing to favour and farther so religious a work, will and require you to write your letters to the bishops of your province, signifying unto them, in our name, that our pleasure is, they deal with the clergy, and others of their diocess, to give their charitable benevolence for the perfecting of this good work so

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well begun: and, for the better performance of our desire, we have given order to the said Provost and his associates to attend you, and others whom it may appertain, and to certify us from time to time of their proceeding."

A copy of this his Majesty's letter was sent to all the bishops of England, with the archbishop's additional letter, in order as followeth:—

"Now, because it is so pious and religious a work, conducing both to God's glory, and the saving of many a soul within this kingdom; I cannot but wish that all devout and well-affected persons should by yourself, and the preachers in your diocess, as well publicly as otherwise, be excited to contribute in some measure to so holy an intendment now well begun. And, although these and the like motions have been frequent in these latter times, yet let not those whom God hath blessed with any wealth be weary of well-doing, that it may not be said, that the idolatrous and superstitious papists be more forward to advance their falsehoods, than we are to maintain God's truth.

"Whatsoever is collected, I pray your lordship may be carefully brought unto me; partly that it pass not through any defrauding hand, and partly that his Majesty may be acquainted what is done in this behalf."

Yet, for all these hopeful endeavours, and collections in all the parishes of England, slow and small were the sums of money brought in to this work. Many of them were scattered out, in the gathering them up; the charges of the collectors consuming the profit thereof. If (as it is vehemently suspected) any of these collections be but detained by private persons, I conceive it no trespass against Christian charity to wish, that the pockets which keep such money may rot all their suits that wear them, till they make true restitution thereof.

Various are men's conjectures (as directed by their own interest) what obstructed so hopeful proceedings; and it is safer for me to recite all, than resolve on any of them.

Some ascribe it to, (1.) The common fatality which usually attends noble undertakings. As *partus octimestres*, "children born in the eighth month," are always not long-lived; so good projects quickly expire.

(2.) The untimely death of prince Henry, our principal hope, and the chief author of this design.* If so, *Erubuit domino firmius esse suo.*

"The modest college blushed to be stronger
Than was its lord; he dead, it lived no longer."

* Continuation of STOW's "Survey of London," p. 533.

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But, upon my serious perusal of the records of this college, I find not so much as mention of the name of prince Henry, as in any degree visibly contributive thereunto.

(3.) The large, loose, and lax nature thereof; no one prime person (Sutcliffe excepted, whose shoulders sunk under the weight thereof) zealously engaging therein; king James's maintenance amounting to little more than countenance of the work. Those children will have thin chaps and lean cheeks, who have every body (and yet nobody) nurses unto them.

(4.) The original means of the college, principally founded on the fluid and unconstant element, "unstable as water,"—the rent of a new river, when made; which at the best (thus employed) was beheld but as a religious monopoly. And, seeing that design then took no effect, (though afterwards in another notion and nature it was perfected,) no wonder if the college sunk with the means thereof.

(5.) Some of the great prelates,* (how much self is there in all men!) though seemingly forward, really remiss in the matter;† suspecting these controversial divines would be looked on as the principal champions of religion, more serviceable in the church than themselves, and haply might acquire privileges prejudicial to their episcopal jurisdiction.

(6.) The jealousy of the universities, beholding this design with suspicious eyes, as which, in process of time, might prove detrimental unto them; two breasts, Cambridge and Oxford, being counted sufficient for England to suckle all her children with.

(7.) The suspicion of some patriots and commoners in parliament, such as carried the keys of countrymen's coffers under their girdles, (may I safely report what I have heard from no mean mouths?) that this college would be too much courtier; and that the divinity (but especially the history thereof) would Ἰαχωβίζειν, "propend too much in favour of king James," and report all things to the disadvantage of the subject. Wherefore, though the said patriots in parliament countenanced the act, (as counting it no policy, publicly to cross the project of king James, especially as it was made popular with so pious a plausibility,) yet, when returned home, by their suspicious items and private instructions, they beat-off and retarded people's charities thereunto. The same conceived this foundation superfluous, to keep men to confute popish opinions by writings, whilst the maintainers of them were everywhere connived at and

* This fifth and sixth obstruction signify nothing to discreet men: however, they must pass for company-sake, and are alleged by some as very material. † See the "Appeal of Injured Innocence," p. 531.—EDIT.

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countenanced, and the penal laws not put in any effectual execution against them.

(8.) Its being begun in a bad time, when the world swarmed with prowling projectors, and necessitous courtiers, contriving all ways to get moneys. We know, that even honest persons, if strangers, and casually coming along with the company of those who are bad, contract a suspicion of guilt, in the opinions of those to whom they are unknown. And it was the unhappiness of this innocent, yea, useful, good design, that it appeared in a time when so many monopolies were on foot.

(9.) Some great churchmen, who were the more backward because Dr. Sutcliffe was so forward therein. Such as had not freeness enough to go before him had frowardness too much to come after him, in so good a design; the rather because they distasted his person and opinions; Dr. Sutcliffe being a known, rigid anti-remonstrant; and when old, very morose and testy in his writings against them; an infirmity, which all ingenuous people will pardon in him, that hope and desire to attain to old age themselves.

Thus have I opened my wares, with sundry sorts of commodities therein, assigning those reasons which I have either read, or heard from prime men of several interests; and am confident, that, in the variety, yea, contrariety of judgments, now-a-days, even those very reasons which are cast away by some, as weak and frivolous, will be taken up, yea, preferred by others, as most satisfactory and substantial.

At this present it hath but little of the case, and nothing of the jewel,* for which it was intended. Almost rotten before ripe, and ruinous before it was finished, it stands bleak like "a lodge in a garden of cucumbers;" having plenty of pleasant *water* (the Thames) near it, and store of wholesome *air* about it, but very little of the necessary element of *earth* belonging unto it. Yea, since, I am informed, that, seeing the college taketh not effect, according to the desire and intent of the first founders, it hath been decreed in chancery, (by the joint consent of Dr. Daniel Featley, the third Provost of this college, and Dr. John Prideaux, the surviving feoffee intrusted in Dr. Sutcliffe's will,) that the foresaid farms of Kingstone, Hazzard, and Appleton, should return again to the possession of Mr. Halce, as the heir-general to the said Dr. Sutcliffe. On what consideration, let others inquire; it is enough to persuade me, it was done in equity, because done by the lord Coventry, in the High Court of Chancery: So that now, only the

* This playful reference to Case and Jewel occurs in other parts of our author's writings. See his "Church-History," vol. ii. p. 516; and his "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 576.—EDIT.

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farm of Kramerland, in Devonshire, of Sutcliffe's donation, remains to this college. All I will add is this: as this college was intended for controversies, so now there is a controversy about the college; costly suits being lately commenced betwixt William lord Mounston, (who married the widow of the aforesaid earl of Nottingham,) and the present Provost thereof, about the title of the very ground whereon it is situated.

28. *The Death of Bishop Overton, Heton, and Ravis.*

Three bishops, all Oxford-men, ended their lives this year. First. William Overton, about the beginning of April; bred in Magdalen-College; one sufficiently severe to suppress such whom he suspected of nonconformity. The second, Martin Heton, first dean of Winchester, and then bishop of Ely; I say, of Ely, which see had stood empty almost twenty years in the reign of queen Elizabeth, after the death of bishop Cox. So long the lantern of that church (so artificial for the workmanship thereof) wanted a light to shine therein.* Some suspected, this place, so long empty, would never be filled again; seeing no bishopric so large in revenues was so little in jurisdiction, not having the small county of Cambridge wholly belonging unto it.† Some cunning courtiers, observing this breach in Ely minster, as fiercely assaulted it, with hope to get gain to themselves. During the vacancy, it was offered to many churchmen, (or chapmen, shall I say?) but either their consciences or coffers would not come up to the conditions thereof. Amongst others, Mr. Parker, brought up in Peter-House in Cambridge, and archdeacon of Ely, (saith my author,‡) *iniquis conditionibus episcopatum oblatum respuit, tantam opum usuram, nisi salvâ ecclesiâ, negligens.* At last, but with the revenues much altered and impaired, it was conferred on Dr. Heton, who, after ten years' possession thereof, died July 14th; and seems the more obscure because of the lustre and learning of Dr. Lancelot Andrews, who immediately succeeded him. The third bishop deceasing this year, December 14th, was Thomas Ravis, some time dean of Christ-Church, and successively bishop of Gloucester and London; born at Maldon in Surrey, "of worthy parentage," *claris parentibus*, (saith the epitaph on his tomb in St. Paul's,) who left the memory of a grave and good man behind him. Nor must it be forgotten, that, as he first had his learning in Westminster-school; so he always continued, both by his counsel and countenance, a most especial encourager of the studies of all deserving scholars belonging to that foundation.

* CAMDEN'S "Britannia" in Cambridgeshire. † Part is of the diocese of Norwich. ‡ A manuscript of the bishops of Ely, lent me by Mr. Wright.

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29, 30. *Nicholas Fuller engages for his Clients, to the Loss of his own Liberty and Life.*

As archbishop Bancroft was driving-on conformity very fiercely throughout all his province, he met with an unexpected rub, which, notwithstanding, he quickly removed. For, about this time, Nicholas Fuller, a bencher of Gray's Inn, eminent in his profession, pleaded so boldly for the enlargement of his clients that he procured his own confinement. The case thus: Thomas Lad, a merchant of Yarmouth in Norfolk, was imprisoned a long time by the High Commission, and could not be bailed, because (having formerly answered upon his oath twice before the chancellor of Norwich, to certain articles touching a conventicle) he refused to answer upon a new oath without sight of his former answers. Richard Mansel, a preacher, charged to be a partaker in a petition exhibited to the House of Commons in Parliament, and refusing the oath *ex officio*, to answer to certain articles to him propounded, was long imprisoned by the commissioners at Lambeth, and could not be bailed.

Both prisoners were brought to the bar upon the writ of *habeas corpus*, where Nicholas Fuller pleaded they ought to be discharged; endeavouring by a large argument (lately printed) to prove, that the ecclesiastical commissioners have no power by virtue of their commission to imprison, to put to the oath *ex officio*, or to fine any of his Majesty's subjects.

Archbishop Bancroft got some legal advantage against Mr. Fuller in the managing thereof; and then let *him* alone to improve the same! Fuller's friends complained, that only by the colour of right, and the rigour of might, he was cast into prison. Here this learned counsellor could give himself no better nor other advice, but only pure patience. Many were his petitions to the king for his enlargement, whom the archbishop had pre-acquainted with the case, representing him to the king as the champion of nonconformists; so that there he lied [lay], and died in prison. However, he left behind him the reputation of an honest man,* and a plentiful estate to his family, (besides his bountiful benefaction to Emmanuel-College, and other pious uses,) at this day enjoyed by his grandchild,† a gentleman deservedly beloved in his country.

31. *The last Session of a long Parliament.* *A.D.* 1610.

On the twenty-sixth of October began the fifth session of this long-lasting parliament; a session which may be found in the records, though it be lost in our statute-book, because nothing therein was enacted, as soon after dissolved by proclamation.

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," pp. 531, 532.—EDIT. † Mr. Douse Fuller, of Berks, esq.

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32, 33. *The Death of Gervase Babington; his Parts and Praise.*

Gervase Babington, bishop of Worcester, ended his pious life, May 17th. He was born in Nottinghamshire, of worshipful extraction. Now, although lately the chief of the family, abused by papists, (otherwise in himself an accomplished gentleman,*) had tainted his blood with treason against the queen; the learning, loyalty, and religion of this worthy prelate may serve to rectify the surname, and justly restore that family to its former repute with all posterity. He was bred Fellow of Trinity-College in Cambridge; first, chaplain to Henry earl of Pembroke, whose countess made an exact translation of the Psalms; and they first procured him to be preferred treasurer of Landaff.

He was soon after made bishop of Landaff, which in merriment he used to call "Aff," the "Land" thereof long since being alienated. Thence was he translated to Exeter, thence to Worcester, thence to heaven. He was an excellent pulpit-man; happy in raising the affections of his auditory: which, having got up, he would keep up till the close of his sermon: an industrious writer; witness his large Comment on the five books of Moses, the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Commandments, with other portions of scripture. Nought else have I to observe of this bishop, save that as a Babington's arms were *argent*, ten torteauxes, (four, three, two and one,) Gules, the self-same being the arms of the bishopric of Worcester; his paternal coat being just the same with that of his episcopal see, with which it is empaled.

34—37. *The Death of Archbishop Bancroft. He is vindicated from Cruelty, and the Aspersion of Covetousness. Falsely traduced for Popish Inclinations. A good Patron of Church-Revenues.*

The same year, November 2d, expired Richard Bancroft, archbishop of Canterbury. He was brought up in Jesus-College in Cambridge, preferred by degrees to the bishopric of London. Sir Christopher Hatton was his patron, who made him his examiner. His adversaries character him a greater statesman than divine, a better divine than preacher, though his printed sermon sufficiently attesteth his abilities therein. Being a Cambridge-man, he was made chancellor of Oxford, to hold the scales even with cardinal Pole, an Oxford-man, made chancellor of Cambridge.

I find two faults charged on his memory,—cruelty and covetousness; un-episcopal qualities, seeing a bishop ought to be godly and hospitable. To the first, it is confessed he was most stiff and stern

* Anthony Babington, of Dethick [Deddick] in Derbyshire.

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to press conformity; and what more usual than for offenders to nickname necessary severity to be "cruelty?" Now, though he was a most stout champion to assert church-discipline, let me pass this story to posterity from the mouth of a person therein concerned:—An honest and able minister privately protested unto him, that it went against his conscience to conform, being then ready to be deprived. "Which way," saith the archbishop, "will you live, if put out of your benefice?" The other answered, he had no way but to go a-begging, and to put himself on Divine Providence. "Not that," saith the archbishop, "you shall not need to do; but come to me, and I will take order for your maintenance." What impression this made on the minister's judgment, I am not able to report.

As for his covetousness, a witty writer * (but more satirist than historian) of king James's Life, reports this pasquin of him:—

"Here lies his Grace, in cold clay clad,
Who died for want of what he had."

True it is, he maintained not the state of officers, like [his] predecessor or successor in house-keeping, having a citizen-tradesman (more acquainted with thrift than bounty) for his domestical steward; yet was he never observed in his own person to aim at the enriching of his kindred, but had intentions to make pious uses his public heirs; bequeathing his library, the confluence of his own collections with his predecessors', (Whitgift, Grindal, Parker,) to Chelsea-College; † and, if that took not effect, to the public library in Cambridge; where at this day they remain. His clear estate at his death exceeded not six thousand pounds; no sum to speak a single man covetous who had sat six years in the see of Canterbury, and somewhat longer in London.

It is needless to clean his memory from the aspersion of popery, two eminent acts of his own being his sufficient compurgators: One, in setting the Secular Priests against the Jesuits, (as St. Paul did the Pharisees against the Sadducees,) thereby so dividing their languages, as scarce they can understand one another at this day: The other, his forwardness in founding Chelsea-College, which, as a two-edged sword, was to cut on both sides, to suppress papists and sectaries.

One passage more of this prelate, and I have done: a company of young courtiers appeared extraordinarily gallant at a tilting, far above their fortunes and estates. These gave for a private motto amongst themselves, *Solvat ecclesia*, "Let the church pay for all." Bancroft, then bishop of London, arriving at the notice thereof, finds, on inquiry, that the queen was passing a considerable parcel of

* MR. ARTHUR WILSON. † See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 531.—EDIT.

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church-land unto them. The prelate stops the business with his own and his friends' interest, leaving these gallants to pay the shot of their pride and prodigality out of their own purses. Add to this, that I am credibly informed from a good hand, how, in the days of king James, a Scotchman and a prevalent courtier had swallowed-up the whole bishopric of Durham, had not this archbishop seasonably interposed his power with the king, and dashed the design.* George Abbot succeeded Bancroft in Canterbury, of whom largely hereafter.

38. *The new Translation of the Bible finished, by the Command of King James, and Care of some chosen Divines. A.D.* 1611.

And now, after long expectation and great desire, came forth the new translation of the Bible, (most beautifully printed,) by a select and competent number of divines, appointed for that purpose; not being too many, lest one should trouble another; and yet many, lest, in any, things might haply escape them: who, neither coveting praise for expedition, nor fearing reproach for slackness, (seeing, in a business of moment, none deserve blame for convenient slowness,) had expended almost three years in the work, not only examining the channels by the fountain, translations with the original, which was absolutely necessary; but also comparing channels with channels, which was abundantly useful, in the Spanish, Italian, French, and Dutch languages. So that their industry, skilfulness, piety, and discretion, have herein bound the church unto them in a debt of special remembrance and thankfulness. These, with Jacob, "rolled away the stone from the mouth of the well" of life, Genesis xxix. 10; so that now even Rachels, weak women, may freely come, both to drink themselves, and water the flocks of their families at the same.

39. *The causeless Cavil of the Papists thereat.*

But day shall sooner lack a night to attend it, and the sunshine be unseconded with the sullen shade, than a glorious action shall want detractors to defame it. The popish Romanists much excepted hereat. "Was their translation," say they, "good before? Why do they now mend it? Was it not good? Why then was it obtruded on the people?" These observe not, that, whilst thus in their passion they seek to lash the protestants, their whips fly in the faces of the most learned and pious Fathers, especially St. Jerome, who, not content with the former translations of the Septuagints,

* See the "Appeal of Injured Innocence," p. 533.—EDIT.

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Aquila, Symmachus, and others, did himself translate the Old Testament out of the Hebrew. Yea, their cavil recoils on themselves, and their own vulgar translation, whereof they have so many and different editions. Isidorus Clarus, a famous papist, (first a friar, afterward a bishop,) "observed and amended," as he said, "eight thousand faults in the vulgar Latin." * And since his time, how do the Paris editions differ from the Louvain, and Hentenius's from them both! How infinite are the differences (many of them weighty and material) of that which pope Clement VIII. published, from another which Sixtus V., his immediate predecessor, set forth! Thus, we see, to better and refine translations, hath been ever counted a commendable practice even in our adversaries.

40. *They take Exceptions at the several Senses of Words noted in the Margin.*

Beside this, the Romanists take exception, because in this our new translation the various senses of words are set in the margin. This they conceive a shaking of the certainty of the scriptures; such variations being, as suckers, to be pruned off, because they rob the stock of the text of its due credit and reputation. Somewhat conformable whereto pope Sixtus V. expressly forbade that any variety of readings of the vulgar edition should be put in the margin.† But on serious thoughts it will appear, that these translators, affixing the diversity of the meaning of words in the side-column, deserve commendations for their modesty and humility therein. For though, as St. Chrysostom ‡ observeth, πάντα τὰ ἀναγκαῖα δῆλα, "all things that are necessary to salvation are plainly set down in the scriptures;" yet, seeing there is much difficulty and doubtfulness, not in doctrinal but in matters of less importance, fearfulness did better beseem the translators than confidence,—entering in such cases a caution, where words are of different acceptations.

41. *Some Brethren complain for Lack of the Geneva Annotations.*

Some of the Brethren were not well pleased with this translation, suspecting it would abate the repute of that of Geneva, with their Annotations made by English exiles in that city, in the days of queen Mary, dedicated to queen Elizabeth, and printed with the general liking of the people above thirty times over. Yea, some complained, that they could not see into the sense of the scripture for lack of the spectacles of those Geneva Annotations. For,

* *Loca ad octo millia annotata atque emendata a nobis sunt.*—ISIDORUS CLARUS *in Præfatione Bibliorum Sacrosanct. edit. Venetiis*, 1542; but which in the following edition is left out. † SIXTUS QUINTUS, *Præf. Bibl.* ‡ On 2 Thess. ii.

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although a good translation is an excellent Comment on the Bible, wherein much darkness is caused by false rendering of it, and wherein many seeming riddles are read, if the words be but read, expounded if but truly rendered; yet some short exposition on the text was much desired of the people. But, to say nothing of the defects and defaults of the Geneva Annotations, (though the best in those times, which are extant in English,) those notes were so tuned to that translation alone, that they would jar with any other, and could no way be fitted to this new edition of the Bible. Leave we then these worthy men, now all of them gathered to their fathers, and gone to God, however they were requited on earth, well rewarded in heaven for their worthy work. Of whom, as also of that gracious king that employed them, we may say, "Wheresoever the Bible shall be preached or read in the whole world, there shall also this that they have done be told in memorial of them."

42. *Dr. H. in Oxford causelessly inveigheth against the Geneva Notes.*

And as, about this time, some perchance overvalued the Geneva notes, out of that especial love they bare to the authors and place whence it proceeded; so, on the other side, some without cause did slight—or rather without charity did slander—the same.* For in this or the next year, a doctor [Howson] in solemn assembly in the university of Oxford, publicly in his sermon at St. Mary's, accused them as guilty of misinterpretation touching the Divinity of Christ, and his Messiahship, as if symbolizing with Arians and Jews against them both; for which he was afterwards suspended by Dr. Robert Abbot, *propter conciones publicas minùs orthodoxas, et offensionis plenas.*† But more properly hereof, God willing, hereafter in our particular History of Oxford. We will proceed to report a memorable passage in the Low Countries, not fearing to lose my way, or to be censured for a wanderer from the English church-story, whilst I have so good a guide as the pen of king James to lead me out, and bring me back again. Besides, I am afraid that this alien accident is already brought home to England, and, though only Belgic in the occasion, is too much British in the influence thereof.

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," pp. 535—537.—EDIT. † *Idem.* p. 542.

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SECTION IV.

TO EDWARD LLOYD, ESQUIRE.

RIVERS are not bountiful in giving, but just in restoring, their waters unto the sea, Eccles. i. 7. However, they may seem grateful also, because *openly* returning thither what they *secretly* received thence. This my Dedication unto you cannot amount to a present, but a restitution; wherein only I tender a public acknowledgment of your private courtesies conferred upon me.

1, 2. *Dangerous Opinions broached by Conradus Vorstius. Reasons moving King James to oppose him.*

KING JAMES took into his princely care the seasonable suppression of the dangerous doctrines of Conradus Vorstius. This doctor had lived about fifteen years a minister at Steinfurt, within the territories of the counts of Tecklenburg, Bentheim, &c. The counts whereof (to observe by the way) were the first in Germany, not in dignity or dominion, but in casting-off the yoke of papacy, and ever since continuing protestants. This Vorstius had both written and received several letters from certain Samosatenian heretics in Poland, or thereabouts; and it happened that he had handled pitch so long that at last it stuck to his fingers, and became infected therewith. Hereupon, he set forth two books, the one entitled, *Tractatus Theologicus de Deo*, dedicated to the landgrave of Hesse; the other, *Exegesis apologetica*, printed in this year, and dedicated to the States; both of them farced with many dangerous positions concerning the Deity. For, whereas it hath been the labour of the pious and learned in all ages to mount man to God, (as much as might be,) by a sacred adoration (which the more humble, the more high) of the Divine Incomprehensibleness; this wretch did seek to stoop God to man, by debasing his purity, assigning him a material body; confining his immensity, as not being everywhere; shaking his immutability, as if his will were subject to change; darkening his omnisciency, as uncertain in future contingents: with many more monstrous opinions, fitter to be remanded to hell, than committed to writing. Notwithstanding all this, the said Vorstius was chosen, by the Curators of the University of Leyden, to be their public Divinity Professor, in the place of Arminius lately deceased; and, to that end, his Excellency, and the States-General, by their letters, sent and sued to the count

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of Tecklenburg, and obtained of him, that Vorstius should come from Steinfurt, and become public Professor in Leyden.

It happened that his Majesty of Great Britain, being this autumn in his hunting progress, did light upon and perused the aforesaid books of Vorstius. And whereas too many do but sport in their most serious employment, he was so serious amidst his sports and recreations, that, with sorrow and horror, he observed the dangerous positions therein, determining speedily to oppose them, moved thereunto with these principal considerations. First. The glory of God; seeing this "anti-St.-John," (as his Majesty terms him,)* mounting up to the heavens, belched forth such blasphemies against the Divine ineffable Essence. And was not a king on earth concerned, when the King of heaven was dethroned from his infiniteness, so far as it lay in the power of the treacherous positions of an heretic? Secondly. Charity to his next neighbours and allies. And, Lastly, a just fear of the like infection within his own dominions, considering their vicinity of situation and frequency of intercourse; many of the English youth travelling over to have their education in Leyden. And, indeed, as it hath been observed that the sin of drunkenness was first brought over into England out of the Low Countries, about the midst of the reign of queen Elizabeth;† (before which time, neither general practice nor legal punishment of that vice in this kingdom;) so we must sadly confess, that since that time, in a spiritual sense, many English souls have taken a cup too much of Belgic wine; whereby their heads have not only grown dizzy in matters of less moment, but their whole bodies stagger in the fundamentals of their religion.

3—5. *The States entertain not the Motion of King James against Vorstius, according to just Expectation. Vorstius gives no Satisfaction in his new Declaration. King James setteth forth a Declaration against Vorstius, first written in French, since by his Leave translated into English, and amongst his other Works.*

Hereupon king James presently dispatched a letter to sir Ralph Winwood, his ambassador, resident with the States, willing and requiring him to let them to understand how infinitely he should be displeased, if such a monster as Vorstius should receive any advancement in their church. This was seconded with a large letter of his Majesty's to the States, dated October 6th, to the same effect. But neither found that success which the king did earnestly desire, and might justly expect, considering the many obligations

* In his "Declaration against Vorstius," p. 365. † See CAMDEN's "Elizabeth," *anno* 1581.

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of the Crown of England on the States: "the foundation of whose commonwealth," as the ambassador told them, "was first cemented with English blood." Several reasons are assigned of their non-concurrence with the king's motion. The Curators of Leyden University conceived it a disparagement to their judgments, if, so near at hand, they could not so well examine the soundness of Vorstius's doctrine, as a foreign prince at such a distance. It would cast an aspersion of levity and inconstancy on the States, solemnly to invite a stranger unto them, and then so soon recede from their resolution. An indignity would redound to the count of Tecklenburg, to slight that which so lately they had sued from him. The opposition of Vorstius was endeavoured by a mal-contented party amongst themselves, disaffected to the actions of authority; who, distrusting their own strength, had secretly solicited his Majesty of Great Britain to appear on their side; that as king James's motion herein proceeded rather from the instance of others, than his own inclination, so they gave out that he began to grow remiss in the matter, careless of the success thereof; that it would be injurious, yea, destructive to Vorstius and his family, to be fetched from his own home, where he lived with a sufficient salary, (promised better provisions from the landgrave of Hesse, to be Divinity Professor in his dominions,) now to thrust him out with his wife and children, lately settled at Leyden; that if Vorstius had formerly been faulty in unwary and offensive expressions, he had since cleared himself in a new declaration.

For, lately he set forth a book, entitled, "A Christian and modest Answer," which notwithstanding by many was condemned, as no revocation, but a repetition, of his former opinions, not less pernicious, but more plausible, with sophistical qualifications. So that he was accused to aim, neither at the satisfaction of the learned, whom he had formerly offended; nor the safety of the ignorant, whom he might hereafter deceive; but merely his own security for the present. His grand evasion was this,—that what he had written before "was but probably propounded, not dogmatically delivered." But, alas! how many silly souls might easily be infected, mistaking his slanting problems for downright positions! In a word, he took not out any venom, but put-in more honey into his opinions, which the corruption of man's nature would swallow with more greediness. And how dangerous it is for wit-wanton men to dance with their nice distinctions, on such mystical precipices, where slips in jest may cause deadly downfalls in earnest, the Roman orator doth in part pronounce, *Mala est et impia consuetudo, contra Deum disputandi, sive serio id fit, sive simulatè.*

Now, king James being as little satisfied in judgment with the

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writings of Vorstius in his own defence, as ill-pleased, in point of honour, with the doings of the States, in return to his request, gave instructions to his ambassador to make public protestation against their proceedings; which sir Ralph Winwood, in pursuance of his master's command, most solemnly performed. Nor did his Majesty's zeal stop here, with Joash king of Israel, smiting only but thrice, and then desisting; but, after his request, letter, and protestation had missed their desired effect, he wrote in French a declaration against Vorstius: a work well-beseeming the "Defender of the Faith;" "by which title," to use his ambassador's expression, "he did more value himself, than by the style of king of Great Britain." Once I intended to present the reader with a brief of his Majesty's Declaration, till deterred with this consideration,—that although great masses of lead, tin, and meaner metals, may by the extraction of chymists be epitomised and abridged into a smaller quantity of silver, yet what is altogether gold already cannot, without extraordinary damage, be reduced into a smaller proportion. And seeing each word in his Majesty's Declaration is so pure and precious, that it cannot be lessened without loss, we remit the reader to the same in his Majesty's Works; and so take our leave of Vorstius for the present; whose books, by the king's command, were publicly burned at St. Paul's Cross in London, and in both universities.

6—12. *The Character of Bartholomew Legate. Discourse betwixt King James and Legate. Bishop King gravelleth him with a Place of Scripture. Wholesome Caution premised before the Naming of Legate's Blasphemies. Condemned for an obstinate Heretic. Queries left to Lawyers to decide. Legate burned in Smithfield.*

But leaving this outlandish—let us come to our English—Vorstius, though of far less learning, of more obstinacy and dangerous opinions: I mean, that Arian, who this year suffered in Smithfield. His name, Bartholomew Legate; native county, Essex; person, comely; complexion, black; age, about forty years; of a bold spirit, confident carriage, fluent tongue, excellently skilled in the scriptures: and well had it been for him if he had known them less, or understood them better; whose ignorance abused the word of God, therewith to oppose "God the Word." His conversation, for aught I can learn to the contrary, very unblamable; and the poison of heretical doctrine is never more dangerous than when served-up in clean cups and washed dishes.

King James caused this Legate often to be brought to him, and seriously dealt with him to endeavour his conversion. One time

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the king had a design to surprise him into a confession of Christ's Deity, (as his Majesty afterwards declared to a right reverend prelate,*) by asking him, whether or no he did not daily pray to Jesus Christ? Which had he acknowledged, the king would have infallibly inferred, that Legate tacitly consented to Christ's Divinity, as a "Searcher of the hearts." But herein his Majesty failed of his expectation, Legate returning, that indeed he had prayed to Christ in the days of his ignorance, but not for these last seven years. Hereupon the king in choler spurned at him with his foot. "Away, base fellow!" saith he, "it shall never be said, that one stayeth in my presence, that hath never prayed to our Saviour for seven years together."

Often was he convented before the bishops in the Consistory of St. Paul's; where he persisted obstinate in his opinions, flatly denying the authority of that court. And no wonder that he slighted the power of earthly bishops, denying the Divinity of Him who is "the Shepherd and Bishop of our souls," 1 Peter ii. 25. The disputation against him was principally managed by John King, bishop of London, who gravelled and utterly confuted him with that place of scripture: "And now, O Father, glorify thou me with thine own self with the glory which I had with thee before the world was," John xvii. 5. This text, I say, was so seasonably alleged, so plainly expounded, so pathetically enforced, by the eloquence and gravity of that bishop, (qualities wherein he excelled,) that it gave marvellous satisfaction to a multitude of people there present, that it is conceived it happily unproselyted some inclinable to his opinions; though Legate himself remained pertinacious, both against the impressions of arguments and scripture, daily multiplying his enormous opinions. It is the happiness nature indulgeth to monsters, that they are all barren; whereas, on the contrary, monstrous positions are most procreative of the like, or worse than themselves.

Before we set down his pestilent opinions, may writer and reader fence themselves with prayer to God against the infection thereof; lest, otherwise, touching such pitch (though but with the bare mention) defile us, casually tempting a temptation in us, and awaking some corruption, which otherwise would sleep silently in our souls. And if, notwithstanding this our caution, any shall reap an accidental evil to themselves by reading his damnable opinions, my pen is no more accessary to their harm, than that apothecary is guilty of murder, if others, out of a licorish curiosity, kill themselves with that poison which he kept in his shop for sovereign use to make antidotes thereof. His damnable tenets were as followeth:—

* James archbishop of Armagh; from whose mouth I had the relation.

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(1.) That the Creeds called the Nicene Creed, and Athanasius's Creed, contain not a profession of the true Christian faith.

(2.) That Christ is not "God of God; begotten, not made;" but begotten and made.

(3.) That there are no persons in the Godhead.

(4.) That Christ was not God from everlasting, but began to be God when he took flesh of the Virgin Mary.

(5.) That the world was not made by Christ.

(6.) That the apostles teach Christ to be man only.

(7.) That there is no generation in God, but of creatures.

(8.) That this assertion, "God to be made man," is contrary to the rule of faith, and monstrous blasphemy.

(9.) That Christ was not before the fulness of time, except by promise.

(10.) That Christ was not God, otherwise than an anointed God.

(11.) That Christ was not in the form of God equal with God, that is, in substance of God, but in righteousness, and giving salvation.

(12.) That Christ by his Godhead wrought no miracle.

(13.) That Christ is not to be prayed unto.

For maintaining these opinions, Legate had long been in prison in Newgate, yet with liberty allowed him to go abroad; not contented wherewith, he openly boasted, and often threatened to sue the court which committed him, for reparations for false imprisonment; so that his own indiscretion in this kind hastened his execution.

For hereupon bishop King finally convented him in the Consistory of St. Paul's; and that worthy prelate, foreseeing that his proceedings herein would meet with many listening ears, prying eyes, and prating tongues, chose many reverend bishops, able divines, and learned lawyers to assist him. So that the Consistory, so replenished for the time being, seemed not so much a large Court, as a little Convocation. By the counsel and consent of these, by his definitive sentence, March 3rd, he "pronounced, decreed, and declared the foresaid Bartholomew Legate an obdurate, contumacious, and incorrigible heretic." And by an instrument called a *significavit*, certified the same into the chancery, delivering him up unto the secular power; the church-keys in such cases craving the help of the civil sword. Whereupon, king James, with his letters, dated March 11th, under the Privy-Seal, gave order to the Broad-Seal to direct the writ *de heretico comburendo* to the sheriffs of London, for the burning of the foresaid Legate.

Now, as the bishop herein surrendered Legate to the secular power, my Ecclesiastical History in like manner resigns him to the civil

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historian, together with all the doubts, difficulties, and legal scruples attending on or resulting from his condemnation. Let the learned in the law consider on what statute the writ for his burning was grounded,—whether on those old statutes enacted in the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV., or on the branch of some other new statute to that effect. Let them satisfy us how far those laws were repealed in *primo Elizabethæ*, and how far they still stand in force; as, though not to pretended Lollardism, yet to blasphemy. Let them examine the judgment of the learned Fitz-Herbert, whether sound in his assertion, that "heretics, before the writ of their burning be issued out against them, must first be convicted of heresy before a provincial Convocation."* Whilst others affirm, that they being convicted before their ordinary, sufficeth; provided it be for such opinions which Convocations have formerly condemned for heretical.

To Smithfield he was brought to be burned, March 18th. See here: it is neither the pain, nor the place, but only the cause, makes a martyr. In this very Smithfield, how many saints, in the Marian days, suffered for the testimony of Jesus Christ! Whereas now one therein dieth in his own blood for denying him. Vast was the conflux of people about him. Never did a scare-fire at midnight summon more hands to quench it, than this at noon-day did eyes to behold it. At last, refusing all mercy, he was burned to ashes. And so we leave him, the first that for a long time suffered death in that manner: and, O that he might be the last to deserve it!

13, 14. *Wightman worse than Legate. The Success of this Severity.*

In the next month, April 11th, Edward Wightman of Burton-upon-Trent, convicted before Richard Neile, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, was burned at Lichfield for far worse opinions (if worse might be) than Legate maintained. Mary Magdalene indeed was once possessed of seven devils; but ten several heresies were laid to Wightman's charge; namely, those of Ebion, Cerinthus, Valentinian, Arius, Macedonius, Simon Magus, Manes, Manichæus, Photinus, and of the Anabaptists.† Lord! what are we when God leaves us! Did ever man maintain one heresy, and but one heresy? "Chains of darkness," Jude 6, we see, have their links, and errors are complicated together.

God may seem well-pleased with this seasonable severity; for, the fire, thus kindled, quickly went out for want of fuel. I mean, there was none ever after that openly avowed these heretical doctrines; only a Spanish Arian, who, condemned to die, was notwithstanding

* *De Natura Brevium*, fol. 269, a. † So reckoned-up in the warrant for his burning.

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suffered to linger out his life in Newgate, where he ended the same. Indeed, such burning of heretics much startled common people, pitying all in pain, and prone to asperse justice itself with cruelty, because of the novelty and hideousness of the punishment. And the purblind eyes of vulgar judgments looked only on what was next to them, (the suffering itself,) which they beheld with compassion, not minding the demerit of the guilt, which deserved the same. Besides, such, being unable to distinguish betwixt constancy and obstinacy, were ready to entertain good thoughts even of the opinions of those heretics who sealed them so manfully with their blood. Wherefore king James politicly preferred, that heretics hereafter, though condemned, should silently and privately waste themselves away in the prison, rather than to grace them, and amuse others, with the solemnity of a public execution, which in popular judgments usurped the honour of a persecution.

15, 16. *The Death of Mr. Sutton, Founder of that famous Hospital, the Charter-House. The several Manors belonging thereunto.*

I find no eminent divine or scholar deceased in this year; only one, whose bounty made many of both kinds, ended his life; namely, Richard Sutton, the Phœnix of our age, and sole founder of Charter-house Hospital, esquire; born of genteel parentage at Knaith in Lincolnshire: in his youth bred a soldier, gaining both wealth and credit by his valour; but afterwards embracing a more peaceable profession of a merchant. This his foundation he called, "the Hospital of king James;" all discreet subjects having learned this lesson from politic Joab,—calling Rabbah after the name of king David, 2 Sam. xii. 28,—to entitle their sovereign to the honour of their achievements, which are of extraordinary proportion. Children not yet come to—and old men already past—helping of themselves, have in this hospital their souls and bodies provided for! The latter must be "decayed gentlemen," the most proper objects of charity, as whose ingenuous spirits are most sensible of want, and most unable to provide for themselves.

It is utterly improbable that it will ever come within the compass of my power to found any place for pious uses. All wherein my weak ability can express its forwardness, is to honour the charity of others, and, for the present, alphabetically to methodize the manors which Mr. Sutton in several counties settled for the maintenance of this his Hospital:—

(1.) Balsham manor, in Cambridgeshire. (2.) Bassingthorpe manor, in Lincolnshire. (3.) Blacke-grove manor, in Wiltshire. (4.) Broad-hinton, land, in Wiltshire. (5.) Castle-camp manor, in Cam-

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bridgeshire. (6.) Chilton manor, in Wiltshire. (7.) Dunsby manor, in Lincolnshire. (8.) Elcombe manor and park, in Wiltshire. (9.) Hackney, land, Middlesex. (10.) Hallingbury-bouchers manor, in Essex. (11.) Missenden manor, in Wiltshire. (12.) Much-stanbridge manor, in Essex. (13.) Norton manor, in Essex. (14.) Salthorpe manor, in Wiltshire. (15.) South-minster manor, in Essex. (16.) Tottenham, land, in Middlesex. (17.) Ufford manor, in Wiltshire. (18.) Watelescote manor, in Wiltshire. (19.) Westcot manor, in Wiltshire. (20.) Wroughton manor, in Wiltshire.

See here the most liberal endowment made by one man. May it most truly be said of our London merchants, as of those of Tyre, "whose merchants are princes!" Isaiah xxiii. 8.

17—19. *The Jesuits' carping at his good Work. His politic Modesty in his Corrective. Answers to Jesuits' Cavils.*

But no work so virtuous which some malicious spirits will not endeavour to disgrace. One who writeth himself, J. H., but generally conceived to be Mr. Knott, the Jesuit, in his answer to Dr. Potter's book of "Charity mistaken,"* lets fly as followeth:—

"Do your hospitals deserve so much as to be named? Have you any thing of that kind in effect of particular note, saving the few mean nurseries of idle beggars and debauched people? Except, perhaps, Sutton's hospital, which, as I have been informed, was to take no profit till he was dead. He, who, as I have also understood, died so without any children, or brothers, or sisters, or known kindred, as that, peradventure, it might have escheated to the king. He, who lived a wretched and penurious life, and drew that mass of wealth together by usury; in which case, according to good conscience, his estate, without asking him leave, was, by the law of God, obnoxious to restitution, and ought to have been applied to pious uses. Whereas anciently in this country, and at all times, and specially in this last age, men see abundance of heroical actions of this kind performed in foreign parts. And if it were not for fear of noting many other great cities, as if there were any want of most munificent hospitals in them, wherein they abound; I could tell you of one called the *Annunciata*, in the city of Naples, which spends three hundred thousand crowns *per annum*; which comes to above fourscore thousand pounds sterling by the year; which ever feeds and cures a thousand sick persons, and pays for the nursing and entertaining of three thousand sucking children of poor people; and hath fourteen other distinct hospitals under it, where the persons of those poor creatures are kept, and where they are defrayed of all

* Part ii., chap. i. parag. 2.

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their necessary charges every week. I could also tell you of an hospital in Rome, called St. Spirito, of huge revenues; but it is not my meaning to enter into particulars, which would prove endless."

Before we come to the particular examination of this his accusation, it is observable how many qualificatives, correctives, and restrictives, ("perhaps, as I have been informed, as I have also understood, peradventure,") he inserteth in this his relation. Indeed, such qualifications are better than equivocations; yet, what some may impute to modesty is his policy, if well considered. For if any protestant confute what he hath written, this accuser will take sanctuary under the protection of those restrictions, defending himself that he delivered nothing positively; whilst ignorant papists, of his own profession, not heeding his doubting limitations, swallow all down for dogmatical truth.

More particularly the Reformed religion in England hath been the mother of many brave foundations: many famous hospitals, as that at Warwick, built by the earl of Leicester; Croydon, by archbishop Whitgift; Guildford, by archbishop Abbot; (not to speak of Christ-Church, and St. Thomas's Hospital, built by king Edward VI.;) though none of them have thrived and battelled so fast and so fairly as this of Sutton's foundation. Whereas he chargeth him to have had no children, it is confessed, seeing he died a bachelor; whose life, had he been of their opinion, had been cried up for a precious piece of virginity. That he had no known kindred is false; some of them afterwards, but in vain, endeavouring to overthrow his will; though he made the poor to be his "mother, and sister, and brother." As for his getting wealth by unlawful ways, I am not to justify the particular circumstances of any man's actions. Should a secret scrutiny be made how all founders of monasteries first came by their wealth, many would be found justly obnoxious to censure.

20, 21. *Mr. Sutton's constant Prayer. Sutton's Hospital, how exceeding the Annunciata.*

Indeed, our Sutton began with a good stock, had no charge to burden him, lived to be very aged, seventy-nine years; and, by God's blessing on his providence, industry, and thrift, advanced the main of his estate. This I can confidently report from the mouth of a credible witness, who heard it himself, and told it to me, that Mr. Sutton used often to repair into a private garden, where he poured forth his prayers to God; and, amongst other passages, was frequently overheard to use this expression: "Lord, thou hast given me a large and liberal estate; give me also a heart to make use thereof;" which at last was granted to him accordingly.

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As for the overgrown hospital of the *Annunciata* at Naples, we envy not the wealth thereof; though reports, at such distance, lose nothing in the relation. Nor do we wonder that it cureth yearly a thousand sick persons, considering what disease first came from Naples, and was thence denominated. As for the three thousand children nursed therein, it is to be feared many wanted fathers to own them; and this not so much the fruit of charity as of wantonness. However, that hospital hath at several times been advanced by a College of benefactors: whereas Sutton's may stand peerless in this respect,—that it was founded, finished, and endowed by himself alone; disbursing thirteen thousand pounds * (paid down before the ensealing of the conveyance) for the ground whereon it stood, with some other appurtenances; beside six thousand pounds expended in the building thereof, and that vast yearly endowment, whereof heretofore. We mention not the large sums bequeathed by him to the poor, to prisons, to colleges, to mending highways, to the Chamber of London, beside twenty thousand pounds left to the discretion of his executors. What remaineth, but that we pray, that, according to his pious intentions, the same may be continued to the glory of God, credit of the protestant religion, comfort to the poor, good example to the rich, and perpetual memory of king James, the honorary—and Mr. Sutton, the effectual—founder thereof! that this sun, amongst the lesser lights of protestant charities, may shine on earth, as long as the sun, that faithful witness, endureth in heaven! Being more confident that my desire herein will take effect, considering the honourable governors of this hospital are persons so good they will not abuse it themselves, and so great they will not suffer it to be abused by others.

22. *The Death of Prince Henry.* *A.D.* 1612.

England at this time enjoying abundance of peace, plenty, and prosperity, in full speed of her happiness, was checked on a sudden with the sad news of the death of prince Henry, November 6th, in the rage of a malicious extraordinary burning fever. He was generally lamented of the whole land; both universities publishing their verses in print; and give me leave to remember four made by Giles Fletcher, of Trinity-College in Cambridge, on this prince's plain grave, because wanting an inscription: and it will be honour enough to me, if I can make thereof a translation:—

Si sapis, attonitus sacro decede sepulchro,
Nec cineri quæ sunt nomina quære novo:
Prudens celavit sculptor, nam quisque rescivit,
Protinus in lachrymas solvitur, et moritur.

* STOW'S "Survey of London," p. 43.

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"If wise, amazed depart this holy grave;
Nor these new ashes ask, what names they have.
The graver, in concealing them, was wise;
For, whoso knows, straight melts in tears, and dies."

Give me leave to add one more, made by Mr. George Herbert, untranslatable for its elegancy and expressiveness:—

Ulteriora timens cum morte paciscitur orbis.

And thus we take our leave of the memory of so worthy a prince, never heard by any alive to swear an oath; for which archbishop Abbot commended him in his Funeral Sermon; the prince being wont to say, that he knew no game or value to be won or lost, that could be worth an oath.

23. *The Marriage of the Palatine.* *A.D.* 1613.

"One generation goeth, and another generation cometh; but the earth remaineth for ever." The stage stands, the actors alter. Prince Henry's funeral is followed with the prince Palatine's nuptials, solemnized with great state, February 14th, in hopes of happiness to both persons, though sad in the event thereof, and occasioning great revolutions in Christendom.

24, 25. *The Divorce of the Earl of Essex discussed. A memorable Speech of Bishop King.*

Expect not of me an account of the divorce of the lady Frances Howard from the earl of Essex, and of her re-marriage to Robert Carr, earl of Somerset; which divorce divided the bishops of the land in their judgments:—

AGAINST IT.—George Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury; John King, bishop of London; alleging the common fame of incontinency betwixt her and the earl of Somerset.

FOR IT.—Thomas Bilson, bishop of Winchester; Lancelot Andrews, bishop of Ely; Richard Neile, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield: these proceeded, *secundum allegata et probata*, of the earl's inability, *quoad hanc;* and the lady's untainted virginity.

Only I will insert one passage: Bishop Overal discoursing with bishop King about the divorce, the latter expressed himself to this effect: "I should never have been so earnest against the divorce, save that because persuaded in my conscience of falsehood in some of the depositions of the witnesses on the lady's behalf." This sure I am, from her second marriage is extracted as chaste and virtuous a lady as any of the English nation.*

* Anne countess of Bedford.

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26, 27. *Wadham-College founded, where formerly a Monastery of Augustines.*

Nicholas Wadham, esquire, of Merryfield [Merefield] in the county of Somerset, did by his last will bequeath four hundred pounds *per annum*, and six thousand pounds in money, to the building of a College in Oxford; leaving the care and trust of the whole to Dorothy his wife; one of no less learned and liberal than noble extraction; a sister to lord John Petre, and daughter to sir William Petre, secretary to four kings, and a worthy benefactor to All-Souls'-College. In her life-time she added almost double to what her husband bequeathed; whereby, at this day, it is become one of the most uniform buildings in England, as no additional result at several times of sundry fancies and founders, but the entire product all at once of the same architect.

This year the same was finished, built in a place where formerly stood a monastery of the Augustine friars; who were so eminent for their abilities in disputing, that the university did by a particular statute impose it as an exercise upon all those that were to proceed Masters of Arts, that they should first be disputed upon by the Augustine friars: which old statute is still in force, produced at this day for an equivalent exercise, yet styled, "answering Augustines." The College hath from its beginning still retained something of its old genius, having been continually eminent for some that were acute philosophers and good disputants.

WARDENS.—Dr. Wright, admitted 1613; Dr. Flemming, admitted 1613; Dr. Smith, 1616; Dr. Escott, 1635; Dr. Pitt, 1644; Dr. John Wilkins, 1648.

BISHOPS.—Robert Wright, bishop of Bristol, then of Coventry and Lichfield.

BENEFACTORS.—Philip Bisse, doctor of divinity, canon of Wells, and archdeacon of Taunton, gave one thousand eight hundred and forty-nine books for their library, valued at twelve hundred pounds.

LEARNED WRITERS.—Humphrey Sydenham, a very eloquent preacher.

So that very lately * there were in this College, one Warden, fifteen Fellows, fifteen Scholars, two Chaplains, two Clerks, beside Officers and Servants of the foundation, with many other Students; the whole number one hundred and twenty. As for Dr. John Wilkins, the present Warden thereof, my worthily-respected friend, he hath courteously furnished me with my best intelligence from that university.

* Namely, *anno* 1634.

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28. *A Parliament suddenly called, soon dissolved.*

A parliament was called; wherein many things were transacted, nothing concluded. In this parliament, Dr. Harsnet, bishop of Chichester, gave offence in a sermon preached at court, pressing the word, *Reddite Cæsari quæ sunt Cæsaris*, as if all that was levied by subsidies, or paid by custom to the crown, was but a *redditum* of what was the king's before.* Likewise Dr. Neile, bishop of Rochester, uttered words in the House of the Lords, interpreted to the disparagement of some reputed zealous patriot in the House of Commons. Both these bishops were questioned upon it; and, to save them from the storm, this was the occasion chiefly (as was supposed) of the abrupt breaking-up of the parliament.

29—33. *The Death of Bishop Rudd. A remarkable Passage. The Bishop, by plain Preaching, gains the Queen's Favour; and, by too personal Preaching, loseth it again: yet died generally beloved and lamented. A.D.* 1614.

Anthony Rudd, bishop of St. David's, ended his life, March 27th. He was born in Yorkshire, bred in Trinity-College in Cambridge, where he became Fellow: a most excellent preacher, whose sermons were very acceptable to queen Elizabeth. Hereon dependeth a memorable story: which because but defectively delivered by sir John Harrington, I request the reader's patience, and require his belief, to this large and true relation thereof.

Bishop Rudd preaching in his course before queen Elizabeth at Whitehall, her Majesty was highly affected with his sermon; insomuch that she commanded archbishop Whitgift to signify unto him, that he should be his successor in case the archbishopric ever fell in the queen's disposal.

Not long after, the archbishop meeting bishop Rudd, "Brother," said he, "I bring good tidings to you, though bad to myself; for they cannot take full effect till after my death. Her Grace is so pleased with your last sermon, she enjoined me to signify to you her pleasure,—that you shall be my successor in Canterbury, if surviving me." The bishop modestly declined his words, desiring the long life of his Grace; and, in case of his advancement to heaven, confessed many other in England far fitter for the place than his own unworthiness; adding, after some other exchange of words, "Good my lord, might I be my own judge, I conceive I have preached better sermons at Court, surely such as cost me more time and pains in composing them." "I tell you," replied the archbishop, "the truth is this,—the queen now is grown weary of

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," pp. 537, 538.—EDIT.

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the vanities of wit and eloquence, wherewith her youth was formerly affected; and plain sermons, which come home to her heart, please her the best." Surely his Grace was too mortified a man, (though none naturally love their successors whilst themselves are alive,) intentionally to lay a train to blow up this archbishop-designed, though by the other's unadvised practice of his words it proved so in the event.

For, next time when it came to the bishop's course to preach at Court, then lying at Richmond, *anno* 1596, he took for his text, Psalm xc. 12: "O teach us to number our days, that we may incline our hearts unto wisdom:" and, in the close of his sermon, touched on the infirmities of age, "when the grinders shall be few in number, and they wax dark that look out at the windows," Eccles. xii. 3; personally applying it to the queen, how age had furrowed her face, and besprinkled her hair with its meal. Whereat her Majesty, to whom *ingratissimum acroama*, to hear of death, was highly displeased. Thus, he not only lost his reversion of the archbishopric of Canterbury, (which indeed never fell in the queen's days,) but also the present possession of her Majesty's favour.

Yet he justly retained the repute of a reverend and godly prelate, and carried the same to the grave. He wrought much on the Welsh by his wisdom, and won their affections; and, by moderate thrift, and long staying in the same see, left to his son, sir Rise Rudd, baronet, a fair estate at Aberglaseny in Carmarthenshire.

34. 35. *Casaubon invited into England; where he dieth, and is buried.*

Some three years since, on the death of king Henry IV., Isaac Casaubon, that learned critic, was fetched out of France by king James, and preferred prebendary of Canterbury. Thus desert will never be a drug, but be vented at a good rate in one country or another, as long as the world affordeth any truly to value it. King Henry is not dead to Casaubon, as long as king James is alive. He who formerly flourished under the bays, now thriveth altogether as well under the olive. Nor is Casaubon sensible that England is the colder climate, whilst he finds the beams of his Majesty so bright and warm unto him; to whom also the lesser lights of prelates and peers contributed their assistance.

Presently he falls a-writing, as natural, and almost as necessary, as breathing unto him: First: To Fronto Ducæus his learned friend. Then: To Cardinal Perron, in the just vindication of our English church. After these, he began his "Exercitations on Baronius's Ecclesiastical Annals," which more truly may be termed, "the Annals of the Church of Rome." But, alas! death here

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stopped him in his full speed, July 1st; and he lieth entombed in the south aisle of Westminster-Abbey: not on the east or poetical side thereof, where Chaucer, Spenser, Drayton, are interred, but on the west or historical side of the aisle, next the monument of Mr. Camden; both whose plain tombs, made of white marble, show the simplicity of their intentions, the *candidness* of their natures, and perpetuity of their memories. Mr. Casaubon's was erected at the cost of Thomas Morton, bishop of Durham, that great lover of learned men, dead or alive.

36, 37. *The supposed Occasion of Mr. Selden's Writing against the Divine Right of Tithes. Many write in Answer to his Book.* *A.D.* 1615.

The king comes to Cambridge in a sharp winter, March 7th, when all the world was nothing but air and snow. Yet the scholars' wits did not freeze with the weather: witness the pleasant play of "*Ignoramus*," which they presented to his Majesty. Yet whilst many laughed aloud at the mirth thereof, some of the graver sort were sad to see the common-lawyers made ridiculous therein. If gowns begin once to abase gowns, cloaks will carry away all. Besides, of all *wood* the pleaders' *bar* is the worst to make *a stage* of. For, once in an age, all professions must be beholden to their patronage. Some conceive,* that, in revenge, Mr. John Selden soon after set forth his book of tithes, wherein he historically proveth that they were payable *jure humano*, and not otherwise.

I cannot suspect so high a soul guilty of so low reflections, that his book related at all to this occasion; but only that the latitude of his mind, tracing all paths of learning, did casually light on the road of this subject. His book is divided into two parts; whereof the first is a mere Jew, of the practice of tithing amongst the Hebrews; the second, a Christian, and chiefly an Englishman, of their customs in the same. And although many divines undertook the answer of this book,—as Mr. Stephen Nettles, Fellow of Queen's-College in Cambridge, (applying himself to the Judaical part,) Dr. Tillesly, and Mr. Montague, (all writing sharply, if strongly enough,)—yet, sure it is, never a fiercer storm fell on all parsonage barns since the Reformation, than what this treatise raised up.†

38, 39. *Melvin freed from the Tower.*

By this time Mr. Andrew Melvin, a Scotchman, got to be enlarged out of the Tower; whither he had been committed for writing some satirical verses against the ornaments on the altar, or

* Author of Dr. Preston's Life. † See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," pp. 538—540.—EDIT.

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communion-table, in the king's chapel. When first brought into the Tower, he found sir William Seymour (now the right honourable, most truly noble, and religious marquis of Hertford) there imprisoned for marrying the lady Arabella, so nearly allied to the crown, without the king's consent. To whom Melvin, being an excellent poet, (but inferior to Buchanan his master,) sent this distich:—

Causa mihi tecum communis carceris, ARA,
REGIA BELLA *tibi,* REGIA SACRA *mihi.*

As for his invective verses against the chapel-ornaments, I conceive the following copy most authentic; though there be various lections of them, but all in the main agreeing together:—

Quòd duo stent libri clausi Anglis regiâ in aulâ,
Lumina cæca duo, pollubra sicca duo.
An clausum cæcumque Dei tenet Anglia cultum,
Lumine cæca suo, sorde sepulta suâ?
Romano et ritu dum regalem instruit aram,
*Purpuream pingit luxuriosa * lupam.*

Mr. George Herbert, of Trinity-College in Cambridge, made a most ingenious retortion of this hexastich, which as yet all my industry cannot recover. Yet it much contenteth me, that I am certainly informed, that the posthume remains (shavings of gold are carefully to be kept!) of that not less pious than witty writer are shortly to be put forth into print, when this his *Anti-pelvi-Melvi* ———

But now at last Melvin's liberty was procured by the intercession of the chief of the Reformed in France; and, being released, he afterwards became Professor at Sedan, in the duke of Bouillon's country. Here he ceased not to traduce the church of England, against which he wrote a scroll of sapphics, entitled, "*Tami-Chami-Categeria.*"

40, 41. *The Death of Bishop Bilson. Campian's Falsehood.*

This year Thomas Bilson, bishop of Winchester, who carried prelature in his very aspect, ended his life; first schoolmaster, then warden of Winchester; afterwards bishop of Worcester, and lastly, of Winchester: a deep and profound scholar, excellently well read in the Fathers, principally showed in his defence of Christ's descent into hell.

By the way, it is a falsehood what Campian writes confidently, that Cheyney, bishop of Gloucester, had affirmed unto him; namely, that concerning this article it was moved in a Convocation at

* *Aliâs, religiosa.*

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London, *Quemadmodum sine tumultu penitùs eximatur de Symbolo*, "How it might without any noise be wholly taken out of the Creed." For, no such debate appeareth upon record in our Convocations; and as for Campian, his single affirmation is of no validity.

42. *Archbishop of Spalato.*

Marcus Antonius de Dominis, archbishop of Spalato, came over into England, December 6th; was here courteously welcomed, and plentifully preferred; of whose hypocrisy and ingratitude largely hereafter; namely, *anno* 1622.

43. *The King goes into Scotland. A.D.* 1616.

March 14th, king James went into Scotland to visit his native country, with a princely train. In his passage thither, he was much affected with a sermon which one of his chaplains preached upon this text: "And Abraham was very rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold. And he went on his journeys from the south even to Bethel, to the place where his tent had been at the beginning," Gen. xiii. 2, 3. As for his entertainment in Scotland, we leave it to their historians to relate. For may my pen be plundered by the Borderers, or moss-troopers, if offering to cross Tweed into another country!

44, 45. *The Death of Bishops James, Robinson, and Bennet.*

This year died Dr. William James, born in Cheshire, Master first of the University-College, then Dean of Christ-Church in Oxford, Chaplain to Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, and Confessor to him at his death; and at last made bishop of Durham. He expended much on the repairing of the chapel of Durham-house, in the Strand, and in his younger days was much commended for his hospitality.

Two other prime prelates accompanied him to the other world, Dr. Henry Robinson, Provost of Queen's-College, in Oxford, Bishop of Carlisle; of great temperance, mild in speech, but weak in constitution. The other, Robert Bennet, Fellow of Trinity-College in Cambridge, Chaplain to the lord Burleigh, termed by a great divine, *eruditus Benedictus*, Bishop of Hereford, well-deserving of his see, whose houses he repaired.

46—49. *Dr. Mocket's Translation of our English Liturgy; cavilled at by many. The pinching Accusation. Imperial Decrees command not in England. On the Burning of his Book, Dr. Mocket dieth. A.D.* 1617.

Dr. Mocket, Warden of All Souls in Oxford, Chaplain to George Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, set forth a book in pure Latin,

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containing "the Apology of the Church of England;" "the greater and lesser Catechism;" "the nine-and-thirty Articles;" "the Common Prayer;" "the Ordination of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons;" "the Polity, or Government of the Church of England." As for the Homilies, too tedious to be translated at large, he epitomized them into certain propositions, by him faithfully extracted.

No sooner appeared this book in print, but many faults were found therein. Indeed, it fared the worse for the author, the author for his patron the archbishop, against whom many bishops began then to combine. Some accused him of presumption for undertaking such a task without commission from the king;* it being almost as fatal for private persons to tamper with such public matters, as for a subject to match into the blood-royal without leave of his sovereign. Others complained, that he enlarged the liberty of a translator into the licence of a commenter, and the propositions out of the Homilies by him collected were made to lean to the judgment of the collector. James Montague, bishop of Winchester, a potent courtier, took exceptions that his bishopric in the marshalling of them was wronged in the method, as put after any whose bishop is a privy counsellor.†

But the main matter objected against it was, that this doctor was a better chaplain than a subject, contracting the power of his prince to enlarge the privilege of his patron; allowing the archbishop of Canterbury's power to confirm the election of bishops in his provinces, citing for the same the sixth canon of the first Nicene Council established by imperial authority:‡ "If any be made a bishop without the consent of his metropolitan, he ought not to be a bishop."

This was counted a high offence, to attribute an obliging authority either to canon or civil law; both which, if crossing the common law of the land, are drowned in their passage as they sail over from Calais to Dover; and king James, justly jealous of his own prerogative, approved not such a confirming power in the archbishop, which might imply a negative voice, in case he disliked such elects as the king should recommend unto him.§

Hereupon, Dr. Mocket's book was censured to be burned; which was done accordingly. Now, although the imperfections and indiscretions of this translator might be consumed as dross in the fire, yet the undoubted truth of the Articles of the English church therein contained, as flame-free and perfectly refined, will endure to

* Yet *cum privilegio* is prefixed on the first page.

† In his *Politica Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, cap. v. p. 314.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 309.

§ See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 540—542.—EDIT.

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all eternity. The doctor took this censure so tenderly, especially so much defeated in his expectation—to find punishment where he looked for preferment; as if his life were bound up by sympathy in his book, he ended his days soon after.

50. *The Death of Robert Abbot, Bishop of Salisbury.*

Though his death much affected his friends in Oxford, yet far greater the grief of that university for the decease of Robert Abbot, bishop of Salisbury, who died this year, March 2nd: one of the honours, not only of that see, but of the church of England; born at Guildford, in Surrey, of religious parents; as persevering in the truth, though persecuted for the same in the reign of queen Mary;* whose two younger brothers, George and Maurice, the one came to be archbishop of Canterbury, the other was lord-mayor of London, and the first knight of king Charles's dubbing. This good bishop's deserts, without any other friend or spokesman, preferred him to all his promotions. For, upon his oration made on queen Elizabeth's inauguration, he was chosen Scholar (and afterwards Fellow and Master) of Balliol-College. Upon a sermon preached at Worcester, he was made lecturer of that city. Upon a sermon preached at Paul's Cross, Mr. John Stanhope preferred him to the rich benefice of Bingham, in Nottinghamshire. Upon a sermon preached before king James, he was nominated successor to Dr. Holland, in the king's professor's place, in Oxford.

Upon the fame of his incomparable lectures *de Potestate Regiâ*, and other labours, he was made bishop of Salisbury. In conferring which place, the king conquered all opposition, which some envious persons raised against him. Witness his Majesty's pleasant speech: "Abbot, I have had much to do to make thee a bishop; but I know no reason for it, unless it were because thou hast written a book against a popish prelate," meaning William Bishop, entitled by the pope, "the nominal bishop of the aërial diocess of Chalcedon;" which enraged the court-papists against him to obstruct his preferment. "The hour-glass of his life," saith my author,† "ran out the sooner for having the sand or gravel thereof stopped;" so great his grief of the stone; though, even whilst his body was on the rack, his soul found ease in the assurance of salvation.

51, 52. *The Imposture of the Boy of Bilston, found out by Bishop Morton. A.D.* 1618.

About this time, a boy dwelling at Bilston in Staffordshire, William Perry by name, not full fifteen years in age, but about

* *Abel Redivivus*, p. 540. † Dr. Featley, in "the Life of Bishop Abbot," p. 549.

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forty in cunning, was practised-on by some Jesuits, (repairing to the house of Mr. Gifford in that county,) to dissemble himself possessed. This was done on design that the priests might have the credit to cast out that devil, (which never was in,) so to grace their religion with the reputation of a miracle.

But now the best of the jest, (or rather the worst of the earnest,) was, the boy, having gotten a habit of counterfeiting, leading a lazy life thereby, to his own ease and parents' profit, (to whom he was more worth than the best plough-land in the shire,) would not be un-deviled by all their exorcisms; so that the priests raised up a spirit which they could not allay. At last, by the industry of Dr. Morton, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, the juggling was laid open to the world by the boy's own confession and repentance; who, being bound an apprentice at the bishop's cost, verified the proverb, that "an untoward boy may make a good man."

53, 54. *Cheaters of several Kinds. King James's Dexterity in detecting them.*

Indeed, all this king's reign was scattered over with cheaters in this kind. Some papists, some sectaries, some neither; as who dissembled such possession, either out of malice, (to be revenged on those whom they accused of witchcraft,) or covetousness, (to enrich themselves,) seeing such, who, out of charity or curiosity, repaired unto them, were bountiful in their relief. But take a few of many:—

PAPISTS.—Sarah Williams,* lying past all sense in a trance, had a devil, say the Romanists, slipped up into her leg.

Grace Sourebuts,† of Samlesbury, in the county of Lancaster, was persuaded, by Southworth, a priest, to dissemble possession, to gain himself credit by exorcising her.

Mary and Amie, two maids of Westminster,‡ pretended themselves in raptures from the virgin Mary and Michael the archangel.

Edward Hance,§ a popish priest, born at Lutterworth in Leicestershire, gave it out that he was possessed of the Blessed Trinity.

NO PAPISTS.—Richard Haydok, Fellow of New-College in Oxford, preached in his dreams Latin sermons against the hierarchy. He afterwards recanted, lived in good esteem to a great age in Salisbury, practising physic, being also an excellent poet, limner, and engraver.

Anne Gunter, a maid of Windsor, gave it out she was possessed of a devil, and was transported with strange ecstatical frenzies.

A maid at Standon in Hertfordshire, who personated a demoniac so lively, that many judicious persons were deceived by her.

* See BISHOP HARSNET'S book on this subject, p. 81. † JOHN GEE'S "Foot out of the Snare," p. 53. ‡ *Idem*, p. 54. § *Idem*, p. 55.

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See we this catalogue consists most of the weaker sex; either because satan would plant his battery where easiest to make a breach; or because he found such most advantaged for dissembling, and his cloven-foot best concealed under long coats. Indeed, some feminine weaknesses made them more strong to delude; the ruins of the disease of the mother being the best foundation to build such imposture thereon.

King James remembering what Solomon saith, "It is the honour of a king to search out a matter," Prov. xxv. 2, was no less dexterous than desirous to make discovery of these deceits. Various were his ways in detecting them; awing some into confession with his presence, persuading others by promise of pardon and fair usage. He ordered it so, that a proper courtier made love to one of these bewitched maids, and quickly Cupid's arrows drove out the pretended darts of the devil. Another there was, the tides of whose possession did so ebb and flow, that punctually they observed one hour till the king came to visit her. The maid loath to be so unmannerly as to make his Majesty attend her time, antedated her fits many hours, and instantly ran through the whole zodiac of tricks which she used to play. A third, strangely-affected when the first verse of St. John's Gospel was read unto her in our translation, was tame and quiet whilst the same was pronounced in Greek; her English devil, belike, understanding no other language. The frequency of such forged possessions wrought such an alteration upon the judgment of king James, that he, receding from what he had written in his "Demonology," grew first diffident of, and then flatly to deny, the workings of witches and devils, as but falsehoods and delusions.

55, 56. *The King's Declaration for Liberty on the Lord's Day. The various Effects thereof.*

King James, having, last year, in his progress passed through Lancashire, took notice, that, by the preciseness of some magistrates and ministers, in several places of this kingdom, in hindering people from their recreations on the Sunday, the papists in this realm being thereby persuaded that no honest mirth or recreation was tolerable in our religion. Whereupon, May 14th, the Court being then at Greenwich, he set forth a Declaration to this effect, that, "for his good people's lawful recreations, his pleasure was, that, after the end of Divine service, they should not be disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any lawful recreations; such as dancing either of men or women; archery for men, leaping, vaulting, or any such harmless recreations; nor from having of May-games, Whitsun-ales, or morris-dances, and setting-up of May-poles, or other

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sports therewith used, so as the same be had in due and convenient time, without impediment or let of Divine service; and that women should have leave to carry rushes to the church for the decoring of it, according to their old custom; withal prohibiting all unlawful games to be used on the Sundays only, as bear-baiting, bull-baiting, interludes, and (at all times in the meaner sort of people by law prohibited) bowling."

But when this Declaration was brought abroad, it is not so hard to believe, as sad to recount, what grief and distraction thereby was occasioned in many honest men's hearts * who looked on it, not as local for Lancashire, but what in process of time would enlarge itself all over England.† Some conceived the recreations specified impeditive to the observation of the Lord's day; yea, unsuitable and unbeseeming the essential duties thereof. But others maintained, that if private men's speeches must not be pressed to an odious construction, much more men were bound candidly to interpret the acts of authority; and in charity must presume and be persuaded, that religious princes will command nothing what they conceive either to be unjust or not expedient, all things considered. They considered, moreover, (which was mainly material,) that this Declaration was not dogmatical or doctrinal, to say or aver these things to be theologically lawful; but it was *edictum civile*, what the king thought fit upon just reasons to permit, without restraint or punishment. The hardness of men's hearts on one side, which will break loose though restrained, and the hope of gaining others on the other side by a favourable allowance, might be just motives in authority to give way to things *civiliter*, that they may be done *impunè*, and yet not prejudice any point of religion, and not be done *licitè*, as in divorces *extra casum adulterii*, usury, &c.

57—60. *Reasons of the Refusers to publish this Declaration. The Arguments for the lawful Publishing of the Declaration. A Third Sort resolve on a strange Expedient. Lancashire Ministers more scared than hurt. A Fourth Sort read it with Approbation of the Contents therein.*

But the difficulty was increased, when ministers daily feared to be urged upon their canonical obedience, to promulgate and publish the said Declaration in their parish-churches; which some resolved flatly to refuse, especially such who formerly had strictly preached and pressed the observation of the Lord's day, alleging for and applying to themselves that place of St. Paul: "For, if I build again the things which I have destroyed, I make myself a trans-

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 521.—EDIT. † So it was in the reign of king Charles, *anno* 1633.

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gressor," Gal. ii. 18. Beside this, they enforced the reasons following for their recusancy; yea, though the king himself should enjoin them on their allegiance:—

(1.) That the publishing of this Declaration would be *interpretative* an approbation thereof; whereas, on the contrary, they are commanded to "have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather to reprove them," Eph. v. 11.

(2.) That hereby they should draw a just woe upon them, pronounced by the prophet: "Woe unto them that decree unrighteous decrees, and that write grievousness which they have prescribed," Isaiah x. 1. Where, as the learned interpret, even public notaries, who are but instrumental, are threatened with a curse.*

(3.) That the promulgation of a law is *de essentiâ legis*; so that people would neither take notice of this Declaration, nor liberty by it, till it were published, and so the publisher should *per se* be a promoter of a sin.

(4.) That obedience to authority obligeth only in *licitis et honestis*; and the apostle confesseth, that he himself had "power to edification, and not to destruction," 2 Cor. xiii. 10; whereunto the publishing thereof did manifestly tend.

On the other side, some learned and pious ministers, who in their judgments were convinced that some of the aforesaid recreations were incompatible with the sanctification of the sabbath; notwithstanding, in case his Majesty should enjoin it, on serious deliberation resolved, in obedience to the king, publicly to read or cause the reading of the Declaration, not looking at the contents therein, but at the authority commanding the publication thereof; the rather, because no subscription was required, or vocal assent, to approve what therein was contained to be just, or affirm it to be true; but a bare ministerial declaring of the king's will and pleasure therein, which they conceived themselves bound in conscience to perform, for the reasons ensuing:—

(1.) The refusal, well observed, doth resolve into a principle, which would take away the necessity of obedience universally, when the party commanded can pretend the magistrate ought not to command him any such thing; and, if the prince must suspend his edicts upon each subject's doubt, he should never set forth any, considering the variety of judgments and the distractions which are in his subjects.

(2.) A sheriff may, yea, must, disperse the king's proclamations, which he liketh not; and a clerk, at the command of his master, a Justice of Peace, may lawfully write the *mittimus* of that person to

* JUNIUS and PISCATOR on the place.

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prison whom in his particular judgment he conceiveth to be innocent; and (what is most proper to our purpose, because a religious instance) a minister, without any sin, may safely pronounce an excommunication, legally delivered unto him, though in his own private conscience he be convinced that the party is unjustly excommunicated.

(3.) There are many precedents hereof in antiquity. A Father* gives this censure, that when the Jews, commanded by Antiochus, gave up the Divine Books to his officers, to be destroyed, it was *peccatum imperantis et minantis; non populi, cum dolore et tremore tradentis*, "a sin of him that commanded and threatened it; not of the people, who surrendered up those volumes with fear and sorrow." And St. Augustine resolveth it in the case of a Christian soldier, fighting under a sacrilegious emperor; that, though he be not satisfied in the lawfulness of the commands, he may notwithstanding lawfully obey: *Ita ut fortasse reum faciat regem iniquitas imperandi, innocentem militem ostendat ordo serviendi.*† And, what is most apposite to the matter in hand, (because the edict of a godly emperor, seriously distasted by a godly bishop,) Mauritius set forth a command, that no soldier should be admitted into a monastery; and though Gregory the Great was persuaded the prohibition was in itself injurious and unlawful, yet he did *in diversas terrarum partes transmittere legem, quia erat subjectus ejus jussionibus.*‡

Convinced with these reasons, some ministers (not with any delight in the message, but in duty to the authority which sent) intended, if put to the trial, sadly and unwillingly to publish the Declaration.

A third sort took up a resolution to read the Declaration, or suffer it to be read, and presently after to preach against the contents of what they had published; hoping, so, warily to avoid the danger of disobedience in refusing to promulgate it, and of profaneness in seeming to approve it. But, whether by this middle way, setting God and the king as openly opposite, they would have declined or contracted more odium, it is hard to determine.

But now, after so long and many diversities of opinions and arguments on several sides, their own fear proved at last their only foe; the king's goodness taking away the subject of their jealousy; so that no minister in the county was enjoined to read the book in his parish,§ wherewith they had so affrighted themselves. However, their arguments may be kept cold, and laid up provisionally against the time they had use thereof; especially for such who survived till the seventh of king Charles, when the Declaration for liberty on the

* OPTATUS MILEVITANUS, lib. 7. † *Contra Faustum*, lib. xxii. cap. 75.
‡ Lib. ii. Ep. 61. § See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 571.—EDIT.

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Lord's day was enjoined (though not by the king) the ministers to publish clean through the land.

However, there wanted not many, both in Lancashire and elsewhere, who conceived the Declaration came forth seasonably, to suppress the dangerous endeavour of such who now began in their pulpits to broach the dregs of Judaism, and force Christians to drink them. So that those legal ceremonies, long since dead, buried, and rotten in the grave of our Saviour, had now their ghosts, as it were, walking; frighting such people with their terrible apparitions, who were persuaded by some preachers to so rigorous observation of the sabbath, that therein it was unlawful to dress meat, sweep their houses, kindle the fire, or the like. Yea, and the papists in Lancashire especially,—a frontier country, as I may term it, of papists and protestants, where the Reformed religion had rather a truce than a peace, standing on its guard and posture of defence; I say, in Lancashire the Romanists made advantage of this strictness to pervert many to popery, persuading them, that the protestant religion was the school of Tyrannus, where no lawful liberty was allowed. And no wonder if many common people were hereby fetched off unto them; "starting aside as a broken bow," chiefly because overbent for lack of lawful recreation. But enough hereof, and too much, (if not pressed thereunto in pursuance of our History,) and yet ere long we must have more on the same sad subject.

61. *The heretical Opinions of John Thraske.*

Now, of the broachers* of Judaism, John Thraske was a principal. Whether ever he sucked on the breasts of either university, or only was brought up by hand in some petty school, I know not. This I know, that, seeking to be made deacon or minister, by James bishop of Bath and Wells, Dr. Samuel Ward, then poser and the bishop's chaplain, refused him, as altogether insufficient. However, afterwards he got Orders, and then began to vent his opinions; that the Lord's day was to be observed with the same strictness by Christians, as it was by Jews; and that all meats and drinks forbidden in the Levitical law bound Christians to the same observance; thereby opening a door to let in the rabble of all ceremonies. Thus he brought in a constant Lent of his own making. And, whereas divines can forbid no meat as unlawful, (though politicians may, as unthrifty for the state; and physicians, as unhealthful for the body,) because Christ hath given us that licence, "To the clean all things are clean;" yet he seduced many souls with his tenets, and his own wife amongst many others. For these he was censured in

* *Broakers* is the word here used; by which either *brokers* or *broachers* may be meant.—EDIT.

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the Star-chamber, but afterwards recanted his opinions, and lived, as unsettled in judgment as place, in several parts of the kingdom. I have heard him preach a sermon, nothing relating to the aforesaid doctrine; and when his auditors have forgotten the matter, they will remember the loudness of his stentorious voice; which, indeed, had more strength than any thing else he delivered. He afterwards relapsed, not into the same but other opinions, rather humorous than hurtful, and died obscurely at Lambeth, in the reign of king Charles. Nor must we forget, that his wife could never be unperverted again, but perished in her Judaism; because, as our Saviour observeth, proselytes in general are twofold worse than their leader, Matt. xxiii. 15; and her sex, as pliable to receive as tenacious to retain, had weakness enough to embrace an error, and obstinacy too much to forsake it.

62, 63. *The Troubles in the Low Countries.*

At this time began the troubles in the Low Countries about matters of religion, heightened between two opposite parties,—Remonstrants and Contra-Remonstrants; their controversies being chiefly reducible to five points:* Of predestination and reprobation; of the latitude of Christ's death; of the power of man's free-will, both before and after his conversion; and of the elect's perseverance in grace. To decide these difficulties, the States of the United Provinces resolved to call a National Synod at Dort; and, to give the more lustre and weight to the determinations thereof, desired some foreign princes to send them the assistance of their divines for so pious a work; especially, they requested our king of Great Britain to contribute his aid thereunto, (being himself as forward to do, as they desire, any thing conducible to God's glory and the church's good,) who, out of his own princely wisdom and free favour, made choice of George Carleton, doctor of divinity, then bishop of Landaff, and afterward bishop of Chichester; Joseph Hall, doctor of divinity, then dean of Worcester, and afterward bishop of Exeter and Norwich; John Davenant, doctor of divinity, then Margaret Professor, and master of Queen's-College in Cambridge, afterwards bishop of Salisbury; Samuel Ward, doctor of divinity, then master of Sidney-College in Cambridge, and archdeacon of Taunton. These, according to their summons, repairing to his Majesty at Newmarket, received from him there these following Instructions,† concerning their behaviour in the Synod:—

"(1.) Our will and pleasure is, that from this time forward, upon all occasions, you inure yourselves to the practice of the Latin

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 543.—EDIT. † These Instructions I saw transcribed out of Dr. Davenant's own manuscript.

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tongue; that, when there is cause, you may deliver your minds with more readiness and facility.

"(2.) You shall, in all points to be debated and disputed, resolve amongst yourselves beforehand what is the true state of the question, and jointly and uniformly agree thereupon.

"(3.) If, in debating of the cause by the learned men there, any thing be emergent, whereof you thought not before, you shall meet and consult thereupon again, and so resolve among yourselves jointly what is fit to be maintained. And this to be done agreeable to the scriptures, and the doctrine of the church of England.

"(4.) Your advice shall be to those churches, that their ministers do not deliver in the pulpit to the people those things for ordinary doctrines which are the highest points of schools, and not fit for vulgar capacity, but disputable on both sides.

"(5.) That they use no innovation in doctrine, but teach the same things which were taught twenty or thirty years past in their own churches; and especially, that which contradicteth not their own confessions, so long since published, and known unto the world.

"(6.) That they conform themselves to the public Confessions of the neighbour Reformed churches; with whom to hold good correspondency, shall be no dishonour to them.

"(7.) That, if there be main opposition between any who are overmuch addicted to their own opinions, your endeavour shall be, that certain positions be moderately laid down, which may tend to the mitigation of heat on both sides.

"(8.) That, as you principally look to God's glory, and the peace of those distracted churches; so you have an eye to our honour, who send and employ you thither; and, consequently, at all times consult with our ambassador there residing, who is best acquainted with the form of those countries, understandeth well the questions and differences among them, and shall from time to time receive our princely directions, as occasion shall require.

"(9.) Finally, in all other things which we cannot foresee, you shall carry yourselves with that advice, moderation, and discretion, as to persons of your quality and gravity shall appertain."

Dr. Davenant and Dr. Ward presented themselves again to his Majesty at Royston, October 8th, where his Majesty vouchsafed his familiar discourse unto them for two hours together, commanding them to sit down by him, and at last dismissed them with his solemn prayer, that God would bless their endeavours; which made them cheerfully to depart his presence.

Addressing themselves now with all possible speed to the sea-side, they casually missed that man-of-war which the States had sent to

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conduct them over, (though they saw him on sea at some distance,) and safely went over in a small vessel, landing, October 20th, at Middleburgh. On the 27th of the same month they came to Hague, where they kissed the hand of his excellency Grave Maurice; to whom the bishop made a short speech, and by whom they were all courteously entertained. Hence they removed to Dort, where, November 3rd, the Synod began; and where we leave them with the rest of their fellow-divines, when first every one of them had taken this admission-oath, at their entrance into the Synod:—

"I promise before God, whom I believe and adore, the present Searcher of the heart and reins, that in all this synodal action, wherein shall be appointed the examination, judgment, and decision, as well of the known Five Articles, and difficulties thence arising, as of all other doctrinals; that I will not make use of any human writing, but only of God's word, for the certain and undoubted rule of faith; and that I shall propound nothing to myself in this whole cause, beside the glory of God, the peace of the church, and especially the preservation of the purity of doctrine therein. So may my Saviour Jesus Christ be merciful unto me, whom I earnestly pray, that, in this my purpose, he would always be present with me with the grace of his Spirit." *

I say, "we leave them here with their fellow-divines." For, should my pen presume to sail over the sea, it would certainly meet with a storm in the passage; the censure of such who will justly condemn it for meddling with transmarine matters, especially doctrinal points, utterly alien from my present subject. Only a touch of an historical passage therein, confining ourselves to our own countrymen.

64—66. *The States' liberal Allowance to the English Divines. Weekly Intelligence to the King from his Divines. Mr. Balcanqual admitted into the Synod.*

These four divines had allowed them by the States ten pounds sterling a-day, threescore-and-ten pounds by the week; an entertainment far larger than what was appointed to any other foreign theologues; and politicly proportioned, in grateful consideration of the greatness of his Majesty who employed them. And these English divines, knowing themselves sent over, not to gain wealth to themselves, but glory to God, and reputation to their sovereign, freely gave what they had freely received, keeping a table-general, where any fashionable foreigner was courteously and plentifully entertained.

They were commanded by the king to give him a weekly account

* *Acta Synodi Dordracenæ*, p. 64.

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(each one in his several week, according to their seniority) of all memorable passages transacted in the Synod. Yet it happened, that, for a month or more, the king received from them no particulars of their proceedings; whereat his Majesty was most highly offended. But afterwards, understanding, that this defect was caused by the countermands of a higher King, even of Him "who gathereth the wind in his fists," Prov. xxx. 4, stopping all passages by contrary weather; no wonder if he, who was so great a peacemaker, was himself so quickly pacified: yea, afterwards highly pleased, when four weekly dispatches (not neglected to be orderly sent, but delayed to be accordingly brought) came all together to his Majesty's hands.

On the 10th of December, Gualter Balcanqual, bachelor of divinity, and fellow of Pembroke-Hall, came into the Synod, where his credential letters from king James were publicly read; whose pleasure it was, that he should be added to the four English colleagues, in the name of the church of Scotland. The president of the Synod welcomed him with a short oration, which by Mr. Balcanqual was returned with another, and so was he conducted to his place; a place built for him particularly, as one coming after all the rest; so that his seat discomposed the uniformity of the building, exactly regular before. But it matters not how the seats were ordered, so that the judgments of such as sat therein were conformed to the truth of the scriptures.

67, 68. *Dr. Hall's Return thence. Dr. Goad in the Room of Dr. Hall. A. D.* 1619.

Dr. Joseph Hall, being at the Synod of Dort, and finding much indisposition in himself, the air not agreeing with his health, on his humble request obtained his Majesty's leave to return. Whereupon, composing his countenance with a becoming gravity, he publicly took his solemn farewell of the Synod, with this speech following:—

Non facilè verò mecum in gratiam redierit cadaverosa hæc moles, quam ægrè usque circumgesto, quæ mihi hujus conventûs celebritatem toties inviderit, jamque prorsùs invitissimum a vobis importunè avocat et divellit. Neque enim ullus est profectò sub cœlo locus æquè cœli æmulus, et in quo tentorium mihi figi maluerim, cujusque adeò gestiet mihi animus meminisse. Beatos verò vos, quibus hoc frui datum! Non dignus eram ego (ut fidelissimi Romani querimoniam imitari liceat) qui et Christi et ecclesiæ suæ nomine, sanctam hanc provinciam diutiùs sustinerem. Illud vero Θεοῦ ἐν γούνασι. Nempe audito, quod res erat, non aliâ me quàm adversissimâ hic usum valetudine, serenissimus rex meus, misertus miselli famuli sui,

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revocat me domum, quippe quòd cineres meos, aut sandapilam vobis nihil quicquam prodesse posse nôrit, succenturiavitque mihi virum e suis selectissimum, quantum theologum! De me profectò (mero jam silicernio) quicquid fiat, viderit ille Deus meus, cujus ego totus sum. Vobis quidem ita feliciter prospectum est, ut sit cur infirmitati meæ haud parùm gratulemini, quùm hujusmodi instructissimo succedaneo cœtum hunc vestrum beaverit. Neque tamen committam, (si Deus mihi vitam et vires indulserit,) ut et corpore simul et animo abesse videar. Interea sanè huic Synodo, ubicunque terrarum sum, et vobis, consiliis conatibusque meis quibuscunque, res vestras me, pro virili, sedulò ac seriò promoturum, sanctè voveo. Interim vobis omnibus ac singulis, honoratissimi domini delegati, reverendissime præses, gravissimi assessores, scribæ doctissimi, symmystæ colendissimi, tibique venerandissima synodus universa, ægro animo ac corpore æternùm valedico. Rogo vos omnes obnixiùs, ut precibus vestris imbecillem reducem facere, comitari, prosequi velitis.

Thus returned Dr. Hall into his own country; since, so recovered (not to say revived) therein that he hath gone over the graves of all his English colleagues there, and (what cannot God and good air do?) surviving in health at this day, three-and-thirty years after, may well, with Jesse, "go amongst men for an old man in these days," 1 Sam. xvii. 12; and living privately, having passed through the bishoprics of Exeter and Norwich, hath now the opportunity, in these troublesome times, effectually to practise those his precepts of patience and contentment, which his pen hath so eloquently recommended to others.

On the seventh of January, Thomas Goad, doctor of divinity, chaplain to George archbishop of Canterbury, came into the Synod, sent thither by his Majesty of Great Britain. The president entertained him with a solemn oration, highly commending king James's care, not recalling one divine till he had substituted another. The doctor requited him with a pithy oration, promising the utmost of his assistance to the general good: a promise by him well-performed, giving afterwards ample testimony of his general learning and solid judgment in divinity; nothing being wanting in him but that he came hither so late to this employment.

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SECTION V.

TO MR. PETER MOROLOYS, AND MR. THOMAS ROWSE, OF LONDON, MERCHANTS,

THE Netherlands are the scene whereon the beginning of this Section was transacted. They were also the native countries of your ancestors, flying hither from persecution. Since, as your fathers then found safety amongst the English, some of the English, to my knowledge, have felt bounty from their children. God increase your store; and make you like the good merchant in the Gospel, who, to purchase the great pearl, "sold all that he had," Matt. xiii. 46; that is, undervalued all worldly wealth, coming in competition with God, or grace, or glory.

1. *The Belgic Confession presented in the Synod.*

BEFORE the end of the hundred forty-fifth session, April 20th, in the forenoon, the Belgic Confession was brought into the Synod, containing matter both of doctrine and discipline; and the public consent thereunto was required. Here the bishop of Landaff, in the name of all the rest, approved all the points of doctrine. But as for matter of discipline, that his mother-church and his own Order might not suffer therein, and he seem by silence to betray the cause thereof, a protest was entered by him, as mouth for the rest, to preserve the same, as by the perusing the following passage will appear:—

Interea tamen de disciplinâ paucis monet. Nunquam in ecclesiâ obtinuisse ministrorum paritatem non tempore Christi ipsius; tuno enim duodecim apostolos fuisse discipulis superiores; non apostolorum ætate, non subsecutis seculis. Nec valere rationem in hac Confessione usurpatam; nempè, "quia omnes sunt æquè ministri Christi." Nam et septuaginta discipuli erant ministri Christi, æquè ac apostoli; non tamen inde apostolis æquales: et omnes omnino homines sunt æquè homines, non inde tamen homo homini non debet subesse. Hæc, non ad harum ecclesiarum offensionem, sed ad nostræ Anglicanæ defensionem sese monuisse professus est.—— Britannorum interpellationi responsum ne gru quidem.

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"Notwithstanding, in the mean time, he briefly gave his advice concerning discipline: That the parity of ministers never prevailed in the church, no, not in the time of Christ himself; for then the twelve apostles were superior to the disciples; not in the time of the apostles, nor in the ages after them. Nor is that reason of any force alleged in their Confession, namely, 'Because all are equally the ministers of Christ.' For, even the seventy disciples were equally ministers of Christ with the apostles; and yet it follows not thence, they were equal with the apostles: and all men altogether are equally men, yet thence it cannot be inferred, that one man ought not to be subject to another. These things he professed himself to have hinted, not to offend these churches therewith, but to defend their own church of England.——To this interpellation of the British divines nothing at all was answered."

Hereby the equal reader may judge how candidly Mr. Mountagu, in his "Appeal," dealeth with our English divines, charging them, that "the discipline of the Church of England is in this Synod held unlawful." * And again: † "The Synod of Dort in some points condemneth, upon the by, even the discipline of the church of England." ‡ But, let such as desire farther satisfaction herein peruse "the joint Attestation," which those English divines set forth, *anno* 1626, to justify their proceedings herein.

2. *The States' Bounty to the English Divines.*

On the twenty-ninth of April the Synod ended. The States, to express their gratitude, bestowed on the English divines, at their departure, two hundred pounds, to bear their charges in their return. Besides, a golden medal of good value was given to every one of them, wherein the sitting of the Synod was artificially represented. And now, these divines, who for many months had, in a manner, been fastened to their chairs and desks, thought it a right due to themselves, that, when their work was ended, they might begin their recreation. Wherefore they viewed the most eminent cities in the Low Countries, and at all places were bountifully received, Leyden only excepted. Wonder not, that they, who had most learning, should show least civility; especially having Professors of Humanity amongst them, seeing generally the great ones of that university at this time, being Remonstrants, were disaffected to the decisions of this Synod. This gave occasion to that passage in the speech of sir Dudley Carleton, the English ambassador, when, in the name of his master, he tendered the States public thanks for their great respects to the English divines, using words to this effect, that they

* "Appeal," p. 70. † *Ibid.*, p. 108. ‡ See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 543.—EDIT.

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had been entertained at Amsterdam, welcomed at the Hague, cheerfully received at Rotterdam, kindly embraced at Utrecht, &c., and that they had seen Leyden.

3. *Their Letter to King James.*

But, how high an esteem the States-General had of these our Englishmen's service, will best appear by their letter, which they sent to king James, as followeth :—

Serenissime Rex,

Quemadmodum hoc unicè propositum nobis fuit, ut, quæ in civitatibus, provinciisque nostris, ante annos aliquot, exortæ erant infelices de religione contentiones, eruditorum ac piorum hominum judicio legitimè tolli ac componi possent; ut, et conscientiis eorum, quibus nos præesse Deus Immortalis voluit, ipsique pariter reipublicæ, suâ in religione ac pietate simul ratio constaret et tranquillitas; ita nos benignè Is respexit, cui hactenus curæ fuimus, qui conventui nostro nationali, quem ex omnibus idem sentientibus ecclesiis convocavimus, ita benedixit, ut, re tantâ ad felicem atque optatum exitum perductâ, domum et ad suos se conferant; quibus, benedictionem Domini, studium nostrum in promovendo pietatis negotio consensum planè cum aliis ecclesiis unanimem, indicabunt. Inter quos, cùm præcipui et consilio et loco fuerint Magnæ Britanniæ theologi, quos, pro singulari et divino in nos et ecclesias nostras affectu, ad nos mittere dignata est majestas tua; curæ nobis fuit, ut, quantopere hujus beneficii magnitudinem æstimemus, ex nobis intelligeret majestas tua. Est verò illud, rex serenissime, etiamsi cum reliquis, quæ infinita sunt, conferatur, tantò majus, quantò uberiores sunt fructus, quos ex Dei causâ expectamus, quantòque id majestatis tuæ nomini est convenientius; qui, cum nullâ re externâ atque humanâ, quæ potissimùm aliis principibus conciliant dignitatem, quoquam rege sit inferior, Fidei Defensionem, tanquam Dei ecclesiæque patronus in his terris, sibi meritò assumit. Neque dubitare possumus quin et majestatis tuæ regna tot et tanta, reliquæque, quæ in hoc negotio nobis operam navârunt, ecclesiæ, magnam utilitatem ex hoc instituto nostro percepturæ sint, quæ exemplo nostro discent, quanto periculo conjunctum sit, quæ benè in religione constituta sunt temerè movere, quùm sint felices atque fortunatæ, quamdiu simili remedio opus non habebunt; cui hactenus abundè, majestatis tuæ curâ atque vigilantiâ, prospectum fuit. In theologis porrò utriusque regni vestri omnibus, et singulis, quorum agmen ducit verè reverendissimus dominus Georgius, Landavensis episcopus, imago, atque expressa virtutis effigies; eam eruditionem, pietatem, pacis studium, eumque zelum deprehendimus, ut, cùm

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ipsius beneficii causâ majestati tuæ multum debeamus, magna pars ipsius beneficii nobis videatur, quòd ipsi ad nos missi sint.

Deus immortalis majestati tuæ, rex serenissime, ita benedicat, ut illius benedictionis partem, orbis Christianus, ex diuturnitate regni tui et ecclesiæ defensione, diu percipiat.

4. *The British Divines return into England.*

With these testimonial letters, over they came into England; and first presented themselves to king James; who, seeing them out of a window, when first entering the court: "Here come," said he, "my good mourners,"—alluding to their black habit, and late death of queen Anne. Then, after courteous entertaining of them, he favourably dismissed them; and afterward on three of them bestowed preferment.* So returned they all to their several professions; bishop Carleton to the careful governing of his diocess; Dr. Davenant, beside his collegiate cure, to his constant lectures in the schools; Dr. Ward, to his discreet ordering of his own College; Dr. Goad, to his diligent discharging of domestical duties in the family of his lord and patron; and Mr. Balcanqual, to his fellowship in Pembroke-Hall.

5—7. *This Synod diversely censured. The Suggester's Surmise most improbable. Bishop Hall's Letter to the Author.*

Since, it hath been the success of this Synod to have the decisions thereof to be approved, applauded, magnified by some: vilified, contemned, condemned by others. If men were divided in their censures about Christ, some saying, "He is a good man;" others, "Nay, but he deceiveth the people," John vii. 12; no wonder, if, ever since, all conventions of Christians be subject to variety of men's verdicts upon them. Of such as dislike the Synod, none falls heavier upon it than a London divine,† charging the synodians to have taken a previous oath, to condemn the opposite party on what terms soever. But take him in his own words:—

"Far be it from me to subscribe the report or information of those who charge the respective members of this Synod with suffering themselves to be bound with an oath, at or before their admission thereunto, to vote down the Remonstrants, and their doctrines howsoever; yet, when I read and consider, (1.) How learnedly, solidly, and substantially they quit themselves, and argue, whilst they go along with the Remonstrants, and declare wherein they agree with them, in the points controverted betwixt them: (2.)

* Removing Carleton to Chichester; preferring Davenant to Salisbury; and bestowing the Mastership of the Savoy on Balcanqual. † MR. JOHN GOODWIN in his "Redemption Redeemed," cap. xv. paragraph 24, p. 395.

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How feebly, and unlike themselves, they reason when they come to the quick of the difference: (3.) And lastly, how near at very many turns, even in those things wherein they pretend to differ, they come unto them, as if they had a very good mind to be no more two, but one, with them; when, I say, I consider all these things, methinks I see the interest and obligation of an oath, working much after the same manner, as sometimes it did in Herod, when for his oath-sake, contrary to his mind and desire otherwise, he caused John the Baptist's head to be given to Herodias in a platter, Matt. xiv. 9."

See here, how this suggester, though at the first he takes water, and washeth his hands, with a "Far be it from me to subscribe the report," &c., yet afterwards he crucifies the credit of a whole Synod, and makes them all guilty of no less than damnable perjury.

I could have wished, that he had mentioned in the margin the authors of this suggestion; whereas now the omission thereof will give occasion to some to suspect him for the first raiser of the report: a heavy accusation, charging a whole Synod of injustice. When Festus, the Heathen magistrate, was so much Christian as not to condemn an accused man "before he hath licence to answer for himself," Acts xxv. 16; could any assembly of Christian ministers be so Heathen as to bind themselves by an oath, right or wrong, with blind obedience, to beat down the opposite party? Wherein they were all actually forsworn, having publicly taken so solemn an oath to proceed impartially, according to God's word and their own conscience. What said Laban to Jacob? "If thou shalt take other wives beside my daughters, no man is with us; see, God is witness between thee and me," Gen xxxi. 50. So, if these divines, having betrothed their faith to God and the world in so open and public a manner, beside this oath, did bind themselves with any other, taken before or after, in a clandestine way, contrary to their public promise; would not God, the sole Judge herein, sensible of this affront offered to him and his truth, heavily punish so heinous an offence? And can any charitable-minded man believe, that learned men would—that godly men could—be guilty of so deep and damnable dissimulation?

Musing with myself on this matter, and occasionally exchanging letters with the sons of bishop Hall, it came into my mind to ask them Joseph's question to his brethren, "Is your father well, the old man of whom ye spake? Is he yet alive?" Gen. xliii. 27. And, being informed of his life and health, I addressed myself in a letter unto him, for satisfaction in this particular; who was pleased to honour me with this return herein inserted:—

"Whereas you desire from me a just relation of the carriage of

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the business at the Synod of Dort, and the conditions required of our divines there, at or before their admission to that grave and learned assembly; I, whom God was pleased to employ as an unworthy agent in that great work, and to reserve still upon earth, after all my reverend and worthy associates, do, as in the presence of that God to whom I am now daily expecting to yield up my account, testify to you, and (if you will) to the world, that I cannot, without just indignation, read that slanderous imputation, which Mr. Goodwin, in his 'Redemption Redeemed,' reports to have been raised, and cast upon those divines, eminent both for learning and piety, *that they suffered themselves to be bound with an oath, at or before their admission into that Synod, to vote down the Remonstrants, howsoever*; so as they came deeply pre-engaged to the decision of those unhappy differences.

"Truly, sir, as I hope to be saved, all the oath that was required of us was this: after that the moderator, assistants, and scribes were chosen, and the Synod formed, and the several members allowed, there was a solemn oath required to be taken by every one of that assembly, which was publicly done in a grave manner, by every person in their order standing up, and laying his hand upon his heart, calling the great God of heaven to witness, that he would unpartially proceed in the judgment of these controversies, which should be laid before him, only out of and according to the written word of God, and no otherwise; so determining of them as he should find in his conscience most agreeable to the holy scriptures: which oath was punctually agreed to be thus taken by the articles of the States, concerning the indiction and ordering of the synod, as appears plainly in their tenth article: and this was all the oath that was either taken or required. And far was it from those holy souls which are now glorious in heaven, or mine, (who still for some short time survive, to give this just witness of our sincere integrity,) to entertain the least thought of any so foul corruption, as by any over-ruling power to be swayed to a pre-judgment in the points controverted.

"It grieves my soul therefore to see, that any learned divine should raise imaginary conjectures to himself of an interest and obligation of a fancied oath, (working upon them, and drawing them contrary to the dictation of their own conscience, as it did Herod's in the case of John Baptist's beheading,) merely out of his own comparative construction of the different forms of expressing themselves in managing those controversies. Wherein if at any time they seemed to speak nearer to the tenet of the Remonstrants, it must be imputed to their holy ingenuity, and gracious disposition to peace, and to no other sinister respect.

"Sir, since I have lived to see so foul an aspersion cast upon the memory of those worthy and eminent divines, I bless God that I yet live to vindicate them, by this my knowing, clear, and assured

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attestation; which I am ready to second with the solemnest oath, if I shall be thereto required.

"Your much-devoted friend, precessor, and fellow-labourer,

"JOSEPH HALL, B.N.

"HIGHAM, *August 30th*, 1651."

Let the reader consider with himself, how the suggester speaks by hearsay of things done at distance, whereat himself not present; whose disaffection to the decisions of that Synod inclines him to credit ill reports against it; and yet, as afraid, though willing to speak out, in his "methinks I see," vents but his own conjectural surmises. Let him also weigh in the balance of his judgment how this purgation of this Synod is positive and punctual, from one an ear- and eye-witness thereof, "being such an one as" Dr. Hall, and now "aged;" so that his *testimonium* herein may seem *testamentum*; "his witness, his will;" and the truth therein delivered, a legacy by him bequeathed to posterity. I say, the premisses seriously considered, let the reader proceed to sentence, as God and his conscience shall direct him; and either condemn a private person of slander and falsity, or a whole Synod of injustice and perjury.*

8—10. *The Death of Bishop Montague. A strange Accident at his Burial. The Death of Bishop Overal.*

My desire to make this history of the Synod entire, hath made me omit the death of James Montague, the worthy bishop of Win-

* Goodwin replied to bishop Hall's letter. But the whole of the controversy between them, though amusing, is comparatively useless. The publication of HALES's "Golden Remains," and of SIR DUDLEY CARLETON'S "Letters," has made us acquainted with facts on every subject connected with the Synod of Dort, which were previously unknown to any except politicians. That celebrated assembly was composed of divines avowedly attached to the predestinarian opinions of Calvin. This receives confirmation, among many other indisputable facts, from the letter of the States-General itself, transcribed in a preceding page, (282,) in which they frankly avow: "God hath so blessed our National Synod, which we convened from all those churches *(idem sentientibus)* that were unanimous in their sentiments," &c. In accordance with this plain principle, the Utrecht deputies, being the only Arminians admitted into the Synod, were, during one of the earliest sessions, excluded from it, after certain ungracious conditions were propounded for their acceptance, with which it was impossible for any honourable men to comply. Under these circumstances, the remaining members, accounting themselves strict predestinarians, might, with perfect sincerity, take an oath, "not to make use of any human writing, but only of God's word, for the certain and undoubted rule of faith." After taking this oath, had each of them been addressed in these words: "What is written in the law? *how* readest thou?" undoubtedly, as an honest man, every one would have replied: "I read the whole law of God according to the gloss given to it in the theological writings of Calvin." The present is not the proper place for showing how far such a declaration as this agrees or disagrees with our blessed Lord's command —to call no man on earth *master* or *father*. The virtual conduct of such parties, whatever the guise might be in which it appeared, is sufficiently in proof, that they had no just cause to boast of any paramount and *exclusive* attachment to the word of God. On that subject, therefore, the controversy produced no beneficial result."—EDIT.

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chester; who left this life the last year: son to sir Edward Montague, of Boughton in Northamptonshire; bred in Christ's, afterwards master of Sidney-College in Cambridge; highly favoured by king James, (whose Works he set forth,) preferring him to the bishopric first of Bath and Wells, then to Winchester. In Bath he lies buried under a fair tomb, though the whole church be his monument, which his bounty repaired, or rather raised out of the ruins thereof. One passage at his burial I must not forget, having received it from the mouth of his younger brother, sir Sidney Montague, present at his funeral solemnities:—

A certain officer of Bath church, being a very corpulent man, was upon the day of the bishop's burial appointed to keep the doors. He entered on this his employment in the morning whereon the funeral was kept, but was buried himself before night, and before the bishop's body was put into the ground; because, being bruised to death by the pressing-in of people, his corpse required speedy interment. So needful it is for those to watch for their own change who wait on the graves of others!

I cannot attain the exact date of the death of John Overal, carrying superintendency in his surname, the bishop of Norwich; first, fellow of Trinity-College, then master of Catherine-Hall, and king's Professor of Divinity in Cambridge: one of a strong brain to improve his great reading, and accounted one of the most learned controversial divines of those days.

11. *A great Abuse of the King's Favour.* *A.D.* 1620.

A grand grievance was now much complained of, but little redressed: Some great courtiers there were, to whom the king had passed his grants to compound with papists for their recusancy. Some of these grantees abused the king's favour, and compounded with such persons for light sums, even before their legal conviction; whereby the offenders in that kind became the more backward to conform themselves to the king's laws, his Majesty not aiming at their punishment, but reformation. And although this indirect course was flatly forbidden by his royal declaration, set forth, 1610; yet was this corruption connived at, and is conceived a main cause of the great and speedy increase of popery.

12—17. *Archbishop Abbot casually killed a Keeper. The Mischance rigidly censured. Many Canonists quickly made. Archbishops may hunt by the Laws of the Land. Bishop Andrews, the Archbishop's great Friend; his Restitution and Mortification.* *A.D.* 1621.

About this time, a sad mischance befell George Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, in this manner: He was invited by the lord

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Zouch to Bramshill in Hampshire to hunt and kill a buck. The keeper ran amongst the herd of deer to bring them up to the fairer mark, whilst the archbishop, sitting on his horse-back, let loose a barbed arrow from a cross-bow, and unhappily hit the keeper. He was shot through the emmontery of the left arm; and the arrow dividing those grand auxiliary vessels, he died of the flux of blood immediately; nature having provided, that all the large vessels are defended externally by bones. He never spake after, as the person, still alive at Croydon, who brought off his body informed me; and died not of the ill-dressing of the wound, as some have printed it. This presently put an end to the sport of that day, and almost to the archbishop's mirth to the last of his life.

The fame of this man's death flew faster than the arrow that killed him. The archbishop's mischance, in many men, met not with so much pity as so sad a casualty did deserve. He was not much beloved by the inferior clergy, as over-rigid and austere. Indeed, he was mounted to command in the church, before he ever learned to obey therein; made a shepherd of shepherds, before he was a shepherd of sheep; consecrated bishop, before ever called to a pastoral charge; "which made," say some, "him not to sympathize with the necessities and infirmities of poor ministers." As for the superior clergy, some, for his irregularity and removal, expected preferment, as the second bowl is made first, and the third second, when that nearest the mark is violently removed.

It is strange to see, how suddenly many men started up canonists and casuists in their discourse, who formerly had small skill in that profession. In their ordinary talk they cited councils and synods. Some had up St. Jerome's speech: *Venatorem nunquam legimus sanctum.* Others were busy with the decree of the council of Orleans: (GRATIAN. 49 B. distinct. 34:) *Episcopo, Presbytero, aut Diacono canes ad venandum, aut accipitres habere non licet.** Others distinguished of a three-fold hunting: (1.) *Oppressiva.* (2.) *Arenaria.* (3.) *Saltuosa.* These maintained, that the two former were utterly unlawful, but the last might lawfully be used. Others distinguished of homicide: (1.) *Ex necessitate.* (2.) *Ex voluntate.* (3.) *Ex casu,* —the case in hand. In a word, this accident divided all great companies into *pro* and *con,* "for or against" the archbishop's irregularity on this occasion; yet all the force of their skill could not mount the guilt of this fact higher than the fountain thereof. When all was done, it was but casual homicide, who sought not for the man, but God was pleased to bring the man to his hand.

Sir Henry Saville, the archbishop's old acquaintance as his contemporary in Oxon, repaired on his behalf to the oracle of the law,

* Note, that these canons were never admitted laws in England.

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sir Edward Coke, whom he found a-bowling for his recreation. "My lord," said he, "I come to be satisfied of you in a point of law." "If it be a point of common-law," said sir Edward Coke, "I am unworthy to be a judge, if I cannot presently satisfy you; but if it be a point of statute-law, I am unworthy to be a judge, if I should undertake to satisfy you before I have consulted my books." "It is this," said sir Henry, "whether may a bishop hunt in a park by the laws of the realm?" "I can presently resolve you," said the judge; "he may hunt by the laws of the realm by this very token,—that there is an old law," (let the young students in that profession find it out,) "that a bishop, when dying, is to leave his pack of dogs (called *muta canum**) to the king's free use and disposal."

The party, whom the archbishop suspected his greatest foe, proved his most firm and effectual friend; even Lancelot Andrews, bishop of Winchester. For when several bishops inveighed against the irregularity of the archbishop, laying as much, if not more, guilt on the act than it would bear, he mildly checked them: "Brethren," said he, "be not too busy to condemn any for uncanonicals according to the strictness thereof, lest we render ourselves in the same condition. Besides, we all know, *Canones, qui dicunt lapsos post actam pœnitentiam ad clericatum non esse restituendos, de rigore loquuntur disciplinæ, non injiciunt desperationem indulgentiæ.*"

King James, being himself delighted in hunting, was sorry any ill accident should betide the users thereof. But when he was assured how deeply the archbishop laid this casualty to his heart, he much pitied him, and said to a lord, discoursing thereof, "It might have been my chance or thine." So that, not long after, the archbishop, who had lately retired himself to Guildford alms-house, (of his own founding,) returned to Lambeth, and to the performance of his office; though some squeamish and nice-conscienced elects scrupled to be consecrated by him.† He gave during his own life twenty pounds a-year to the man's widow; who was not long a widow, as quickly re-married. He kept a monthly fast on a Tuesday, as the day whereon this casualty befell. In a word, this keeper's death was the archbishop's mortification.

18—20. *A Project against the Clergy to get Money; declined by the Lord Treasurer, who is truly excused.*

At this time the king's exchequer grew very low, though Lionel Cranfield, lord treasurer, and earl of Middlesex, neglected no means for the improving thereof. In order whereunto, (reader, let this

* From the French *macte de chiens.* † See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 568.—EDIT.

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story pass into thy belief, on my credit, knowing myself sufficiently assured thereof,) a projector (such necessary evils then much countenanced) informed his Majesty of a way whereby speedily to advance much treasure. And how, forsooth, was it? Even that a new valuation should be made of all spiritual preferments, (which now in the king's books passed at under-rates,) to bring them up to or near the full value thereof. This would promote both the casual fines (as I may term them) of first-fruits, and the annual rent of tenths, to the great advantage of the crown. The king sent to the lord treasurer, demanding his judgment thereof.

The treasurer returned his Majesty an answer to this effect, so near as I can remember, from the mouth of a noble person then present: "Sir, you have ever been beheld as a great lover and advancer of learned men, and you know clergymen's education is chargeable to them or their friends. Long it is before they get any preferment; which at last, generally, is but small in proportion to their pains and expenses. Let it not be said, that you gained by grinding them. Other ways, less obnoxious to just censure, will be found out to furnish your occasions." The king commended Cranfield, as doing it only for trial; adding moreover, "I should have accounted thee a very knave, if encouraging me herein." And so the project was blasted for the present; as it was, when it budded again, propounded by some unworthy instrument in the reign of king Charles.

I know, some will suspect the treasurer more likely to start than crush so gainful a design, as who by all ways and means sought to increase the royal revenue. I know also, that some accuse him, as if making his master's wings to moult, thereby the better to feather his own nest. Indeed, he raised a fair estate; and surely, *he* will never be a good steward for his master, *who* is a bad one for himself. Yet on due and true inquiry it will appear, that though a high power did afterwards prosecute him, yet his innocence in the main preserved him to transmit a good estate to his posterity. So that much of truth must be allowed in his motto, *Perdidit fides*,* "He was lost at court for his fidelity" to king James, in sparing his treasure, and not answering the expensiveness of a great favourite.

21, 22. *The Lord Bacon outed for Bribery. An Essay at his Character.*

A parliament was called, January 20th, wherein Francis Bacon, lord chancellor, was outed his office for bribery; the frequent receiving thereof by him, or his, was plainly proved. Yet, for all his taking, just and unjust, he was exceedingly poor and much indebted. Wherefore, when motion was made, in the House of Commons, of

* Frequent in his house at Copthall.

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fining him some thousands of pounds, a noble member,* standing up, "desired that for two reasons his fine might be mitigated into forty shillings: First. Because that would be paid; whereas a greater sum would only make a noise, and never be paid. Secondly. The shame would be the greater, when such his prodigality that he, who had been so large a taker in his office, was reduced to such penury that forty shillings should be conceived a sufficient fine for his estate." But it was fine enough for him to lose his office, remitted to a mean and private condition.

None can character him to the life, save himself. He was in parts more than a man; who in any liberal profession might be whatsoever he would himself: a great honourer of ancient authors, yet a great deviser and practiser of new ways in learning: privy counsellor, as to king James, so to nature itself, diving into many of her abstruse mysteries. New conclusions he would dig out with mattocks of gold and silver; not caring what his experience cost him, expending on the trials of nature all and more than he got by the trials at the bar; posterity being the better for his—though he the worse for his own—dear experiments. He and his servants had all in common; the men never wanting what their master had; and thus what came flowing-in unto him was sent flying away from him, who, in giving of rewards, knew no bounds but the bottom of his own purse. Wherefore, when king James heard that he had given ten pounds to an under-keeper, by whom he had sent him a buck, the king said merrily, "I and he shall both die beggars;" which was condemnable prodigality in a subject. He lived many years after; and in his books will ever survive: in the reading whereof, modest men commend him in what they do—condemn themselves in what they do not—understand, as believing the fault in their own eyes, and not in the object.

23—26. Bishop Williams made Lord Keeper. Some causelessly offended. His eminent Abilities. Well manages the Place.

All stood expecting who should be Bacon's successor in the chancery. Sure, he must be some man of great and high abilities, (otherwise it would seem a valley next a mountain,) to maintain a convenient and comely level in that eminent place of judicature. Now whilst, in common discourse, some made this judge, others that serjeant, lord chancellor, king James made Dr. Williams, July 10th, lately and still † dean of Westminster, soon after bishop of

* Sir Fr. S. † In his *Examen Historicum*, Heylin says, "At that time Dr. Williams, then archbishop of York, was not dean of Westminster; that place being bestowed by his Majesty on Dr. Steward, clerk of the closet, *anno* 1645, being full six years before the time our author speaks of." Fuller, in his "Appeal," (p. 544,) replies:

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Lincoln. Though the king was the principal, the duke of Buckingham was more than the instrumental, advancer of him to the title of lord keeper, in effect the same in place and power with the lord chancellor.

The king's choice produced not so much dislike as general wonder. Yet some cavilled at Dr. Williams's age, as if it were preposterous for one to be able for that office before ancient; and as if one old enough for a bishop were too young for a chancellor. Others questioned his abilities for the place. "Could any expect to reap law where it was never sown? Who can apply the remedy whilst he is ignorant in the malady? Being never bred to know the true grounds and reasons of the common-law, how could he mitigate the rigour thereof in difficult cases? He would be prone to mistake the severity of the common-law for cruelty; and then unequal equity, and unconscionable conscience, must be expected from him. Besides, the place was proper not for the plain but guarded gown;* and the common-lawyers prescribed for six descents, (a strong title indeed,) wherein only men of their robe were advanced thereunto."†

Yet some of these altered their judgments, when considering his education, who for many years had been house-chaplain, yea, and more than chaplain,—intimate friend-servant to the old lord Egerton, who understood the chancellor-craft as well as any who ever sat in that place; and who, whilst living, imparted many mysteries of that court,—when dying, bequeathed many choice books and directions unto him. His parts were eminent, who could make any thing he read or heard his own, and could improve any thing which was his own to the utmost. Besides, for a clergyman to be lord chancellor was no usurpation, but a recovery; seeing ecclesiastics anciently were preferred to that place; and sir Nicholas Bacon, father to the last chancellor, received the Broad Seal from a churchman; namely, Nicholas Heath, archbishop of York.

Considering all disadvantages, he managed the office to admiration. I know it is reported by his adversaries to his discredit, that never lord keeper made so many orders, which afterwards were reversed; which whether true or no, I know not. Sure it is, that unpartial men of the best and clearest judgments highly commended him; and judge Yelverton himself, hearing him in a case of concern-

"The great distance of Exeter (where I lived) from Oxford may partly excuse my ignorance therein, who always beheld archbishop Williams as the last dean of Westminster; as, indeed, he was the last that ever was installed therein; and Dr. Steward never lived minute in, or gained farthing from, his deanery."—EDIT.

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 545.—EDIT. † Yet sir Christopher Hatton was never bred a lawyer.

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ment, ingenuously professed, "This is a most admirable man." Here he sat in the office so long, till, disdaining to be a dependent (as a penthouse) on the duke's favour, and desiring to stand an absolute structure on his own foundation, at court, he fell; as, God willing, shall in due time be related.

27. *A still-born Convocation.*

Should we now look into the Convocation, we should find them on Wednesdays and Fridays devoutly at the litany, otherwise having little employment, as empowered by no commission to alter any thing. So that, sitting amongst the tombs in Westminster church, they were, as once one of their Prolocutors said, *Viva cadavera inter mortuos*, as having no motion or activity allowed unto them.

28, 29. *Young Meric Casaubon vindicates his Father from Railers. The good Effect of his Endeavours.*

About this time, Meric Casaubon set forth a book in defence of his deceased father, against whom many had spit their venom. First. Heribert Roswed, a Jesuit; and after him, Andrew Scioppius, a renowned railer; one that is always incensed against learning and honesty, wheresoever he finds them severally, but implacable against such a man in whom both meet together. It seems it is his policy thus to seek to perpetuate his memory, by railing against eminent persons; hoping, that he shall jointly survive with their worth; whereas their light shall burn bright, when his snuff shall be trodden under foot. Then Julius Cæsar Bullinger, and Andrew Eudæmono-Joannes, a vizard-name, composed to fright fools, and make wise men laugh at it. Yea, though he had formerly met with a quarternion of learned confuters,—bishop Abbot, Dr. Prideaux, Dr. Collins, Mr. Burrhill,—young Casaubon, then Student in Christ-Church, thought it his duty farther to assert his father's memory, and to give a brief account of his life and conversation.

This is the benefit of learned men's marriage; God oftentimes so blessing it, that they need not go out of themselves for a champion to defend them, but have one springing from their own bowels. And his son, though, by reason of his age, low in himself, is tall when standing on the advantage-ground of his father's grave, whose memory he is to maintain. Yea, God seems so well-pleased with his piety, that his endeavours took such effect that no railing libels to that purpose came forth afterwards, which formerly had been so frequent:—whether because these curs, weary of their own barking, did even sneak away in silence; or because they had no more mind to challenge, seeing a defendant provided to undertake them.

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30. *William Laud, Bishop of St. David's.*

Upon the removal of Richard Milbourne to Carlisle, William Laud, President of St. John's-College in Oxford, was made bishop of St. David's. Of whom, because every one speaks so much, I will say the less. The rather, because at this time, and during the extent of our History,* this bishop lived in a private way, bare no great stream, as being before that the tide of greatness flowed in upon him. Yea, as yet he took more notice of the world, than the world did of him. Indeed, as the matter, whereof china-dishes are made, must lie some ages in the earth before it is ripened to perfection; so great persons are not fit for an historian's use to write freely of them, till some years after their decease, when their memories can neither be marred with envy, nor mended with flattery. However, his good deeds to St. John's-College in Oxford must not be forgotten; yea, that whole university (if afraid in English to speak in praise of his bounty) will adventure with safety to commend him in the Arabic tongue, whereof he founded them a professor.

31—35. *John King, Bishop of London, dies. His Eminencies. A loud Lie. William Cotton, Bishop of Exeter, dies, whom Valentine Carew succeeds. Robert Townson, Bishop of Salisbury, dies, whom John Davenant succeeds.*

This year was fatal to many eminent clergymen, beside others of inferior note. We begin with John King, bishop of London, formerly dean of Christ-Church, who died on Good-Friday of the stone: of ancient extraction, *in cujus genere vel indole nihil reperio mediocre, nihil quod non præcellens;* descended, saith "the Survey of London,"† from the Saxon kings in Devonshire by his father Philip King, some time page to king Henry VIII., nephew and heir to Robert King, last abbot of Osney, and first bishop of Oxford, who left him a great personal estate, which it seems was quickly consumed; so that this prelate used to say, he believed there was a fate in abbey-money no less than abbey-land, which seldom proved fortunate or of continuance to the owners.

He was chaplain to queen Elizabeth; and, as he was appointed by her Council to preach the first sermon at court when her body lay inhearsed in the chapel of Whitehall, so was he designed for the first sermon to her successor king James, at Charter-house, when he entered London, then sworn his first chaplain; who commonly called him "the KING of preachers." And sir Edward Coke

* When I wrote this, I intended to close my History at king James's death; since, by importunity urged to continue it farther. † P. 775.

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would say of him, "He was the best speaker in the Star-chamber in his time. Soon after he was made dean of Christ-Church, Oxon; and chosen one of the four preachers in the Conference at Hampton-Court;* then advanced to the bishopric of London; where he let the world see, his high place of government did not cause him to forget his office in the pulpit; showing, by his example, that a bishop might govern and preach too. In which service he was so frequent, that, unless hindered by want of health, he omitted no Sunday whereon he did not visit some pulpit in London, or near it.

The papists raised an aspersion, as false as foul, upon him, that at his death he was reconciled to the church of Rome; sufficiently confuted by those eye- and ear-witnesses, present at his pious departure. These slanders are no news to such as have read how Luther is traduced, by popish pens, to have died blaspheming; Carolostadius to have been carried quick by a devil; and Beza to have apostated before his death. In all which, truth hath triumphed over their malicious forgeries. Something bishop King endeavoured in the repairing of St. Paul's. But, alas! a private man's estate may be invisibly buried under the rubbish of the least chapel therein. By order in his will, he provided, that nothing should be written on his plain grave-stone, save only *Resurgam;* and still he is alive, both in his memory and happy posterity. George Mountaine, bishop of Lincoln,† succeeded him in his see; who, when his great house-keeping, and magnificent entertaining of king James, shall be forgotten, will longer survive for his bountiful benefaction to Queen's-College in Cambridge, whereof he was Fellow and Proctor.

Secondly. William Cotton, bishop of Exeter, born in Cheshire, formerly archdeacon of Lewes: one of a stout spirit, and a great maintainer of conformity against the opposers thereof in his diocess. Valentine Carew, dean of St. Paul's, and Master of Christ-College in Cambridge, of a court-like carriage and stout spirit, succeeded him in Exeter; which place can give the best account of his behaviour therein.

Thirdly. Robert Townson, born in Cambridge, Fellow of Queen's-College, dean of Westminster; of a comely carriage, courteous nature, an excellent preacher. He left his wife and many children neither plentifully provided for, nor destitute of maintenance; which rather hastened than caused the advancement of John Davenant, his brother-in-law, to succeed him in the bishopric of Salisbury.

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 529.—EDIT.

† Born at Thame in Oxfordshire.

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36—38. *The Death of Dr. Andrew Willet, of Dr. Richard Parry, and of Mr. Francis Mason.*

Therein also expired Andrew Willet, doctor of divinity, god-son to Andrew Pearne, dean of Ely, where he was born; brought up in Christ-College in Cambridge; who ended his pious life, being much bruised with a fall from his horse: a man of no little judgment, and greater industry, not unhappy in controversies, but more happy in Comments, and one that had a large soul in a narrow estate. For, his charge being great, (may his children remember and practise their father's precepts!) and means small, (as more proportioned to his desires than deserts,) he was bountiful above his ability, and doubled what he gave by cheerful giving it. He was buried in his parish at Barley, in Hertfordshire. Happy village! which lost such a light, and yet was not left in darkness, only exchanging blessings, the Rev. Dr. Brownrigg succeeding him.

Nor must we forget Richard Parry, doctor of divinity, bishop of St. Asaph, who this year exchanged this life for a better. He was first bred in Christ-Church in Oxford, where he made plentiful proceeding in learning and religion, and thence was advanced to the deanery of Bangor; on whom bishop Godwin bestows this (call it compliment or) character: *Cui eruditione, cæterisque episcopalibus virtutibus utinam egomet tam illi essem æqualis, quàm ille mihi ætate, studiorumque academicorum tempore, locoque.**

We conclude this year with the death of Mr. Francis Mason, to whose worthy book, *De Ministerio Anglicano*, we have been so much beholden. Nor will it be amiss to insert his epitaph:—

Prima Deo cui cura fuit sacrare labores,
Cui studium sacris invigilare libris;
Ecce sub hoc tandem requievit marmore MASON,
Expectans Dominum spe que fideque suum.

He was born in the bishopric of Durham, brought up in the university of Oxford, bachelor of divinity, Fellow of Merton-College, chaplain to king James, rector of Orford in Suffolk, where he lies buried, and where he built the parsonage-house. He had three children by his loving wife Elizabeth, who erected a fair monument to his memory.

* GODWIN *in Episcopis Asaphensibus.*

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SECTION VI.

TO SAMUEL MICO, OF LONDON, ALDERMAN.

You have not *spent*, but *laid out*, much time in Italy, to the great improvement of your judgment and estate. How cunning chapmen those countrymen are in buying and selling, is not to you unknown; but this Section presents you with an Italian cardinal, a most crafty broker in matters of religion, till at last he deceived himself. Peruse it, I pray; and if the reading thereof can add nothing to your knowledge, the writing of it may serve as my acknowledgment of your favours received.

1—19. *The Causes of Spalato's Coming-over. His bountiful Entertainment. He is richly preferred by King James. His great Avarice. Another Instance of his ungrateful Covetousness. His learned Writings against Romish Error. The Jeerer jeered. Spalato's Hypocrisy discovered. He is incensed with a Repulse. Reasons pleaded for his Return. Spalato's second Letter to King James; desires in vain still to stay; departeth to Rome; returns to his railing Vomit; lives at Rome not loved, and dies unlamented. Cardinal Clesel's neglected Friendship destructive to Spalato. Spalato's Body burned after his Death. The Word "Puritan," how first abused by Spalato. His unpartial Character. A. D.* 1622.

LATELY we made mention of the coming-over of Marcus Antonius de Dominis, the archbishop of Spalato, into England,* and now shall prosecute that subject at large. For, this year began happily, because with the end of that arrant *apostata* in this land, and his fair riddance out of the limits thereof. He had fourteen years been archbishop of Spalato in Dalmatia, under the State of Venice; and some five years since, to wit, A. D. 1616, came over into England. Conscience in show, and covetousness in deed, caused his coming hither.† He pretended to have discovered innumerable novelties and pernicious errors in the court of Rome,‡ injuriously engrossing the right and honour of the universal church. He complained, many points were obtruded on men's consciences as

* *Vide supra*, in this volume, book IX. sect. IV. parag. 42, p. 265. † See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 546.—EDIT. ‡ In his book called *Consilium Profectionis*, pp. 15—17.

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articles of faith, which Christ in the scripture never instituted. He accounted the Romish church, "mystical Babylon and Sodom;" * and the pope, "Nimrod, a tyrant, schismatic, heretic, yea, even antichrist himself."† But that which sharpened his pen against the pope was a particular grudge against pope Paul, who had ordered him to pay a yearly pension of five hundred crowns, out of his bishopric, to one Andreutius, a suffragan bishop; which this archbishop refused to do, complaining, it was unjust, and imposed without his knowledge and consent. The matter is brought to the *Rota*, or Court of Rome, where "the wheel" went on the wrong side for our Spalato; who, angry that he was cast in his cause, posts out of Italy, through Germany, into the Low Countries. Here he stayed awhile, and tampered for preferment; till, finding the roof of their church too low for his lofty thoughts, and their presbyterian government uncomplying with his archi-episcopal spirit, he left the Netherlands, and came over into England.

It is almost incredible, what flocking of people there was to behold this old archbishop, now a new convert. Prelates and peers presented him with gifts of high valuation. Indeed, it is a humour of our English, strangely to admire strangers, believing invisible perfections in them, above those of our land; a quality commendable in our countrymen whilst inclining them to hospitality, but sometimes betraying their credulity to be thereby dangerously deluded. He was feasted wheresoever he came; and the universities, when he visited them, addressed themselves to him in their solemn reception, as if he himself alone had been an university.

But, above all, king James, whose hands were seldom shut to any, and always open to men of merit, was most munificent unto him; highly rejoicing, that Rome had lost—and England got—such a jewel. "How many of English youth were tolled out of our universities into Italy, and there taught treason and heresy together! This aged prelate, of eminent parts, coming thence of his own accord, would make us plentiful reparation for the departure of many novices." The king consigned him to the archbishop of Canterbury for his present entertainment, till he might be accommodated to subsist of himself; and, as an earnest of his bounty, sent him to Lambeth a fair basin and bowl of silver; which Spalato received with this compliment: *Misit mihi rex Magnæ Britanniæ polubrum argenteum, ad abstergendas sordes Romanæ ecclesiæ; et poculum argenteum, ad imbibendam Evangelii puritatem:* "The king of Great Britain hath sent me a silver basin, to wash from me the filth of the Roman church; and a silver cup, to mind me to drink the purity of the gospel." Preferment is quickly found out,

* In his book called *Consilium Profectionis*, p. 34. † *Ibid.* p. 76.

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and conferred upon him: as, the deanery of Windsor, (though founded, not in a cathedral, but collegiate church,) one of the genteelest and entirest dignities of the land; the Mastership of the Hospital of the Savoy; with a good parsonage at West-Ilsley in Berkshire, being a Peculiar belonging to the episcopal jurisdiction of the dean of Windsor. And, finding one precedent in his predecessor, he collated this parsonage on himself, and there made shift for so much English as sufficed him to read the nine-and-thirty Articles, (as an auditor there present hath informed me,*) which formerly he had subscribed. Thus had he two houses furnished above plenty, even unto magnificence, and might alternately exchange society for privacy, at pleasure.

He improved the profit of his places to the utmost, and had a design to question all his predecessors' leases at the Savoy; and began to be very vexatious to his tenants. Some of them repaired to Dr. King, bishop of London; who, at their request, took Spalato to task, and as gravely as sharply reproved him; that, being a foreigner, he would fall out with natives, endeavouring to put others here out of their peaceable possessions, who himself had fled hither for his own refuge; especially, having professed in print, that he "had deposed all affection to—and gust of—earthly things;" † and that "he himself, being almost naked, did follow a naked Christ." ‡ Hereupon, at the reverend bishop's admonition, he let fall his former design. But, it was not the counsel of this KING, but of a greater king, which deterred him from his project; namely, king James himself, to whom Spalato complained, that the lands of the Savoy were let out for little rents, to the great loss of his place and poor therein; ("not that he cared for the poor, but bare the bag, and what was put into it;") acquainting his Majesty with his intent to rectify those abuses, and call those leases into question. To whom the king in some choler, *Extraneus, extraneus es! Relinque res sicut eas invenisti*, "You are a stranger, you are a stranger! Leave things as you found them." § And yet the same man would very passionately persuade others to bounty to the poor, though he would give nothing himself: witness his earnest moving the Chapter of Windsor in this kind; to whom one of the prebendaries answered, *Qui suadet, sua det*, "Let him that persuades others give something of his own."

I am also credibly informed, from an excellent hand, of the truth of this story:—Spalato had found a small flaw in a lease of value, which a gentlewoman of quality held of the dean and chapter of

* Mr. Cæsar Calendrine, minister of the Dutch church. † *In Præfat.* lib. i. *De Repub. Eccl.* num. 6. ‡ *Sor pri.* p. 191. § See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 578.—EDIT.

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Windsor. To her house he comes with all his men; where she magnificently entertains him, as overjoyed that her chief landlord came so courteously to visit her. Spalato next morning, after his plentiful supper, having settled himself in the parlour, suddenly cries out, *Abscedite omnes, abscedite;* "Be ye all gone, be ye gone;" intending to take possession for himself. The gentlewoman, perceiving him at this posture, with herself and servants well favouredly thrust him out of her house, coming-off with sufficient disgrace. Afterwards consulting the learned in our laws about the lease, they told him, that though possibly he might get the better of her in the common-law, yet the chancery would relieve her, who so dearly had bought, so truly had paid for, and so peaceably had possessed, her estate therein. "Fie for shame!" saith Spalato; "are your English laws so contrived, that what is done by one court may be undone by another?" This may suffice to evidence his avarice. Nor must it be forgotten, (though he pretended at his coming-over, that for conscience he freely left his archbishopric of Spalato,) that in very deed he resigned the same to his nephew, conditionally to pay him an annual pension out of it. *Sed magnus nebulo nil solvit.* "But the great knave pays me nothing;" as he himself complained to my reverend friend the archbishop of Armagh.

He falls now to perfect his books. For his works were not now composed, but corrected; not compiled, but completed; as being, though of English birth, of Italian conception. For, formerly the collections were made by him at Spalato, but he durst not make them public for fear of the Inquisition. His works (being three fair folios, *De Republicâ Ecclesiasticâ*) gave ample testimony of his sufficiency. Indeed, he had a controversial head, with a strong and clear style; nor doth a hair hang at the nib of his pen to blur his writings with obscurity: but, first understanding himself, he could make others understand him. His writings are of great use for the protestant cause. "Many," saith the prophet, "shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased," Dan. xii. 4. And surely the transcursion of Italians hither added much to the discovery of the papal abominations. Yet, allowing Spalato diligent in writing, his expression was a notorious hyperbole, when saying, "In reading, meditation, and writing I am almost pined away;" otherwise, his fat cheeks did confute his false tongue in that expression.*

Amongst other of his ill qualities, he delighted in jeering, and would spare none who came in his way. One of his sarcasms he unhappily bestowed on count Gondemar, the Spanish ambassador, telling him, that three turns at Tyburn was the only way to cure his

* *In lectione, meditatione, et scriptione penè marcesco.*—RESP. ARCHIEPIS. SPAL. *Feb.* 11, *ad Artic.* 3, 1622.

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fistula. The don, highly offended hereat, pained for the present more with this flout than his fistula, meditates revenge, and repairs to king James. He told his Majesty, that his charity, an error common in good princes, abused his judgment in conceiving Spalato a true convert, who still in heart remained a Roman catholic; (indeed, his Majesty had a rare felicity in discovering the falsity of witches, and forgery of such who pretended themselves possessed;) but, under favour, was deluded with this man's false spirit; and, by his Majesty's leave, he would detect unto him this his hypocrisy. The king cheerfully embraced his motion, and left him to the liberty of his own undertakings.

The ambassador writeth to his catholic Majesty, he to his Holiness, Gregory XV., that Spalato might be pardoned, and preferred in the church of Rome; which was easily obtained. Letters are sent from Rome to count Gondemar, written by the cardinal Millin, to impart them to Spalato, informing him, that the pope had forgiven and forgotten all which he had done or written against the catholic religion; and, upon his return, would prefer him to the bishopric of Salerno in Naples, worth twelve thousand crowns by the year. A cardinal's hat also should be bestowed upon him. And, if Spalato with his hand subscribed to this letter, would renounce and disclaim what formerly he had printed, an apostolical brief, with pardon, should solemnly be sent him to Brussels. Spalato embraceth the motion, likes the pardon well, the preferment better, accepts both, recants his opinions largely, subscribes solemnly, and thanks his Holiness affectionately for his favour. Gondemar carries his subscription to king James; who is glad to behold the hypocrite unmasked, appearing in his own colours; yet the discovery was concealed and lay dormant some days in the deck, which was in due time to be awakened.

Now, it happened a false rumour was spread, that Toby Matthew, archbishop of York, who died yearly in report, was certainly deceased. Presently posts Spalato to Theobald's; becomes an importunate petitioner to the king for the vacant archbishopric, and is as flatly denied; the king conceiving he had given enough already to him if grateful, too much if ungrateful; besides, the king would never bestow an episcopal charge in England on a foreigner, no, not on his own countrymen; some Scottish-men being preferred to deaneries, none to bishoprics.* Spalato, offended at this repulse, (for he had rather had York than Salerno, as equal in wealth, higher in dignity, nearer in place,) requests his Majesty, by his letter, to grant his good leave to depart the kingdom, and to return into Italy; pope Paul, his

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 548.—EDIT.

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fierce foe, being now dead, and Gregory XV., his fast friend, now seated in the chair. The copy of whose letter we have here inserted :—

"TO THE HIGH AND MIGHTY PRINCE JAMES, BY THE GRACE OF GOD, KING OF GREAT BRITAIN, &c., DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c.

"M. ANTHONY DE DOMINIS, archbishop of Spalato, wisheth all happiness.

"Those two popes who were most displeased at my leaving of Italy, and coming into England, Paulus Quintus, and he who now liveth, Gregory the fifteenth, have both laboured to call me back from hence, and used divers messages for that purpose; to which, notwithstanding, I gave no heed. But now of late, when this same pope, being certified of my zeal in advancing and furthering the union of all Christian churches, did hereupon take new care and endeavour to invite me again unto him, and signified withal, that he did seek nothing therein but God's glory, and to use my poor help also to work the inward peace and tranquillity of this your Majesty's kingdom; mine own conscience told me that it behoved me to give ready ear unto his Holiness. Beside all this, the diseases and inconveniences of old age growing upon me, and the sharpness of the cold air of this country, and the great want (I feel here amongst strangers) of some friends and kinsfolks, who might take more diligent and exact care of me, make my longer stay in this climate very offensive to my body. Having therefore made an end of my Works, and enjoyed your Majesty's goodness, in bestowing on me all things needful and fit for me, and in heaping so many and so royal benefits upon me, I can do no less than promise perpetual memory and thankfulness, and tender to you my continuance in your Majesty's service wheresoever I go, and will become in all places a reporter and extoller of your Majesty's praises. Now, if my business proceed, and be brought to a good end, I well hope that I shall obtain your Majesty's good leave to depart, without the least diminution of your Majesty's wonted favour towards me. I hear of your Majesty's late great danger, and congratulate with your Majesty for your singular deliverance from it by God's great goodness, who hath preserved you safe from it, as one most dear unto him, for the great good of his church, I hope. Farewell, the glory and ornament of princes.

"Your Majesty's ever most devoted servant,

"ANT. DE DOMINIS,

"Archbishop of Spalato.

"From THE SAVOY, *January* 16*th*, 1621."

To this letter no present answer was returned; but five days after, (January 21st,) the bishops of London and Durham, with the

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dean of Westminster, by his Majesty's direction, repaired to this archbishop, propounding unto him sixteen queries, all arising out of his former letter; and requiring him to give the explanation of five most material under his hand, for his Majesty's greater satisfaction; which he did accordingly, yet not so clearly but that it occasioned a second Meeting, January 31st; wherein more interrogatories were by command propounded unto him; which, with his answers thereunto, because publicly printed, are purposely omitted: and notwithstanding all obstructions, Spalato still continued his importunity to depart.

He pretended many reasons for his return: First. Longing after his own country. Who so *iron*-hearted as not to be drawn home with the *loadstone* of his native land? Secondly. To see his friends, kindred, nephews, but especially his beloved niece. A story hangs thereon; and it is strange, what was but whispered in Italy was heard over so plain into England. In the Hebrew tongue nephews and nieces are called "sons and daughters;" but the Italian clergy, on the contrary, often term their sons and daughters "nephews and nieces." Thirdly. The late-pretended discovery of many errors in our English church, (how quick-sighted did the promised bishopric make him!) whereof formerly he took no notice, and all which are learnedly answered in the posthume book of Dr. Crackenthorpe, carefully set forth by Dr. Barkham, after the author's death; and may all orphan-works have the happiness of so faithful a guardian! Lastly, and chiefly: As he confesseth himself, *allectus pretio octuplicis stipendii*, "allured with the reward of a salary eight times as great" as his revenues in England. In which computation, as he ungratefully depresseth the value of what he had in hand; so he undiscreetly advanced the worth of what in hope he promised himself: not to speak of the difference of Italian ducats when told *out*, and when told *off* at so great a distance.

In pursuance of which his desire, he wrote a second letter to king James: the tenor whereof we thought fit here to insert for the better clearing of the matter:—

"MOST EXCELLENT PRINCE, AND MOST GRACIOUS LORD,

"As I signified lately unto your Majesty in my former letter, I neither ought nor could neglect the pope's fair and gracious invitation of me; especially when I saw that he dealt with me concerning the service of Christ and his church; and, being now at length better certified that all things are in a readiness for me, I am tied to my former promises. Yet I make it my humble request, that I may take my journey with your Majesty's good-will. And for that purpose, I do now most humbly and earnestly crave your leave by

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these letters, which I would much more willingly have begged by word of mouth in your presence, that I might have parted with your Majesty with all due thanks and submission, but that my access to your Majesty might have confirmed the vain and foolish rumours of the people.* I beseech your Majesty, therefore, to vouchsafe to give me some letters, whereby my departure may be made both safe and creditable. As for the ecclesiastical titles and revenues which I hold by your Majesty's gift, I shall resign them by public indentures. So, from the bottom of my heart, I do commit myself to your royal favour, and vow myself your servant for ever.

"Your Majesty's, &c.,

"M. ANTHONY DE DOMINIS,

"Archbishop of Spalato.

"LONDON: *From the Savoy, Feb. 3rd.*"

This letter produced new interrogatories, and several fruitful controversies, one always begetting another; but the last was a sharp one at Lambeth, March 30th, which cut off all future discourse. For, a commission was issued out to the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Lincoln, (lord keeper of the Great Seal of England,) London, Durham, Winchester, and several other Privy Counsellors; before whom Spalato personally appeared: when the archbishop of Canterbury, in the name of the rest, by his Majesty's special command, in a long Latin speech, recapitulated the many misdemeanours of Spalato, principally insisting on his changing of religion, as appeared by his purpose of returning to Rome; and that, contrary to the laws of the realm, he had held correspondency by letters with the pope, without the privity of the king's Majesty. To which charge when Spalato had made rather a shuffling excuse than a just defence, the archbishop, in his Majesty's name, commanded him to depart the kingdom, at his own peril, within twenty days, and never to return again. To this he promised obedience; protesting he would ever justify the church of England for orthodox in fundamentals, even in the presence of the pope or whomsoever, though with the loss of his life.

However, "loath to depart" was his last tune; and no wonder, if well considering whence and whither he went. He left a land where he lacked nothing, but a thankful heart to God, and a contented soul in himself. He went to a place of promise, suspicious whether ever it should be performed. He feared (not without cause) he might lose his grey head to fetch a red hat. And an ominous instance was lately set before his eyes: one Fulgentius, a Minorite,

* Namely, that the king had employed Spalato to the pope, to make a reconciliation betwixt us and Rome.

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had inveighed at Venice against the pope, and was by his nuncio trained to Rome, on promise of safe-conduct: where being favoured and feasted at first, soon after in the field of Flora he was burned to ashes. This made Spalato effectually, but secretly, to deal with his friends in the English Court, that his Majesty would permit him to stay; but in vain; and, therefore, within the time appointed, he went over in the same ship with count Schwartzenburgh, the emperor's ambassador, returning hence into Flanders.

And, now Spalato is shipped, a good wind and fair weather go after him! His sails shall not be stuffed with a blast of my curses, conceiving that his fault was sufficient punishment. But others * have compared him to "the house swept, and garnished," to which the devil returned "with seven spirits more wicked than himself," Matt. xii. 44; which they thus reckon up: Avarice, Ambition, and Hypocrisy, whilst he stayed here; Apostasy and Perjury, when going hence; Ingratitude and Calumny, when returned to Rome. Yea, they find as many punishments lighting on him: God angry with him, the devil tormenting him, his conscience corroding him, the world cursing him, the true church disdaining him, protestant pens confuting him, and the pope, at last, in revenge executing him. And now *the master* hath had the just shame for his apostasy, let *the man* receive the due praise of his perseverance;—one Gio Pietro Paravicino, a Grison, who waited on Spalato in his chamber; whom neither frights nor flatteries could remove, but he died in Holland a firm professor of the protestant religion!

Being come to Brussels, he recants his religion, and rails bitterly on the English church; calling his coming hither "an unhappy, irrational, pestiferous, devilish voyage,† to which he was moved with sickness of soul, impatience, and a kind of frenzy of anger." ‡ Here he stayed six months for the pope's brief; which was long a-coming, and at last was utterly denied him. Insomuch that Spalato was fain to run the hazard, and desperately adventure to Rome; having nothing *in scriptis* for his security, but barely presuming on promises, and the friendship of Gregory XV., now pope, formerly his colleague and chamber-fellow.

I find not his promised bishopric conferred upon him; who as well might have been made primate and metropolitan of *Terra Incognita*. Yea, returning to Sodom, (though not turned into "a pillar of salt,") he became unsavoury salt, cared for of no side. Such a crooked stick, which had bowed all ways, was adjudged unfit to make a beam or rafter, either in popish or protestant church. And now, what would not make timber to build, must make fuel to

* Dr. Barkham in his Dedicatory Epistle to king James. † In his book called *Consilium Reditûs*, p. 9. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 5.

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burn; to which end he came at last. But for some years he lived at Rome, on a pension which pope Gregory assigned him out of his own revenues; until there arose a new pope, who never knew Spalato with the least knowledge of approbation; namely, Urban VIII., brought in by the anti-faction of the French. He, finding his revenue charged with a pension paid to his adversary, (thrift is a flower even in the triple crown!) prohibits the future issuing-out of the same. His pension being stopped, Spalato's mouth is open, and passionately discourseth reputed heresy in several companies.

There was residing at Rome one cardinal Clesel, a High German; betwixt whom and Spalato formerly great familiarity, whilst Clesel was the pope's legate *de Latere* with the emperor at Vienna, where Spalato negotiated business for the state of Venice. This cardinal expected Spalato's applications unto him, after he was returned to Rome; which he refused, being (belike) too high in the instep, or rather too stiff in the knees, to bow to beg a kindness. Clesel, perceiving his amity made contemptible, resolved to make his enmity considerable; yet, dissembling friendship for the better opportunity of revenge, he invites Spalato to supper; and, a train of discourse being laid at a liberal meal, Spalato is as free in talking as in eating; and lets fall this expression, that, though divers had endeavoured it, no catholic had as yet answered his books, *De Republicâ Ecclesiasticâ*; but adding moreover, that he himself was able to answer them. Presently his person is clapped into prison, his study seized on, wherein many papers were found speaking heresy enough; his adversaries being admitted sole interpreters thereof.

As for his death, some months after, some say he was stifled, others strangled, others stabbed, others starved, others poisoned, others smothered to death. But my intelligence from his own kindred at Venice informs me, that he died a natural death; adding, moreover, *non sine præveniente gratiâ*, "not without God's preventing grace;" for, had his life been longer, his death had been more miserable. "Yea," they say, "the pope sent four of his sworn physicians, to recognise his corpse; who on their oath deposed, that no impression of violence was visible thereon." However, after his death, his excommunicated corpse was put to public shame, and solemnly proceeded against in the Inquisition for relapsing into heresy since his return to Rome. His kindred were summoned to appear for him, if they pleased; but durst not plead for a dead man, for fear of infection of the like punishment on themselves. Several articles of heresy are charged upon him; and he, found convict thereof, is condemned to have his body burned by the public executioner in the field of Flora; which was performed accordingly. Such honour have all apostates!

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We must not forget, that Spalato (I am confident I am not mistaken therein) was the first who, professing himself a protestant, used the word "Puritan," to signify the defenders of matters doctrinal in the English church. Formerly the word was only taken to denote such as dissented from the hierarchy in discipline and church-government; which now was extended to brand such as were Anti-Arminians in their judgments. As Spalato first abused the word in this sense, so we could wish he had carried it away with him in his return to Rome. Whereas, now leaving the word behind him in this extensive signification thereof, it hath since by others been improved to asperse the most orthodox in doctrine, and religious in conversation.*

He was of a comely personage, tall stature, gray beard, grave countenance, fair language, fluent expression, somewhat abdominous and corpulent in his body; of so imperious and domineering spirit, that, (as if the tenant were the landlord,) though a stranger, he offered to control the archbishop of Canterbury in his own house: an excellent preacher, (every first Sunday in the month to the Italian nation at Mercers' chapel,) as his sermon called *Scopleos*, or "the rocks," doth plentifully witness; wherein he demonstrates, that all the errors of the Roman church proceed from their pride and covetousness. And (under the rose be it spoken) if the great ship of Rome split itself on these Rocks, Spalato's own pinnace made shipwreck of the faith on the same, 1 Tim. i. 19, which were his bosom sins. In a word: he had too much wit and learning to be a cordial papist, and too little honesty and religion to be a sincere protestant.

20. *Three other Italian Jugglers.*

About the same time three other Italians made their escape into England. One, Antonio, (as I take it, a Capuchin,) who here married a wife, and was beneficed in Essex. The other two, Benedictines; living, the one with the archbishop of Canterbury; the other, with the archbishop of York. All these three were neither good dough nor good bread, but, like Ephraim, "a cake not turned," Hosea vii. 8, though they pretended to true conversion. The first of these, being kin to Spinola, the Low-Country general, was by him (on what terms I know not) trained over and reconciled to Rome. The other two (only racking, no thorough-paced, protestants) watched their opportunity to run away. Yet let not this breed in us a jealousy of all Italian converts; seeing Vergerius, Peter Martyr, Emmanuel Tremellius, &c., may reconcile us to a good opinion of them, and to believe, that God hath "a few names even in Sardis," Rev. iii. 4, where the throne of the beast is erected.

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 510.—EDIT.

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And, indeed, Italian converts, like Origen, "where they do well, none better; where ill, none worse."

21—24. *The Spanish Match, the Discourse-general. Gondemar procures the Enlargement of all Jesuits. A malicious Comment on a merciful Text. Bitter Compliments betwixt Gondemar and the Earl of Oxford.*

All men's mouths were now filled with discourse of prince Charles's match with Donna Maria, the Infanta of Spain. The protestants grieved thereat, fearing that this marriage would be the funeral of their religion:* and their jealousies so descanted thereon, that they suspected, if taking effect, more water of Tiber, than Thames, would run under London-bridge. The church-catholics grew insolent thereat; and such who formerly had a pope in their belly, showed him now in their tongues and faces, avouching their religion, which they concealed before. Yet at last this match (so probable) brake off, heaven forbidding the bans, even at the third and last asking thereof.

Count Gondemar was the active instrument to advance this match; who so carried himself in the twilight of jest-earnest, that with his jests he pleased his Majesty of England, and with his earnest he pleasured his master of Spain. Having found out the length of king James's foot, he fitted him with so easy a shoe, which pained him not,—no, not when he was troubled with the gout; this cunning Don being able to please him in his greatest passion. And although the match was never effected, yet Gondemar, whilst negotiating the same, in favour to the catholic cause, procured of his Majesty the enlargement of all priests and Jesuits through the English dominions.

* In his *Examen*, Heylin very improperly intimates, that the only persons who entertained such fears were the Puritans; and immediately subjoins: "To these nothing was more terrible than the match with Spain; fearing, and perhaps justly fearing, that the king's alliance with that crown might arm him both with power and counsel to suppress those practices which have since proved the funeral of the church of England." To this remark Fuller's reply, fearlessly written more than a year prior to the Restoration, is a very characteristic and touching passage, highly creditable to the integrity of his heart and his sincerity as a churchman: "By *the church of England*, the *Animadverter* meaneth, as I believe, the hierarchy, the funeral whereof for the present we do behold. However, I hope there is still a church in England alive, or else we were all in a sad, yea, in an unsalvable, condition: the state of which church of England I compare to Eutychus, Acts xx. 9. *A* suspect it hath formerly slept too soundly in ease and security. Sure I am, it is since, with him, 'fallen down from the third loft;' from honour into contempt, from unity into faction, from verity into dangerous errors. Yet I hope, that her life is still left in her; I mean, so much soundness left, that persons born, living, and dying therein are capable of salvation. Let such who think the church of England sick pray for her wonderful recovery, and such as think her dead pray for her miraculous resurrection." ("Appeal of injured Innocence," pp. 548—550.)—EDIT.

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The actions of princes are subject to be censured, even of such people who reap the greatest benefit thereby; as here it came to pass. These Jesuits, when at liberty, did not gratefully ascribe their freedom to his Majesty's mercy, but only to his willingness to rid and clear his gaols, over-pestered with prisoners; as if his Majesty, if so minded, could not have made the gallows the besom to sweep the gaol, and as easily have sent these prisoners from Newgate up westward by land, as over southward by sea. What moved king James to this lenity at this time, I neither do know, nor will inquire. Surely, such as sit at the stern and hold the helm can render a reason why they steer to this or that point of the compass, though they give not to every mariner (much less passenger in the ship) an account thereof. I, being only by my place ὑπηρέτης, "a rower," or minister in the vessel, content myself in silence with the will of the master thereof. But let us exemplify the lord keeper's letter to this purpose:—

"TO THE JUDGES.

"AFTER my hearty commendations to you: His Majesty, having resolved, (out of deep reasons of state, and in expectation of the like correspondence from foreign princes, to the profession of our religion,) to grant some grace and connivancy to the imprisoned papists of this kingdom, hath commanded me to pass some Writs under the Broad Seal to this purpose; requiring the Judges of every circuit to enlarge the said prisoners according to the tenour and effect of the same. I am to give you to understand (from his Majesty) how his Majesty's royal pleasure is, that, upon receipt of these Writs, you shall make no niceness or difficulty to extend that his princely favour to all such papists as you shall find prisoners in the gaols of your circuits, for any church-recusancy whatsoever, or refusing the oath of supremacy, or dispersing popish books, or hearing, saying of mass, or any other point of recusancy, which doth touch or concern religion only, and not matters of state. And so I bid you farewell.

"Your loving friend,

"JOHN LINCOLN.

"WESTMINSTER-COLLEGE, *August* 2, 1622."

Now, although one will easily believe many priests and Jesuits were set at liberty, yet surely that gentleman * is no true accountant, if affirming no fewer than four thousand to be set free at this time; especially considering, that one,† who undertakes to give-in a perfect list of all the Jesuits in England, and is since conceived rather to asperse some protestants than conceal any papists, cannot mount their number higher than two hundred twenty-and-five. To

* MR. PRYNNE *in loc.* † JOHN GEE in his "Foot out of the Snare,"

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which, if such whom he detects for popish physicians, with all those whom he accuses for popish books, be cast in, they will not make up the tithe of four thousand.

However, most distasteful was Gondemar's greatness to the English ancient nobility; who manifested the same as occasion was offered, as by this one instance may appear:—Henry Vere, earl of Oxford, chanced to meet with count Gondemar at a great entertainment. The Don accosted him with high compliments, vowing, that, amongst all the nobility of England, there was none he had tendered his service with more sincerity than to his lordship; though hitherto such his unhappiness, that his affections were not accepted according to his integrity who tendered them. "It seems," replied the earl of Oxford, "that your lordship had good leisure, when stooping in your thoughts to one so inconsiderable as myself, whose whole life hath afforded but two things memorable therein." "It is your lordship's modesty," returned Gondemar, "to undervalue yourself, whilst we, the spectators of your honour's deserts, make a true and unpartial estimate thereof. Hundreds of memorables have met in your lordship's life. But, good my lord, what are those two signal things more conspicuous than all the rest?" "They are these two," said the earl; I was born in the [year] eighty-eight, and christened on the fifth of November."

25—27. The Death of Mr. Henry Copinger. A free Patron and faithful Incumbent well met. His long and good Life.

Henry Copinger, formerly fellow of St. John's-College in Cambridge, prebendary of York, once chaplain to Ambrose earl of Warwick, (whose funeral sermon he preached,) made Master of Magdalen-College in Cambridge, by her Majesty's mandate, though afterwards resigning his right at the queen's (shall I call it?) request, to prevent trouble, ended his religious life. He was the sixth son of Henry Copinger, of Buxhall in Suffolk, esquire, by Agnes, daughter of sir Thomas Jermyn. His father on his death-bed asking him what course of life he would embrace; he answered, he intended to be a divine. "I like it well," said the old gentleman, "otherwise what shall I say to Martin Luther, when I shall see him in heaven, and he knows that God gave me eleven sons, and I made not one of them a minister?" An expression proportionable enough to Luther's judgment, who maintained, some hours before his death, that the saints in heaven shall knowingly converse one with another.*

Lavenham living fell void, which both deserved a good minister, being a rich parsonage, and needed one, it being more than sus-

* PANTALEON *De illustribus Germaniæ, in Vitâ Lutheri*, p. 82.

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picious that Dr. Reynolds, late incumbent, who ran away to Rome, had left some superstitious leaven behind him. The earl of Oxford, being patron, presents Mr. Copinger to it, but adding withal, that he would pay no tithes of his park, being almost half the land of the parish. Copinger desired to resign it again to his lordship, rather than by such sinful gratitude to betray the rights of the church. "Well! if you be of that mind, then take the tithes," saith the earl; "I scorn that my estate should swell with church-goods." However, it afterwards cost Mr. Copinger sixteen hundred pounds, in keeping his questioned—and recovering his detained—rights, in suit with the agent for the next minor, earl of Oxford, and others; all which he left, to his church's quiet possession, being zealous in God's cause, but remiss in his own.

He lived forty-and-five years the painful parson of Lavenham; in which market-town there were about nine hundred communicants, amongst whom, all this time, no difference did arise which he did not compound. He had a bountiful hand, and plentiful purse, (his paternal inheritance, by death of elder brothers, and other transactions, descending upon him,) bequeathing twenty pounds in money, and ten pounds *per annum*, to the poor of the parish; in the chancel whereof he lieth buried under a fair monument, dying on St. Thomas's day, in the threescore-and-twelfth year of his age.

28. *A Conference with Jesuits.*

Papists now appearing very daring, a conference, or dispute, (if you please,) was entertained betwixt Dr. White and Dr. Featley, protestants, father Fisher and father Sweet, Jesuits, December 21st, on this occasion: Edward Buggs, esq., living in London, aged seventy, and a professed protestant, was in his sickness seduced to the Romish religion; but, recovering, this dispute was held at his request, in the house of sir Humphrey Linde, a learned and religious gentleman; about the visibility of the church, and the tenets now maintained by the protestants to have been before Luther. The printed book hereof may satisfy the reader; as this conference did so satisfy Mr. Buggs, that, renouncing his former wavering, he was confirmed in the protestant truth.

29—34. *The fatal Vespers at Blackfriars. Death without giving any Warning. "I will sing of Mercy and Justice." A fair and true Verdict. Beware wild Wishes. A Caveat at Rome. A. D.* 1623.

Now happened the sad vespers, or doleful evening-song, at Blackfriars, in London, October 26th. Father Drury, a Jesuit of excellent morals and ingratiating converse, (wanting nothing, saving the

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embracing of the truth, to make him valuable in himself and acceptable to others,) preached in a great upper room in Blackfriars, next to the house of the French ambassador, where some three hundred persons were assembled. His text, "O thou ungracious servant! I forgave thee all the debt, because thou desiredst me; shouldest not thou also have had compassion on thy fellow-servant?" &c., Matthew xviii. 32. In application whereof, he fell upon a bitter invective against the protestants.

His sermon began to incline to the middle, the day to the end thereof; when on the sudden the floor fell down whereon they were assembled. It gave no charitable warning groan beforehand, but cracked, brake, and fell, all in an instant. Many were killed, more bruised, all frighted. Sad sight to behold the flesh and blood of different persons mingled together, and the brains of one on the head of another! One lacked a leg; another, an arm; a third, whole and entire, wanted nothing but breath, stifled in the ruins. Some protestants, coming merely to see, were made to suffer, and bear the heavy burden of their own curiosity. About ninety-five persons were slain outright; amongst whom Mr. Drury and Mr. Rodiat, priests, with the lady Webbe, were of the greatest quality. Nor must we forget, how, when one comforted a maid-child about ten years of age, exhorting her to patience for her mother and sister, the child replied, that, however it fared with them, this would be a great scandal to their religion; a speech commendable in any, admirable in one of her age.

Yet marvellous was God's mercy in the preservation of some there present. One corner of the first floor rather hung still than stood, (without any beams,) by the relative strength from the side walls; and about twenty persons upon it. These beheld that tragedy wherein instantly they expected to act; and, which was the worst, their fall would not only kill them, but by their weight they should be the unwilling slayers of others, who as yet laboured for life beneath them. It was put into their minds with their knives (fright adding force unto them) to cut their passage out of a loam wall into the next chamber, whereby their lives were preserved. Of those that fell, one was kept alive, (though embraced by death on either side,) a chair falling hollow upon her. Thus, any arms are of proof, if Divine Providence be but pleased to put them on.

Next day was empannelled a coroner's inquest of substantial citizens, to inquire into the cause and manner of their death. These found it done neither by miracle nor malice, no plot or indirect practice appearing, (as some no less falsely than maliciously gave it out,) the roof standing, side-wall sound, foundation firm, only the floor broken, by God's wisdom permitting it, and their own folly

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occasioning it. Nor could the carpenter be justly accused for slight and unfaithful building, making it substantial enough for any private purpose; and none could foresee that they would bring a church into a chamber. Twenty of the poorer sort were buried hard by in one grave, and the rest bestowed by their friends in several places of sepulture.

The sad death of these persons, the object of pity to all good and wise men, was the subject of envy to some, so sillily superstitious as to repine at it,—that they had not a share in this slaughter. On this account, because the priest or clerk after every mass in the city of London solemnly invited the people present with a loud voice to say three *Pater nosters* and three *Ave Marias* for the souls of such as died in Blackfriars, particularly, one Parker,* who narrowly escaped the danger there, professed, that nothing grieved him more but that he had not been one of those that died by the aforesaid mischance. But see what happened: This man, going over to Douay to take priestly orders the week following, was drowned in his passage. Thus, wild wishes for death prove sometimes such guests as come home to the inviters before they be welcome unto them.

This accident fell on Sunday, October 26th, which, according to the New Style observed beyond sea, (having the speed of ours by ten days,) fell upon their fifth of November; a day notoriously known in the popish Calendar. Whereupon, Mr. Edward Benlowes, a religious and learned gentleman, no small promoter of my former and present labours, thus expressed himself:—

Quinta Novembris erat, Graias orsura Calendas;
Sit quocunque stylo, quinta Novembris erat.
Illa dies Letho Britonum devoverat aulam;
Letho devotam sospitat illa dies.
Ista dies duxit sacra ad miseranda miselios;
Adductos sacris sustulit ista dies.
Lapsa repentè domus vos irâ atroce peremit,
Queis fuit ira atros lapsa repentè domus.
Druvie, cum cerebro conspergis pulpita vano,
Dum spargis cerebri phasmata vana tui,
Trabe peremptus obis, qui lignea vivus adoras,
Lignea vivus ades, trabe peremptus obis;
Ligna lapisque manus in fœdera dantia mactant
Hos, quibus in sacra sunt fœdera ligna lapis;
Queis crux cœca Deus (tenebrosa magistra) colentes
In tenebras cœcos cœca magistra rapit.
Ah! erit exemplum cui non hoc triste timori,
Tristis hic exemplum triste timoris erit.
Hæc (Romista, cave) domus unâ ut corruit hordâ,
Unâ sic hordâ Roma, caveto, ruet.

* JOHN GEE in his book called "the Foot out of the Snare."

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I have nothing else to add of this sad disaster, save that the news thereof next Monday morning, October 27th, was fresh in every man's mouth in his Majesty's chapel in Whitehall; at what time the thirteenth chapter of St. Luke's Gospel was read for the lesson appointed for the day by the Rubric of the church of England; wherein, near the beginning: "Or those eighteen upon whom the tower of Siloam fell and slew them, think ye that they were sinners above all men that dwelt in Jerusalem? I tell you, Nay: but except ye repent, ye shall likewise perish."

SECTION VII.

TO THOMAS SHUGBOROUGH, OF BURDINGBURY, IN WARWICKSHIRE, ESQUIRE.

THEMISTOCLES was wont to say, that it was the best music for a man to hear his own commendation.* Should I play a lesson thereof unto your ears, (insisting on your bounty to public books,) sure I am the tune would be more cheerful to me, than grateful to you,—better pleased in deserving than hearing your own encomium. I therefore will turn my praising of you into praying for you, as more proportionable to my public profession, and acceptable to your modest disposition.

1. *The Archbishop's Letter against a Toleration.*

MANY papists, not truly humbled with this late sad accident, so demeaned themselves, that, indeed, most offensive was their insolence to all true Englishmen; the rather, because it was generally reported, that his Majesty intended a toleration of religion: which made the archbishop of Canterbury, though under a cloud for his disaster, to adventure humbly to present the king with his apprehensions; losing, with some, the reputation of a politic statesman, but preserving, with others, the character of an honest downright protestant. Which letter, though sent and delivered with all privacy, came by some (whether his friends or foes, uncertain) to be generally known, and afterwards publicly printed, as followeth:—

* PLUTARCH in his "Life."

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"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

"I HAVE been too long silent, and am afraid, by my silence, I have neglected the duty of the place it hath pleased God to call me unto, and your Majesty to place me in. And now I humbly crave leave I may discharge my conscience towards God, and my duty to your Majesty; and therefore I beseech your Majesty give me leave freely to deliver myself, and then let your Majesty do with me what you please.

"Your Majesty hath propounded a toleration of religion. I beseech you, sir, take into your consideration what the act is, next what the consequence may be. By your act you labour to set up that most damnable and heretical doctrine of the church of Rome, the whore of Babylon. How hateful will it be to God, and grievous unto your good subjects, the true professors of the gospel, that your Majesty, who hath often disputed and learnedly written against those wicked heresies, should now show yourself a patron of those doctrines which your pen hath told the world, and your conscience tells yourself, are superstitious, idolatrous, and detestable!

"Add hereunto what you have done in sending the prince into Spain, without the consent of your Council, the privity and approbation of your people. And though, sir, you have a large interest in the prince, as the son of your flesh, yet hath the people a greater, as the son of the kingdom; upon whom, next after your Majesty, their eyes are fixed, and welfare depends. And so tenderly is his going apprehended, as, (believe it, sir,) however his return may be safe, yet the drawers of him to that action, so dangerous to himself, so desperate to the kingdom, will not pass away unquestioned and unpunished.

"Besides, this toleration which you endeavour to set up by proclamation, cannot be done without a parliament, unless your Majesty will let your subjects see that you will take unto yourself a liberty to throw down the laws of the land at your pleasure. What dreadful consequence these things may draw after them, I beseech your Majesty to consider; and, above all, lest by this toleration, and discontinuance of the true profession of the gospel, whereby God hath blessed us, and under which this kingdom hath for many years flourished, your Majesty do not draw upon the kingdom in general, and yourself in particular, God's heavy wrath and indignation.

"Thus, in discharge of my duty towards God, to your Majesty, and the place of my calling, I have taken humble boldness to deliver my conscience. And now, sir, do with me what you please."

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2. *Toleration, the general Table-Talk, argued. The Pulpit is loud against the Toleration.*

What effect this letter took, is unknown; sure it is, all men's mouths were filled with a discourse of a toleration, for or against it. Some, no professed papists, but who lived at the sign of the protestant, engage in their arguments very earnestly in the defence thereof; whilst others were as zealous to prove a toleration intolerable by reasons drawn both from piety and policy. We will only instance in few out of many, as they were bandied on both sides, and chiefly such as concern religion.

PRO.	CON.
ARGUMENT I.—The papists of late were grown very peaceable, justly recovering the reputation of loyal subjects. In the reign of queen Elizabeth, scarce escaped a year without a treason from them; now they vied obedience with protestants themselves. Pity it was but they should be encouraged, and their loyalty fixed for ever, by granting them a toleration.	ANSWER.—Papists were not more peaceable, but more politic, than formerly, for private ends. Though their practice more plausible, their positions and principles were as pernicious as ever before; namely, that "princes excommunicated may be deposed: No faith to be kept with heretics: That the pope," &c.
II.—We see the same liberty allowed the Hugonots in France, to whom the king permits their churches, ministers, service, sermons, sacraments, according to the direction of their own conscience.	The case is different. This liberty was not so much given to, as gotten by, the Hugonots; so numerous and puissant, it was conceived dangerous to deny them such privileges. Thanks be to God! not such as yet the condition of the catholics in England, whose party was not so powerful, but certain by such a toleration to be improved.
III.—The king of Spain would be highly affected with this favour allowed to the English catholics; and this would fasten him in firm friendship to the English Crown, to which his amity for the present was not only useful but necessary.	The necessity of his friendship at this time was only fancied by such as desired it. Besides, the King of heaven must not be offended, that the king of Spain may be pleased.

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IV.—Truth will ever triumph over falsehood, and verity gain the victory of error; thus protestantism, notwithstanding the toleration, would get ground on popery by the demonstration of the Spirit in the scriptures.

Though truth itself be stronger than falsehood, yet generally the promoters of falsehood are more active and sedulous than the advancers of truth. Besides, it is just with God, upon the granting of such an unlawful toleration, to weaken the converting power of truth, and strengthen the perverting power of falsehood, giving the English over to be deluded thereby.

V.—The apish and mimical popish pageant, with the toys and trifles in their service, would render their religion ridiculous. No danger that any wise man should ever be seduced thereby.

The world hath ever consisted of more fools than wise people; such who carry their judgment more in their eyes than in their brains. Popery, being made luscious to people's senses, too probably would court many to the embracing thereof.

VI. — Protestant ministers would be more painful in preaching, and careful in residing on their cures, to keep them from infection.

It is no policy to let in the wolf, merely on design to make the shepherds more watchful. Rather, on the contrary, protestant ministers would be utterly disheartened in the performance of their place, when the parishioners were countenanced to desert them without any punishment.

VII.—The thing, in effect, was already allowed to papists; who, now, though privately, safely celebrated mass in many places; which favourable connivance fell but little short of a toleration.

If the papists already have what they would have, let them be contented therewith. Why desire they any more? But, indeed, there is a grand difference betwixt a state's winking at their wickedness for a time, and a formal and final tolerating thereof. During the former, catholics sin on their own account, and at their own peril; the laws, though not executed, standing in full force against

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them. But a public toleration of their superstition adopts the same to become the act of the English nation.

Here it would be tedious to recite the texts of scripture, (some more, some less, proper to the purpose,) alleged by several persons against the toleration. Some typical: "Thou shalt not plough with an ox and an ass," Deut. xxii. 10. Some historical: God's children must not speak two tongues, Ashdod and Hebrew, Neh. xiii. 24. Some doctrinal: "We must not do evil that good may come thereof," Rom. iii. 8. The best was, the toleration bare date with the Spanish match; with which it was propounded and agitated, advanced, expected, desired by some; opposed, suspected, detested by others; and, at last, both together finally frustrated and defeated.

3, 4. *His Majesty's Care to regulate Preaching. His Directions.* Now was his Majesty informed, that it was high time to apply some cure to the pulpits, as sick of a sermon-surfeit, and other exorbitances. Some meddled with state-matters; and generally, by an improper transposition, the people's duty was preached to the king at court; the king's, to the people in the country. Many shallow preachers handled the profound points of predestination; wherein, pretending to guide their flocks, they lost themselves. Sermons were turned into satires against papists or nonconformists.

To repress the present and prevent future mischiefs in this kind, his Majesty issued-out his Directions, to be written fair in every register's office, whence any preacher (if so pleased) might, with his own hand, take out copies *gratis*, paying nothing for expedition.* Herein the king revived the primitive and profitable order of catechising in the afternoon, (better observed in all other Reformed churches than of late in England,) according to the tenor ensuing:—

"Most reverend father in God, right trusty and entirely beloved counsellor, we greet you well.—Forasmuch as the abuses and extravagancies of preachers in the pulpit have been in all times repressed in this realm, by some act of Council or state, with the advice and resolution of grave and learned prelates; insomuch, that the very licensing of preachers had beginning by an order of Star-chamber, the eighth day of July, in the nineteenth year of the reign of king Henry VIII. our noble predecessor: and whereas, at this present, divers young students, by reading of late writers, and

* *Cabala*, part ii. p. 191.

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ungrounded divines, do broach many times unprofitable, unsound, seditious, and dangerous doctrines, to the scandal of the church and disquiet of the state and present government: we, upon humble representations unto us of these inconveniencies by yourself, and sundry other grave and reverend prelates of this church, as also of our princely care and zeal for the extirpation of schism and dissension growing from these seeds, and for the settling of a religious and peaceable government both in church and commonwealth; do, by these our special letters, straitly charge and command you to use all possible care and diligence, that these limitations and cautions herewith sent unto you concerning preachers be duly and strictly from henceforth put in practice and observed by the several bishops within your jurisdiction. And to this end our pleasure is, that you send them forthwith copies of these Directions, to be by them speedily sent and communicated unto every parson, vicar, curate, lecturer, and minister, in every cathedral or parish-church within their several dioceses, and that you earnestly require them to employ their utmost endeavours in the performance of this so important a business; letting them know that we have a special eye unto their proceedings, and expect a strict account thereof, both of you and every one of them: and these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge in that behalf.

"Given under our signet, at our castle of Windsor, the fourth of August, in the twentieth year of our reign."

DIRECTIONS CONCERNING PREACHERS, SENT WITH THE LETTER.

"(1.) THAT no preacher under the degree and calling of a bishop, or dean of a cathedral or collegiate church, (and they upon the king's days and set festivals,) do take occasion (by the expounding of any text of scripture whatsoever) to fall into any set discourse or common-place, otherwise than by the opening the coherence and division of the text, which shall not be comprehended and warranted in essence, substance, effect, or natural inference, within some one of the Articles of Religion, set forth, 1562, or in some of the Homilies set forth by authority of the church of England, not only for the help of the non-preaching—but withal for a pattern and boundary (as it were) for the preaching—ministers. And for their further instructions for the performance hereof, that they forthwith read over and peruse diligently the said Book of Articles, and the two Books of Homilies.

"(2.) That no parson, vicar, curate, or lecturer, shall preach any sermons or collation hereafter upon Sundays and holidays in the afternoon, in any cathedral or parish-church throughout the kingdom, but upon some part of the Catechism, or some text taken out of the

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Creed, Ten Commandments, or the Lord's Prayer, (funeral sermons only excepted,) and that those preachers be most encouraged and approved of who spend the afternoon's exercise in the examination of children in their Catechism, which is the most ancient and laudable custom of teaching in the church of England.

"(3.) That no preacher, of what title soever under the degree of a bishop or dean at the least, do from henceforth presume to preach in any popular auditory deep points of Predestination, Election, Reprobation, or of the Universality, Efficacy, Resistibility or Irresistibility of God's Grace; but leave those themes rather to be handled by the learned men, and that moderately and modestly by way of use and application, rather than by way of positive doctrines; being fitter for the schools than for simple auditories.

"(4.) That no preacher, of what title or denomination soever, from henceforth shall presume, in any auditory within this kingdom, to declare, limit, or bound out, by way of positive doctrine, in any lecture or sermon, the power, prerogative, and jurisdiction, authority, or duty, of sovereign princes, or otherwise meddle with matters of state and the differences between princes and the people, than as they are instructed and precedented in the Homilies *of Obedience*, and the rest of the Homilies, and Articles of Religion, set forth, as before is mentioned, by public authority; but rather confine themselves wholly to those two heads, 'Of faith and good life,' which are all the subjects of the ancient sermons and Homilies.

"(5.) That no preacher, of what title or denomination soever, shall presume causelessly, or without invitation from the text, to fall into bitter invectives and undecent railing speeches against the persons of either papists or puritans; but modestly and gravely, when they are occasioned thereunto by the text of scripture, free both the doctrine and the discipline of the church of England from the aspersions of either adversaries, especially where the auditory is suspected to be tainted with the one or the other infection.

"(6.) Lastly. That the archbishops and bishops of the kingdom (whom his Majesty hath good cause to blame for their former remissness) be more wary and choice in their licensing of preachers, and revoke all grants made to any chancellor, official, or commissary, to pass licences in this kind; and that all the lecturers throughout the kingdom of England (a new body severed from the ancient clergy, as being neither parsons, vicars, nor curates) be licensed henceforward in the Court of Faculties, but only from a recommendation of the party from the bishop of the diocess under his hand and seal, with a *fiat* from the lord archbishop of Canterbury, a confirmation under the Great Seal of England; and that such as do transgress any one of these Directions, be suspended by the bishop of the

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diocess, or, in his default, by the archbishop of the province, *ab officio et beneficio*, for a year and a day, until his Majesty, by the advice of the next Convocation, shall prescribe some farther punishment."

5. *Various Censures on the King's Letters.*

No sooner were these the king's Declarations dispersed into every diocess, but various were men's opinions thereof. Some counted it a cruel act, which cut off half the preaching in England (all afternoon-sermons) at one blow. Others thought the king did but *uti jure suo*, doing not only what in justice he might, but what in prudence he ought in this juncture of time. But hear what I have heard and read in this case:—

OBJECTIONS.	ANSWERS.
I. CHRIST grants ministers their commission: "Go teach all nations." St. Paul corroborates the same: "Preach the word, be instant in season, out of season." Man therefore ought not to forbid what God enjoins.	MINISTERS, if commanded "not at all to speak, or teach in the name of Jesus," are, with the apostles, "to obey God rather than man." But vast the difference betwixt a total prohibition, and (as in this case) a prudential regulation, of preaching.
II. This is the way to starve souls by confining them to one meal a-day, or, at the best, by giving them only a mess of milk for their supper, and so to bed.	Milk (catechetical doctrine) is best for babes, which generally make up more than a moiety of every congregation.
III. Such as are licensed to make sermons may be intrusted to choose their own texts, and not in the afternoons to be restrained to the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Ten Commandments.	Such restraint hath liberty enough, seeing all things are clearly contained in, or justly reducible to, these three,—which are *to be desired, believed, and performed.*
IV. In prohibiting the preaching of predestination, man makes THAT "the forbidden fruit," which God appointed for "the tree of life;" so cordial the comforts contained therein to a distressed conscience.	Indeed, predestination, solidly and soberly handled, is an antidote against despair. But, as many ignorant preachers ordered it, the cordial was turned into a poison; and therefore such mysteries might well be forborne by mean ministers in popular congregations.
V. Bishops and deans, (forsooth,) and none under their dig-	It must be presumed, that such of necessity must be of age

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nity, may preach of predestination. What is this but to "have the word of God in respect of persons?" as if all discretion were confined to cathedral-men, and they best able to preach who use it the least!

and experience, and may in civility be believed of more than ordinary learning, before they attained such preferment. Besides, cathedral-auditories, being of a middle nature for understanding, (as beneath the university, so above common city- and country-congregations,) are fitter for such high points to be preached therein.

VI. Papists and puritans in the king's letters are put into the same balance; and papists in the prime scale; first named, as preferred in the king's care, chiefly to secure them from invectives in sermons.

The king's letter looks on both under the notion of guilty persons. Had puritans been placed first, such as now take exception at their post-posing would have collected, that the king esteemed them the greatest offenders.

VII. Lecturers are made such riddles in the king's letters, reducible to no ministerial function in England; whereas, indeed, the flower of piety, and power of godliness, flourished most in those places where such preachers are most countenanced.

Lecturers are no creatures of the church of England by their original; like those mixed kinds, little better than monsters in nature, to which God, as here the state, never said, "Multiply and increase:" and therefore the king had just cause to behold them with jealous eyes, who generally supplanted the incumbents of livings in the affections of their parishioners, and gave the greatest growth to nonconformity.

These Instructions from his Majesty were not pressed with equal rigour in all places; seeing some over-active officials, more busy than their bishops, tied-up preachers in the afternoon to the very letter of the Catechism, questioning them if exceeding the questions and answers therein, as allowing them no liberty to dilate and enlarge themselves thereupon.

6—11. *A needless Subject waved. A Crown not joyed in. King James accused by some; defended by others. Both the Palatinates lost. Land of Promise, now Land of Performance.*

Expect not of me a particular account of the politic intricacies touching the Spanish match, or no-match rather. First. Because

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Spanish, and so alien from my subject. Secondly. Because the passages thereof are so largely and publicly in print. Thirdly. Because, in fine, it proved nothing, though kept on foot so long, till king James, by endeavouring to gain a daughter-in-law, had, in effect, lost his own daughter,—her husband and children being reduced to great extremities.

Truly, king James never affected his son-in-law's acceptance of the Bohemian crown, nor promised himself any good success thence, though great the hope of the German protestants therein. Indeed, some of them were too credulous of a blind prophecy commonly current amongst them: *Post ter viginti, cessabit gloria quinti:* expecting the ending of the Austrian family, sixty years being now expired since the death of Charles V. But discreet persons slighted such vanities, and the *Quinti* had like to have proved the extirpation of Frederic "fifth" of that name, Palatine of the Rhine, had not God almost miraculously lately countermanded it.

Yea, king James privately foretold to some principal persons, that this matter would prove the ruin of his daughter. There want not some who say, that he went about to verify his own prediction, by not sending seasonable succours for their assistance; who, had he turned his embassies into armies, might probably have prevented much protestant misery.

Others excuse king James, partly from the just hopes he had to accommodate all interests in a peaceable way; partly from the difficulty of conveying effectual forces into so far-distant a country.

Mean time both the Palatinates were lost, the Upper seized-on by the emperor, the Nether (but higher in value) by the king of Spain, the city of Heidelberg taken and plundered, and the inestimable library of books therein carried over the Alps on mules' backs to Rome. Each mule laden with that learned burden had a silver plate on his forehead, wherein was engraven, *Fero bibliothecam Principis Palatini.* Now those books are placed in the pope's Vatican, entitling protestants to visit the place; who one day may have as good *success*, as now they have just *right*, to recover them.

As for the Palatinate, satirical tongues commonly called it "the land of promise;" so frequently and so solemnly was the restitution thereof promised to king James, fed only with delays, which amounted to mannerly denials. Since, it hath pleased God to turn this "land of promise" into a "land of performance;"* the present Palatine being peaceably possessed thereof.

* The Nether Palatinate.

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12, 13. *Prince Charles goes to Spain. His Return.*

Prince Charles, with the duke of Buckingham, lately went privately through France, (where he saw the lady whom afterwards he married,) into Spain. It is questionable, whether then more blamed king James for sending him, or afterwards blessed God for his safe return. Sumptuous his entertainment in the Spanish court, where it was not the king's fault, but kingdom's defect, that any thing was wanting. He quickly discovered, (the coarseness of fine-pretending wares at distance are easily confuted near hand,) that the Spanish state had no mind or meaning of a match, as who demanded such unreasonable liberty in education of the royal offspring,* (in case any were born betwixt them,) and other privileges for English papists, that the king neither could nor would in honour or conscience consent thereunto.† However, prince Charles (whose person was in their power) took his fair farewell with courteous compliance.

Though he entered Spain like a private person, he departed it like himself, and the son of his father; a stately fleet attending him home, September 12th. Foul weather forced them to put-in at the Isle of Scilly, (the parings of England, south-west of Cornwall,) where in two days they fed on more and better flesh than they found in Spain for many months. Soon after, (October 5th,‡) he arrived at Portsmouth; and the next day came to London, to the great rejoicing of all sorts of people, signified by their bonfires, ringing of bells, with other external expressions of joy.

14. *The Palatinate beheld desperate.*

King James now despaired of any restitution, especially since the duke of Bavaria was invested in the Upper Palatinate; and so his son-in-law's land cantoned betwixt a duke, a king, and an emperor; whose joint consent being requisite to the restoring thereof, one would be sure to dissent from the seeming-consenting of [the] other two. Whereupon, king James not only called the great council of his kingdom together, but also broke off all treaty with Spain.§

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 550.—EDIT. † The whole of the correspondence between the court of England and the courts of Rome and Spain, relating to this affair, not having been published at the period when Fuller wrote, he had not those data for forming a correct judgment about it which we possess. Every impartial man who has perused those and other cognate documents, will never extol either the "honour or conscience" of king James, but will draw a very unfavourable estimate of his protestantism, as well as of his "king-craft," which he estimated as his most distinguished quality.—EDIT. ‡ The reader is requested to pardon our short setting-back of time. § See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 551.—EDIT.

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15—17. *A happy Parliament. The Convocation. Dr. Donne, Prolocutor.*

Indeed, the malcontents in England used to say, that the king took physic and called parliaments, both alike; using both for mere need, and not caring for either how little time they lasted. But now there happened as sweet a compliance betwixt the king and his subjects as ever happened in man's memory; the king not asking more than what was granted; both Houses, in the name of the whole kingdom, promising their assistance with their lives and fortunes for the recovery of the Palatinate. A smart petition was presented against the papists, and order promised for the education of their children in true religion.

As for the Convocation contemporary with this Parliament, large subsidies were granted by the clergy; otherwise no great matter of moment passed therein. I am informed, Dr. Joseph Hall preached the Latin sermon, and Dr. Donne was the Prolocutor.

This is that Dr. Donne, born in London, (but extracted from Wales,) by his mother's side, great great-grandchild to sir Thomas More, whom he much resembled in his endowments; a great traveller; first, secretary to the lord Egerton, and after, by the persuasion of king James and encouragement of bishop Morton, entered into orders, made doctor of divinity, (of Trinity-College in Cambridge,) and dean of St. Paul's; whose Life is no less truly than elegantly written by my worthily-respected friend, Mr. Izaak Walton; whence the reader may store himself with further information.

18—20. *A Book falsely fathered on Isaac Casaubon. The Falsehood detected, yet still continued. A.D.* 1624.

A book was translated out of the French copy, by Abraham Darcye, entitled, "The Original of Idolatry;" pretended made by Dr. Isaac Casaubon, dead ten years before, dedicated to prince Charles, but presented to king James, and all the lords of the council; a book printed in French before the said Isaac Casaubon was born, whose name was fraudulently inserted in the title-page of the foregoing copy.

Meric Casaubon, his son, then Student of Christ's-Church, by letter informed king James of the wrong done to his father, by making him the author of such a book, contrary to his genius and constant profession; being full of impertinent allegations out of obscure and late authors, whom his father never thought worthy the reading, much less the using their authority. His Majesty was much incensed hereat; and Dr. Mountaine, bishop of London, had much ado to make his chaplain's peace for licensing thereof; the printer and translator being for some time kept in prison.

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Yet, after all this, and after Meric Casaubon had written a Latin vindication to give satisfaction to all, the same translation since is printed in Amsterdam, with a justificatory preface of the former edition. So impudent are some, falsely to father books on worthy authors, to make them more vendible for their own profit, though it discredit the memory of others!

21. *None of the worst Counsel.*

The business of the Palatinate being now debated by martialists, the king's council of war, dissuading from regaining it in kind, advised him rather to recover it in value where he could, with the best conveniency, out of the Spanish dominions. For, the Palatinate was not worth the re-winning; which, grant recovered by the English, could not recover itself for many years, such the havoc and waste made therein. Secondly. It was hard to be gotten, such the distance thereof; and harder to be kept, so ill-neighboured it was on all sides. So that the king, if so pleased, might, with as much honour and more ease, carve out his own reparations nearer home.

22—33. *King James falleth sick. A Confluence of four Mischiefs. A Plaster applied to his Wrists, and Julap, without the Advice of his Physicians. Catechised on his Death-bed in his Faith and Charity. His Death. Of a peaceable Nature. Made Nobility less respected by the Commonness thereof. His Eloquence and piercing Wit. King James's Return to Gondemar. Judicious, bountiful, and merciful.*

During these agitations king James fell sick at Theobald's of "a tertian ague," commonly called, in spring; for a king, rather physical than dangerous. But soon after his ague was heightened into a fever; four mischiefs meeting therein:—

First. The malignity of the malady in itself, hard to be cured. Secondly. An aged person of sixty years current. Thirdly. A plethoric body, full of ill humours. Fourthly. The king's averseness to physic and impatience under it. Yet the last was quickly removed, above expectation; the king, contrary to his custom, being very orderable in all his sickness. Such sudden alterations, some apprehend a certain prognostic of death; as if when men's minds acquire new qualities, they begin to habit and clothe themselves for a new world.

The countess of Buckingham contracted much suspicion to herself and her son, for applying a plaster to the king's wrists, without the consent of his physicians. And yet it plainly appeared, that Dr. John Remington, of Dunmow in Essex, made the same plaster; one

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honest, able, and successful in his practice, who had cured many patients by the same; a piece whereof applied to the king, one ate down into his belly, without the least hurt or disturbance of nature. However, after the applying thereof, the king grew worse.

The physicians refused to administer physic unto him till the plasters were taken off; which being done accordingly, his fifth, sixth, and seventh fits were easier, as Dr. Chambers said. On the Monday after, the plasters were laid on again without the advice of the physicians; and his Majesty grew worse and worse; so that Mr. Hayes, the king's surgeon, was called out of his bed to take off the plasters. Mr. Baker, the duke's servant, made the king a julap, which the duke brought to the king with his own hand, of which the king drank twice, but refused the third time. After his death a bill was brought to the physicians to sign, that the ingredients of the julap and plasters were safe. But most refused it, because they knew not whether the ingredients mentioned in the bill were the same in the julap and plasters. This is the naked truth delivered by oath from the physicians to a select Committee two years after, when the Parliament voted the duke's act "a transcendent presumption;" though most thought it done without any ill intention.

March 24th, four days before his death, he desired to receive the sacrament; and being demanded whether he was prepared in point of faith and charity for so great mysteries, he said he was, and gave humble thanks to God for the same. Being desired to declare his faith, and what he thought of those books he had written in that kind; he repeated the Articles of the Creed one by one, and said, he believed them all as they were received and expounded by that part of the catholic church which was established here in England; and said, with a kind of sprightfulness and vivacity, that whatever he had written of this faith in his life, he was now ready to seal with his death. Being questioned in point of charity, he answered presently, that he forgave all men that offended him, and desired to be forgiven by all Christians, whom he in any wise had offended.

Then, after absolution read and pronounced, he received the sacrament; and, some hours after, he professed to the standers-by, that they could not imagine what ease and comfort he found in himself since the receiving hereof; and so quietly resigned his soul to God, March 27th, having reigned twenty-two years and three days.

He was of a peaceable disposition. Indeed, when he first entered England at Berwick, he himself gave fire to, and shot off, a piece of ordnance,* and that with good judgment. This was the only military act personally performed by him. So that he may have seemed in that cannon to have discharged war out of England.

* STOW's "Chronicle," p. 819.

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Coming to York, he was somewhat amazed with the equipage of the northern lords repairing unto him, (especially with the earl of Cumberland's,) admiring there should be in England so many kings; for, less he could not conjecture them,—such the multitude and gallantry of their attendance. But, following the counsel of his English secretary there present, he soon found a way to abate the formidable greatness of the English nobility, by conferring honour upon many persons; whereby nobility was spread so broad, that it became very thin, which much lessened the ancient esteem thereof.

He was very eloquent in speech, whose Latin had no fault, but that it was too good for a king, whom carelessness (not curiosity) becomes in that kind. His Scotch tone he rather affected than declined; and though his speaking spoiled his speech in some English ears, yet the masculine worth of his set orations commanded reverence, if not admiration, in all judicious hearers. But, in common speaking, (as in his hunting he stood not on the cleanest but nearest way,) he would never go about to make any expressions.

His wit was passing sharp and piercing, equally pleased in making and taking a smart jest, his majesty so much stooping to his mirth that he never refused that coin which he paid to other folk. This made him please himself so much in the company of count Gondemar; and some will say, the king was contented (for reasons best known to himself) to be deceived by him, and humoured into a peace to his own disadvantage.

Once king James in an afternoon was praising the plentiful provision of England, especially for flesh and fowl; adding, the like not to be had in all Spain what one county here did afford. "Yea, but my master," quoth Gondemar, there present, "hath the gold and silver in the East and West Indies." "And I, by my saul," saith the king, "have much ado to keep my men from taking it away from him." To which the don's Spanish gravity returned silence.

His judgment was most solid in matters of divinity, not fathering books of others, as some of his predecessors; but his Works are allowed his own by his very adversaries. Most bountiful to all, especially to scholars; no king of England ever doing (though his successor suffered) more, to preserve the revenues of the English hierarchy. Most merciful to offenders; no one person of honour (without parallel since the Conquest) being put to death in his reign. In a word: he left his own coffers empty, but his subjects' chests full, the land being never more wealthy; it being easier then to get—than since to save—an estate.

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THE

CHURCH HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

BOOK XI.

CONTAINING THE REIGN OF KING CHARLES.

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TO THE

HON. EDWARD MOUNTAGUE, ESQUIRE,

SON AND HEIR TO

THE RIGHT HON. EDWARD LORD MOUNTAGUE OF BOUGHTON.

It is a strange casualty which an historian * reporteth of five earls of Pembroke successively, (of the family of Hastings,) that the father of them never saw his son,—as born either in his absence or after his death.

I know not whether more remarkable, the fatality of that—or the felicity of your—family; where, in a lineal descent, five have followed one another, the father not only surviving to see his son of age, but also (yourself excepted, who in due time may be) happy in their marriage, hopeful in their issue.

These five have all been of the same Christian name. Yet is there no fear of confusion, to the prejudice of your pedigree, which heralds commonly in the like cases complain of; seeing each of them being as eminent in their kind, so different in their eminency, are sufficiently distinguished by their own character to posterity.

Of these, the first a judge; for his gravity and learning famous in his generation.

The second, a worthy patriot, and bountiful housekeeper; blessed in a numerous issue; his four younger sons affording a bishop to the church, a judge and peer to the state, a commander to the camp, and an officer to the court.

The third was the first baron of the house; of whose

* Camden's "Britannia" in Pembrokeshire.

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worth I will say nothing, because I can never say enough.

The fourth, your honourable father; who, because he doth still (and may he long) survive, I cannot do the right which I would to his merit, without doing wrong (which I dare not) to his modesty.

You are the fifth in a direct line; and let me acquaint you with what the world expecteth (not to say requireth) of you—to dignify yourself with some select and peculiar desert; so to be differenced from your ancestors, that your memory may not be mistaken in the homonymy of your Christian names; which to me seemeth as improbable, as that a burning beacon (at a reasonable distance) should not be beheld; such the brightness of your parts, and advantage of your education.

You was bred in that school which hath no superior in England; and successively in those two universities which have no equal in Europe. Such the stock of your native perfection, before grafted with the foreign accomplishments of your travels: so that men confidently promise themselves to read the best, last, and largest edition of Mercator's "Atlas" in your experience and discourse.

That good God who went with you out of your native country, and since watched over you in foreign parts, return with you in safety in due time, to his glory, and your own good! which is the daily desire of

Your Honour's most devoted servant,

THOMAS FULLER.

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THE

CHURCH HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

BOOK XI.

SECTION I.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

1, 2. *News of the King's Death brought to Whitehall. His solemn Funeral.* 1 Charles I. *A.D.* 1625.

THE sad news of king James's death was soon brought to Whitehall, Sunday, March 27th, at that very instant when Dr. Laud, bishop of St. David's, was preaching therein. This caused him to break off his sermon in the midst thereof,* out of civil compliance with the sadness of the congregation; and the same day was king Charles proclaimed at Whitehall.

On the seventh of May following,† king James's funeral was performed very solemnly, in the collegiate church at Westminster; his lively statue being presented on a magnificent hearse. King Charles was present thereat. For, though modern state used of late to lock up the chief mourner in his chamber, where his grief must be presumed too great for public appearance; yet the king caused this ceremony of sorrow so to yield to the substance thereof, and pomp herein to stoop to piety, that in his person he sorrowfully attended the funeral of his father.

3, 4. *Dr. Williams's Text, Sermon, and Parallel betwixt King Solomon and King James. Exceptions taken at his Sermon.*

Dr. Williams, lord keeper and bishop of Lincoln, preached the sermon, taking for his text 2 Chron. ix. 29, 30, and part of the 31st verse, containing the happy reign, quiet death, and stately burial of king Solomon. The effect of his sermon was to advance a parallel

* See his own Diary on that day. p. 553.—EDIT.

† See the "Appeal of injured Innocence,"

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betwixt two peaceable princes,—king Solomon and king James: a parallel which willingly went, (not to say, ran of its own accord,) and, when it chanced to stay, was fairly led on by the art and ingenuity of the bishop, not enforcing but improving the conformity betwixt these two kings in ten particulars; all expressed in the text, as we read in the vulgar Latin somewhat different from the new translation.

KING SOLOMON.	KING JAMES
(1.) His eloquence; "the rest of the words of Solomon."	Had *profluentem, et quæ principem deceret, eloquentiam.**
(2.) His actions; "and all that he did."	Was eminent in his actions of religion, justice, war, and peace.
(3.) A well within to supply the same; "and his wisdom."	So wise "that there was nothing that any would learn, which he was not able to teach."†
(4.) The preservation thereof to eternity: "Are they not written in the book of" the acts of Solomon, made by "Nathan the prophet, Ahijah the Shilonite, and Iddo the Seer?"	As Trajan was nicknamed *herba parietaria*, "a wall-flower," because his name was engraven on every wall; so king James shall be called *herba chartacea*, "the paper-flower," and his glory be read in all writers.‡
(5.) He "reigned in Jerusalem;" a great city, by him enlarged and repaired;	He reigned in the capital city of London, by him much augmented;
(6.) "Over all Israel," the whole empire;	Over Great Britain, by him happily united, and other dominions;
(7.) A great space of time, full "forty years."	In all fifty-eight, (though over all Britain but two-and-twenty years,) reigning as better, so also longer, than king Solomon.§
(8.) Then he "slept:" importing no sudden and violent dying, but a premeditate and affected kind of sleeping.	Left the world most resolved, most prepared, embracing his grave for his bed.
(9.) "With his fathers," David especially, his soul being disposed of in happiness.	Reigning gloriously with God in heaven.
(10.) "And was buried in the city of David."	Whilst his body was interred with all possible solemnity in king Henry VII.'s chapel.

* TACITUS of Augustus. † P. 59. ‡ P. 61. § P. 66.

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Be it here remembered, that, in this parallel, the bishop premised to set forth Solomon, not in his full proportion, faults and all, but half-faced, (*imagine luscâ*, as Apelles painted Antigonus to conceal the want of his eye,) adding, that Solomon's vices could be no blemish to king James, who resembled him only in his choicest virtues. He concluded all with that verse, "Though his father die, yet he is as though he were not dead, for he hath left one behind him that is like himself," Ecclesiasticus xxx. 4; in application to his present Majesty.

Some auditors, who came thither rather to observe than edify, cavil than observe, found or made faults in the sermon; censuring him for touching too often and staying too long on a harsh string, three times straining the same, making eloquence too essential and so absolutely necessary in a king, "that the want thereof made Moses in a manner refuse all government, though offered by God:"* "that no man ever got great power without eloquence;† Nero being the first of the Cæsars *qui alienæ facundiæ eguit*, 'who usurped another man's language to speak for him.'" Expressions which might be forborne in the presence of his son and successor, whose impediment in speech was known to be great, and mistaken to be greater. Some conceived him too long in praising the past—too short in promising for the present—king, though saying much of him in a little; and of the bishop's adversaries, whereof then no want at court, some took distaste, others made advantage thereof. Thus is it easier and better for us to please one God, than many men, with our sermons. However, the sermon was publicly set forth by the printer (but not the express command) of his Majesty; which gave but the steadier mark to his enemies, noting the marginal notes thereof, and making all his sermon the text of their captious interpretation.

5, 6. *Discontents begin in the Court. Dr. Preston a great Favourite.*

Now began animosities to discover themselves in the court, whose sad influences operated many years after; many being discontented, that, on this change, they received not proportionable advancement to their expectations. It is the prerogative of the King of heaven alone, that he maketh all his sons heirs, all his subjects favourites, the gain of one being no loss to the other. Whereas the happiest kings on earth are unhappy herein,—that, unable to gratify all their servants, (having many suitors for the same place,) by conferring a favour on one, they disoblige all other

* P. 16. † P. 5.

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competitors, conceiving themselves, as they make the estimate of their own deserts, as much (if not more) meriting the same preferment.

As for Dr. Preston, he still continued, and increased in the favour of the king and duke; it being much observed, that, on the day of king James's death, he rode with prince and duke, in a coach shut down, from Theobald's to London, applying comfort now to one, now to the other, on so sad an occasion.* His party would persuade us, that he might have chosen his own mitre,† much commending the moderation of his mortified mind, denying all preferment which courted his acceptance; verifying the anagram which a friend‡ of his made on his name, JOHANNES PRESTONIUS, *En stas pius in honore.* Indeed, he was conceived to hold the helm of his own party, able to steer it to what point he pleased; which made the duke as yet much to desire his favour.

7, 8. *Mr. Mountagu's Character. He setteth forth his Appello Cæsarem.*

A book came forth, called "*Appello Cæsarem*," made by Mr. Mountagu. He formerly had been Fellow of King's-College in Cambridge, at the present a parson of Essex and Fellow of Eaton: one much skilled in the Fathers and ecclesiastical antiquity, and in the Latin and Greek tongues. Our great antiquary§ confesseth as much, *Græcè simul et Latinè doctus*, though pens were brandished betwixt them: and virtues allowed by one's adversary may pass for undeniable truths. These his great parts were attended with tartness of writing; very sharp the nib of his pen, and much gall in his ink, against such as opposed him. However, such the equability of the sharpness of his style he was unpartial therein; be he ancient or modern writer, papist or protestant, that stood in his way, they should all equally taste thereof.

Pass we from the author to his book, whereof this was the occasion: He had lately written satirically enough against the papists in confutation of "the Gagger of Protestants." Now, two divines of Norwich diocess, Mr. Yates and Mr. Ward, informed against him for dangerous errors of Arminianism and popery, deserting our cause, instead of defending it. Mr. Mountagu, in his own vindication, writes a second book, licensed by Francis White, dean of Carlisle; finished and partly printed in the reign of James, to whom the author intended the dedication. But, on king James's death, it seems it descended by succession on king Charles, his son; to whom

* See his Life, p. 503. † See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 554. —EDIT. ‡ Mr. Ayres of Lincoln's Inn. § MR. SELDEN in his book, *De Diis Syris*, p. 362.

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Mr. Mountagu applied the words which Occam once used to Lewis of Bavaria, emperor of Germany, *Domine imperator, defende me gladio, et ego te defendam calamo*, "Lord emperor, defend me with thy sword, and I will defend thee with my pen." Many bitter passages in this his book gave great exception; whereof largely hereafter.

9. *Queen Mary's first Arrival at Dover.*

On Sunday, being the twelfth of June, about seven of the clock at night, queen Mary landed at Dover: at what time a piece of ordnance, being discharged from the castle, flew in fitters; yet did nobody any harm. More were fearful at the presage, than thankful for the providence. Next day, the king, coming from Canterbury, met her at Dover; whence with all solemnity she was conducted to Somerset-house in London, where a chapel was new-prepared for her devotion, with a convent adjoining of Capuchin Friars, according to the articles of her marriage.*

10, 11. *The King rescueth Mr. Mountagu from the House of Commons. The Parliament removed to Oxford, and brake up in Discontent.*

A parliament began at London, wherein the first statute agreed upon was for the more strict observation of the Lord's day; which day, as it first honoured the king, (his reign beginning thereon,) so the king first honoured it by passing an Act for the greater solemnity thereof. The House of Commons fell very heavy on Mr. Mountagu, Thursday, July 7th, for many bitter passages in his book; who, in all probability, had now been severely censured, but that the king himself was pleased to interpose in his behalf, Saturday, 9th; signi-

* Heylin animadverts thus on the whole of this passage: "(1.) Although there was a chapel prepared, yet was it not prepared for the queen, nor at Somerset-house. The chapel which was then prepared was not prepared for her, but for the lady Infanta, built in the king's house of St. James, at such time as the treaty with Spain stood upon good terms, and then intended for the devotions of the princess of Wales, not for the queen of England. (2.) The articles of the marriage make no mention of the Capuchin Friars, nor any convent to be built for them. The priests who came over with the queen were, by agreement, to be all of the Oratorian Order, as less suspected by the English, whom they had never provoked, as had the Jesuits, and most other of the monastic orders, by their mischievous practices. But these Oratorians being sent back with the rest of the French, *anno* 1626, and not willing to expose themselves to the hazard of a second expulsion, the Capuchins, under Father Joseph, made good the place. The breach with France, the action at the Isle of Rhée, and the loss of Rochelle, did all occur before the Capuchins were thought of or admitted hither. And, (3.) Some years after the making of the peace between the two crowns, (which was in the latter end of 1628, and not before,) the queen obtained that these Friars might have leave to come over to her, some lodgings being fitted for them in Somerset-house, and a new chapel then and there built for her devotion." In the "Appeal of injured Innocence," (p. 555,) Fuller frankly acknowledges his mistake, a "printed author" having "misguided" him.—EDIT.

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fying to the House, that those things which were then spoken and determined concerning Mountagu, without his privity, did not please him; who by his court-friends being employed in the king's service, his Majesty signified to the Parliament that he thought his chaplains (whereof Mr. Mountagu was one) might have as much protection as the servant of an ordinary burgess. Nevertheless, his bond of two thousand pounds, wherewith he was *tailed*, continued uncancelled, and was called-on the next Parliament.

The plague increasing in London, the Parliament was removed to Oxford. But, alas! no avoiding God's hand. The infection followed, or rather met the Houses there, whereof worthy Dr. Chaloner died, much lamented. Yet were the members of Parliament not so careful to save their own persons from the plague, as to secure the land from a worse and more spreading contagion, —the daily growth of popery. In prevention whereof they presented a petition to his Majesty, containing sixteen particulars, all which were most graciously answered by his Majesty, to their full satisfaction. Thus, this meeting began hopefully and cheerfully, proceeded turbulently and suspiciously, brake off suddenly and sorrowfully; the reason whereof is to be fetched from our civil historians.

12, 13. *Dr. James's Motion in the Convocation. The Insolence of Papists seasonably restrained.*

The Convocation kept here is scarce worth the mentioning; seeing little the appearance thereat, nothing the performance therein. Dean Bowles, the Prolocutor, absented himself, for fear of infection; Dr. Thomas Goad officiating in his place; and their meeting was kept in the chapel of Merton-College. Here Dr. James, that great book-man, made a motion,—"That all manuscript-fathers in the libraries of the universities, and elsewhere in England, might be perused; and that such places in them as had been corrupted in popish editions" (much superstition being generated from such corruptions) "might faithfully be printed according to those ancient copies." Indeed, though England, at the dissolving of abbeys, lost more manuscripts than any country of Christendom (of her dimensions) ever had; yet still enough were left her, if well improved, to evidence the truth herein to all posterity. This design might have been much beneficial to the protestant cause, if prosecuted with as great endeavour as it was propounded with good intention; but, alas! this motion was ended, when it was ended,—expiring in the place with the words of the mover thereof.

The king, according to his late answer in the Parliament at Oxford, issued out a commission, Nov. 11th, to the Judges to see the

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law against recusants put in execution. This was read in all the courts of Judicature at Reading, (where Michaelmas Term was kept,) and a letter directed to the archbishop of Canterbury to take special care for the discovery of Jesuits, Seminary Priests, &c., within his province: a necessary severity, seeing papists, presuming on protection by reason of the late match, were grown very insolent. And a popish lord, when the king was at chapel, was heard to prate on purpose louder in a gallery adjoining than the chaplain prayed; whereat the king was so moved that he sent him this message: "Either come and do as we do, or I will make you prate farther off."

14, 15. *Several Writers against Mr. Mountagu. Mr. Mountagu left to defend himself. A.D.* 1626.

In this and the next year, many books, from persons of several abilities and professions, were written against Mr. Mountagu; by,

(1.) Dr. Sutcliffe, dean of Exeter: one who was *miles emeritus*, age giving him a supersedeas; save that his zeal would employ itself; and some conceived that his choler became his old age.

(2.) Mr. Henry Burton, who then began to be well (as afterwards too well) known to the world.

(3.) Mr. Francis Rowse, a layman by profession.

(4.) Mr. Yates, a minister of Norfolk, formerly a Fellow of Emmanuel in Cambridge: he entitles his book, *Ibis ad Cæsarem.*

(5.) Dr. Carleton, bishop of Chichester.

(6.) Anthony Wootton, divinity-professor in Gresham-College.

In this army of writers the strength is conceived to consist in the rear; and that the last wrote the solidest confutations. Of these six, dean Sutcliffe is said to have chidden heartily, Mr. Rowse meant honestly, Mr. Burton wrote plainly, bishop Carleton very piously, Mr. Yates learnedly, and Mr. Wootton most solidly.

I remember not at this time any of Mr. Mountagu's party engaged in print in his behalf; whether, because they conceived this their champion sufficient of himself to encounter all opposers; or, because they apprehended it unsafe (though of the same judgment) to justify a book which was grown so generally offensive. Insomuch as his Majesty himself, sensible of his subjects' great distaste thereat, (sounded by the duke of Buckingham to that purpose,) was resolved to leave Mr. Mountagu to stand or fall, according to the justice of his cause. The duke imparted as much to Dr. Laud, bishop of St. David's, January 29th, who conceived it of such ominous concernment, that he entered the same in his Diary; namely, "I seem to see a cloud arising, and threatening the church of England. God for his mercy dissipate it!"

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16. *A Maim on the Emblem of Peace.*

The day of the king's coronation drawing near, his Majesty sent to survey and peruse the *regalia*, or royal ornaments, which then were to be used. It happened that the left wing of the dove on the sceptre was quite broken off, by what casualty God himself knows. The king sent for Mr. Acton, then his goldsmith, commanding him that the very same should be set on again. The goldsmith replied, that it was impossible to be done so fairly, but that some mark would remain thereof. To whom the king in some passion returned, "If you will not do it, another shall."* Hereupon Mr. Acton carried it home, and got another dove of gold to be artificially set on; whereat, when brought back, his Majesty was well contented, as making no discovery thereof.

17. *A Dilemma well waved.*

The bishop of Lincoln, lord keeper, was now daily descendent in the king's favour; who so highly distasted him, that he would not have him, as dean of Westminster,† to perform any part of his coronation; yet so (was it a favour or a trial?) that it was left to his free choice, to prefer any prebendary of the church to officiate in his place. The bishop met with a dilemma herein: To recommend Dr. Laud, bishop of St. David's, and prebendary of Westminster, for that performance, was to grace one of his greatest enemies: To pass him by, and prefer a private prebendary for that purpose before a bishop, would seem unhandsome, and be interpreted a neglect of his own Order. To avoid all exceptions, he presented a list of all the prebendaries of that church; referring the election to his Majesty himself, who made choice of Dr. Laud, bishop of St. David's, for that attendance.

18. *The Coronation Sermon.*

Dr. Senhouse, bishop of Carlisle (chaplain to the king when prince) preached at the coronation, February 2nd; his text: "And

* His son, succeeding his father in that place, and then present, attested to me the truth hereof. † This is another error which Fuller declares he will rectify in a new edition. (See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 556.) Heylin, in his *Examen*, points it out thus: "(1.) The bishop of Lincoln was not Lord Keeper at the time of the coronation. (2.) If he had been so, and that the king was so distasted with him, as not to suffer him to assist at his coronation, how came he to be present at it in the capacity of Lord Keeper? For, that he did so, is affirmed by our author, saying, 'The king took a scroll of parchment out of his bosom, and gave it to the Lord Keeper Williams, who read it to the Commons four several times,—East, West, North, and South.' (3.) The Lord Keeper who read that scroll, was not the Lord Keeper Williams, but the Lord Keeper Coventry; the seal being taken from the bishop of Lincoln, and committed to the custody of sir Thomas Coventry, the October before. And, therefore, (4.) Our author is much out in placing both the coronation and the following parliament before the change of the Lord Keeper; and in sending sir John Suckling to fetch that seal, at the end of a parliament in the spring, which he had brought away with him before Michaelmas term."—EDIT.

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I will give unto thee a crown of life," Rev. ii. 10. In some sort it may be said, that he preached his own funeral, dying shortly after; and even then the black jaundice had so possessed him, (a disease which hangs the face with mourning as against its burial,) that all despaired of his recovery. Now, seeing this coronation cometh within (if not the pales and park) the purlieus of Ecclesiastical History, we will present so much thereof as was acted in the church of Westminster. Let heralds marshal the solemnity of their advance from Westminster-hall to this church, where our pen takes the first possession of this subject.

19—30. *The solemn Advance to the Church. The Manner of the King's Coronation. The Fashion of the Scaffold. The King presented and accepted by the People; sworn and anointed; solemnly crowned, and girt with several Swords. Homage done by the Nobility to his Majesty, with their solemn Oath. A Pardon-general granted. The Communion concludes the Solemnity. The Return to Whitehall.*

But first we will premise the equipage, according to which they advanced from Westminster-hall, to the Abbey-church, in order as followeth:—

(1.) The Aldermen of London, two by two, ushered by a herald.

(2.) Eighty Knights of the Bath in their robes, each having an Esquire to support and Page to attend him.

(3.) The king's Serjeants at Law, Solicitor, Attorney, Masters of Request, and Judges.

(4.) Privy-Counsellors that were Knights, and chief Officers of the king's Household.

(5.) Barons of the kingdom, all bare-headed, in their Parliament robes, with swords by their sides.

(6.) The Bishops with scarlet-gowns, and lawn-sleeves, bare-headed.

(7.) The Viscounts and Earls (not in their Parliament- but) in their coronation-robes, with coronetted caps on their heads.

(8.) The Officers of State for the day; whereof these are the principal:—Sir Richard Winn; Sir George Goring; the Lord Privy Seal; the Archbishop of Canterbury; the Earl of Dorset, carrying the first sword naked; the Earl of Essex, carrying the second sword naked; the Earl of Kent, carrying the third sword naked; the Earl of Montgomery, carrying the spurs; the Earl of Sussex, carrying the globe and cross upon it; the Bishop of London, carrying the golden cup for the communion; the Bishop of Winchester, carrying the golden plate for the communion; the Earl of Rutland, carrying the sceptre; the Marquess Hamilton, carrying

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the sword of state naked; the Earl of Pembroke, carrying the crown.

The Lord Mayor, in a crimson velvet gown, carried a short sceptre before the king, amongst the Serjeants. But I am not satisfied in the criticalness of his place.

The Earl of Arundel, as Earl-Marshal of England, and the Duke of Buckingham, as Lord High Constable of England for that day, went before his Majesty in this great solemnity.*

The king entered at the west gate of the church, under a rich canopy, carried by the Barons of the Cinque Ports, his own person being supported by Dr. Neile, Bishop of Durham, on the one hand, and Dr. Lake, Bishop of Bath and Wells, on the other. His train, being six yards long of purple velvet, was held up by the Lord Compton (as belonging to the Robes) and the Lord Viscount Doncaster. Here he was met by the Prebends of Westminster (Bishop Laud supplying the Dean's place) in their rich copes, who delivered into his Majesty's hand the staff of king Edward the Confessor, with which he walked up to the scaffold.

This was made of wood at the upper end of the church, from the choir to the altar. His Majesty mounted it, none under the degree of a Baron standing thereon, save only the Prebends of Westminster, who attended on the altar. Three chairs were appointed for him in several places; one of repose, the second the ancient chair of coronation, and the third (placed on a high square of five stairs' ascent) being the chair of state.

All being settled and reposed, the Lord Archbishop did present his Majesty to the Lords and Commons, east, west, north, south, asking their minds four several times, if they did consent to the coronation of king Charles their lawful sovereign.† The king mean time presented himself bareheaded. The consent being given four times with great acclamation, the king took his chair of repose.

After the sermon (whereof before) the Lord Archbishop, invested in a rich cope, tendered to the king (kneeling down on cushions at the communion-table) a large oath. Then were his Majesty's robes taken off him, and were offered on the altar. He stood for a while stripped to his doublet and hose, which were of white satin, with ribbons on the arms and shoulders, to open them; and he appeared a proper person to all that beheld him. Then was he led by the Lord Archbishop and the Bishop of St. David's, and placed in the chair of coronation, (a close canopy being spread over him,) the Lord Archbishop anointing his head, shoulders, arms, and hands with a costly ointment, the choir singing an anthem of these words: "Zadok the priest anointed king Solomon."

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 557.—EDIT. † *Ibid.* pp. 337, 558—560.—EDIT.

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Hence the king was led up in his doublet and hose, with a white coif on his head, to the communion-table; where Bishop Laud, deputy for the Dean of Westminster, brought forth the ancient habiliments of king Edward the Confessor, and put them upon him. Then was his Majesty brought back to the chair of coronation, and received the crown of king Edward, presented by Bishop Laud, and put on his head by the Archbishop of Canterbury; the choir singing an anthem: "Thou shalt put a crown of pure gold upon his head." Whereupon the Earls and Viscounts put on their crimson velvet caps with coronets about them, the Barons and Bishops always standing bareheaded. Then every Bishop came severally to his Majesty to bring his benediction upon him; and he, in king Edward's robes, with the crown upon his head, rose from his chair, and did bow severally to every Bishop apart.

Then was king Edward's sword girt about him; which he took off again, and offered-up at the communion-table, with two swords more,—surely, not in relation to Scotland and Ireland, but to some ancient principalities his predecessors enjoyed in France. Then the Duke of Buckingham, as Master of the Horse, put on his spurs; and thus completely crowned, his Majesty offered first gold then silver at the altar, and afterwards bread and wine, which were to be used at the holy communion.

Then was his Majesty conducted by the nobility to the throne upon that square basis of five ascents, the choir singing *Te Deum*. Here his Majesty took an oath of homage from the Duke of Buckingham, as Lord High Constable for that day; and the Duke did swear all the nobility besides to be homagers to his Majesty at his Majesty's knees.

Then as many Earls and Barons as could conveniently stand about the throne, did lay their hands on the crown on his Majesty's head, protesting to spend their bloods to maintain it to him and his lawful heirs.* The Bishops severally kneeled down, but took no oath as the Barons did, the king kissing every one of them.

Then the king took a scroll of parchment out of his bosom, and gave it to the Lord Keeper Williams,† who read it to the Commons four several times,—east, west, north, and south. The effect whereof was, that his Majesty did offer a pardon to all his subjects who would take it under his Broad Seal.

From the throne, his Majesty was conducted to the communion-table, where the Lord Archbishop, kneeling on the north side, read prayers in the choir, and sung the Nicene Creed. The Bishop of Landaff and Norwich read the Epistle and Gospel; with whom the

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 561.—EDIT. † The Lord Keeper Coventry. See the note in p. 340.—EDIT.

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Bishops of Durham and St. David's in rich copes kneeled with his Majesty and received the communion; the bread from the Archbishop, the wine from the Bishop of St. David's; his Majesty receiving last of all, whilst *Gloria in excelsis* was sung by the choir, and some prayers read by the Archbishop concluded the solemnity.

The king, after he had disrobed himself in king Edward's chapel, came forth in a short robe of red velvet girt unto him, lined with ermine, and a crown of his own on his head, set with very precious stones; and thus the train, going to the barges on the water-side, returned to Whitehall in the same order wherein they came, about three o'clock in the afternoon.

31—34. *Our Prolixity herein excused. A foul-mouthed Railer. Why the King rode not through the City. A memorable Alteration in a Pageant.*

I have insisted the longer on this subject, moved thereunto by this consideration,—that if it be the last solemnity performed on an English king in this kind, posterity will conceive my pains well-bestowed, because on the last. But if hereafter Divine Providence shall assign England another king, though the transactions herein be not wholly precedential, something of state may be chosen-out grateful for imitation.*

And here if a blister was not, it deserved to be, on the fingers of that scandalous pamphleteer, who hath written that king Charles was not crowned like other kings. Whereas all essentials of his coronation were performed with as much ceremony as ever before, and all robes of state used according to ancient prescription. But if he indulged his own fancy for the colour of his clothes, a white suit, &c., persons meaner than princes have, in greater matters, assumed as much liberty to themselves.

Indeed, one solemnity (no part of—but preface to—the coronation) was declined on good consideration. For whereas the kings of England used to ride from the Tower through the city to Westminster, king Charles went thither by water, out of double providence,—to save health and wealth thereby. For though the infectious air in the city of London had lately been corrected with a sharp winter, yet was it not so amended but that a just suspicion of danger did remain. Besides, such a procession would have cost him threescore thousand pounds, to be disbursed on scarlet for his train: a sum which, if then demanded of his exchequer, would scarce receive a satisfactory answer thereunto; and, surely, some who since condemn him for want of state, in omitting this royal pageant, would have condemned him more for prodigality, had he made use thereof.

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 334.—EDIT.

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As for any other alterations in prayers or ceremonies, though heavily charged on bishop Laud, [they] are since conceived, by unpartial people, done by a committee; wherein, though the bishop [be] accused as most active, others did equally consent. Indeed, a passage not in fashion since the reign of king Henry VI., was used in a prayer at this time: *Obtineat gratiam huic populo sicut Aaron in tabernaculo, Elizeus in fluvio, Zacharias in templo; sit Petrus in clave, Paulus in dogmate:* "Let him obtain favour for this people, like Aaron in the tabernacle, Elisha in the waters, Zacharias in the temple; give him Peter's key of discipline, Paul's doctrine." This I may call a protestant passage, though anciently used in popish times, as fixing more spiritual power in the king than the pope will willingly allow, jealous that any should finger Peter's keys save himself.

35, 36. *A Conference at York House. A second on the same Subject.*

A few days after, (February 6th,) a parliament began, wherein Mr. Mountagu was much troubled about his book, but made a shift, by his powerful friends, to save himself. During the sitting whereof, at the instance and procurement of Robert Rich, earl of Warwick, a Conference was kept in York-house, February 11th, before the duke of Buckingham and other lords, betwixt Dr. Buckeridge, bishop of Rochester, and Dr. White, dean of Carlisle, on the one side; and Dr. Morton, bishop of Coventry, and Dr. Preston, on the other, about Arminian points, and chiefly the possibility of one elected to fall from grace. The passages of which Conference are variously reported. For it is not in tongue-combats, as in other battles, where the victory cannot be disguised, as discovering itself in keeping the field, number of the slain, captives and colours taken. Whilst here, no such visible effects appearing, the persons present were left to their liberty to judge of the conquest as each one stood affected. However, William earl of Pembroke was heard to say, that none returned Arminians thence, save such who repaired thither with the same opinions.

Soon after, (February 17th,) a second Conference was entertained, in the same place, on the same points, before the same persons; betwixt Dr. White, dean of Carlisle, and Mr. Mountagu, on the one side; and Dr. Morton, bishop of Lichfield, and Dr. Preston, on the other. Dr. Preston carried it clear at the first, by dividing his adversaries; who, quickly perceiving their error, pieced themselves together in a joint opposition against him. The passages also of this Conference are as differently related as the former; some making it a clear conquest on one,* some on the other, side,

* Thus, the writer of Dr. Preston's Life concludes the conquest on his side.

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and a third sort, a drawn battle betwixt both. Thus, the success of these meetings answered neither the commendable intentions nor hopeful expectations of such who procured them. Now, whilst others dare say universally of such Conferences, what David saith of mankind, that of them "there is none that doeth good, no, not one," Psalm xiv. 3; we dare only intimate, that (what statesmen observe of interviews betwixt princes, so) these Conferences betwixt divines rather increase the differences than abate them.

37—40. *The Bishop of Lincoln loseth his Keeper's Place. The Duke incensed against him. The Bishop's Wariness in resigning the Seal; but keeps his Bishopric.*

The bishop of Lincoln fell now, through the duke's—into the king's—displeasure; and such who will read the late letters in the "Cabala" may conjecture the cause thereof; but the certainty we leave to be reported by the historians of the state,—belonging in his episcopal capacity to my pen, but as Lord-Keeper properly to theirs.

The bishop, finding his own tottering condition, addressed himself to all who had intimacy with the duke to re-ingratiate himself. But such after-games at court seldom succeed. All would not do: for as *amicus omnium optimus* was part of the duke's epitaph on his tomb in Westminster chapel, so no fiercer foe when displeased, and nothing under the bishop's removal from his office would give him satisfaction.

Sir John Suckling was sent unto him from the king, to demand the Broad Seal of him; which the cautious bishop refused to surrender into his hands, to prevent such uses as might be made thereof (by him or others) in the interval betwixt his resigning it, and the king's conferring it on another. But he charily locked it up in a box, and sent the box by the knight, and key thereof inclosed in a letter to his Majesty.

However, his bruise was the less, because he fell but from the first loft, and saved himself on the second floor. Outed his Lord-Keepership, but keeping his bishopric of Lincoln and deanery of Westminster; though forced to part with the king's purse, he held his own, and that well-replenished. And now he is retired to Bugden-Great; where, whether greater his anger at his enemies for what he had lost, or gratitude to God for what he had left, though others may conjecture, his own conscience only could decide. Here we leave him at his hospitable table, where sometimes he talked so loud, that his discourse at the second-hand was heard to London, by those who bare no good-will unto him.

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41, 42. *A new College of an old Hall in Oxford, called Pembroke-College.*

An old Hall, turned into a new College, was this year finished at Oxford. This formerly was called Broadgates-Hall, and had many students therein; amongst whom Edmund Bonner, afterwards bishop of London, (scholar enough and tyrant too much,) had his education. But this place was not endowed with any revenues till about this time; for Thomas Tisdale, of Glimpton in the county of Oxford, esquire, bequeathed five thousand pounds, wherewith lands were purchased to the value of two hundred and fifty pounds *per annum*, for the maintenance of seven Fellows and six Scholars. Afterwards, Richard Wightwick, bachelor of divinity, rector of East Ilsley, in Berkshire, gave lands to the yearly value of one hundred pounds, for the maintenance of three Fellows and four Scholars; whereupon, petition being made to king James, this new College was erected, and a charter of mortmain of seven hundred pounds *per annum* was granted thereunto.

It was called Pembroke-College, partly in respect to William earl of Pembroke, then chancellor of the university, partly in expectation to receive some favour from him. And, probably, had not that noble lord died suddenly soon after, this college might have received more than a bare name from him. The best is, where a child hath rich parents it needeth the less any gifts from the godfather.

MASTERS.—(1.) Dr. Thomas Clayton; (2.) Dr. Henry Langley.

BENEFACTORS.—King Charles, who gave the patronage of St. Aldate's, the church adjoining.

So that this College consisteth of a Master, ten Fellows, and ten Scholars, with other Students and Officers to the number of one hundred sixty-nine.

43—45. *Dr. Preston declines in the Duke's Favour. The Death of godly Bishop Lake.*

The doctor and the duke were both of them unwilling to an open breach, loved for to temporize and wait upon events.* Surely "temporize" here is taken in the apostle's sense, according to some copies, "serving the times," Rom. xii. 11.† And henceforwards the duke resolved to shake off the doctor, who would not stick close unto him, betaking himself to the opposite interest. Nor was the other surprised herein, as expecting the alteration long before.

By the late Conferences at York-house it appeared, that, by the duke's cold carriage towards him, (and smiling on his opponents,)

* Dr. Preston's Life, p. 505. † Τῷ καιρῷ δουλεύοντες.—AMBROSIUS.

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Dr. Preston was now entering into the autumn of the duke's favour. Indeed, they were well met, each observing, neither trusting, [the] other, as I read in the doctor's Life, written by his judicious pupil.

This year concluded the life of Arthur Lake, Warden of New-College in Oxford, Master of St. Cross's, dean of Worcester, and at last promoted bishop of Bath and Wells, not so much by the power of his brother sir Thomas, (secretary to king James,) as his own desert; as one whose piety may be justly exemplary to all of his Order. He seldom (if at all) is said to have dreamed; justly imputed, not to the dulness of his fancy, (in which faculty he had no defect,) but to the staidness of his judgment, wherein he did much excel; as by his learned sermons doth appear.

46—50. *The Death and Character of Bishop Andrews. Unjustly accused for Covetousness and Superstition. Causelessly charged with Affectation in his Sermons. Nicholas Fuller, his Chaplain, that profitable Critic.*

About the same time Lancelot Andrews ended his religious life, born at Allhallows Barking in London; Scholar, Fellow, and Master of Pembroke-Hall in Cambridge; then dean of Westminster, bishop of Chichester, Ely, and at last of Winchester. The world wanted learning to know how learned this man was; so skilled in all (especially oriental) languages, that some conceive he might, if then living, almost have served as an interpreter-general at the confusion of tongues. Nor are the fathers more faithfully cited in his books, than lively copied-out in his countenance and carriage; his gravity in a manner awing king James, who refrained from that mirth and liberty in the presence of this prelate, which otherwise he assumed to himself. He lieth buried in the chapel of St. Mary Overy's, having on his monument a large, elegant, and true epitaph.*

Since his death some have unjustly snarled at his memory, accusing him for covetousness, who was neither *rapax*, to get by unjust courses, as a professed enemy to usury, simony, and bribery; nor *tenax*, to hold money when just occasion called for it; for in his life-time he repaired all places he lived in, and at his death left the main of his estate to pious uses. Indeed, he was wont to say, that good husbandry was good divinity; the truth whereof no wise man will deny.

Another falls foully upon him for the ornaments of his chapel, as popish and superstitious, in the superabundant ceremonies thereof.† To which I can say little; but this I dare affirm, that wheresoever

* Stow's "Survey of London."

† William Prynne in his "Canterbury's Doom," p. 121, *et seq.*

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he was a parson, a dean, or a bishop, he never troubled parish, college, or diocess with pressing other ceremonies upon them than such which he found used there before his coming thither. And it had not been amiss, if such who would be accounted his friends and admirers had followed him in the footsteps of his moderation; content with the enjoying—without the enjoining—their private practices and opinions on others.*

As for such who causelessly have charged his sermons as "affected, and surcharged with verbal allusions;" † when they themselves have set forth the like, it will then be time enough to make this bishop's first defence against their calumniations. Nor is it a wonder that the master's pen was so in his writings, whose very servant (a layman) was so successful in the same; I mean, Mr. Henry Isaacson, (lately gone to God,) the industrious author of the useful "Chronology."

It is a pity to part this patron from his chaplain, Nicholas Fuller; born, as I take it, in Hampshire; bred in Oxford, where he was tutor to sir Henry Walhop, who afterwards preferred him to the small parsonage of Allington, in Wiltshire; and Robert Abbot, bishop of Salisbury, made him canon of that church. Afterwards a living of great value was sent by bishop Andrews, (the patron thereof,‡) on the welcome errand to find out Mr. Fuller to accept the same; who was hardly contented to be surprised with a presentation thereunto; such his love to his former small living and retired life. He was the prince of all our English critics: and whereas men of that tribe are generally morose, so that they cannot dissent from another without disdaining, nor oppose without inveighing against him, it is hard to say whether more candour, learning, or judgment, was blended in his "Miscellanies." By discovering how much Hebrew there is in the New-Testament Greek, he cleareth many real difficulties from his verbal observations.

51, 52. *Severe Proceedings against Archbishop Abbot: suspended from his Jurisdiction. Two good Effects of a bad Cause. A.D.* 1627.

A commission was granted unto five bishops, (whereof bishop Laud of the quorum,) to suspend archbishop Abbot from exercising his authority any longer, because uncanonical for casual homicide;§ the proceeding against him being generally condemned as over-rigid and severe.

(1.) The act was committed seven years since, in the reign of king James.

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," pp. 561, 562, 578, 590.—EDIT. † MR. BAYLEY in his *Ladensium Autocatacriton*. ‡ See bishop Andrews's funeral sermon. § See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 565.—EDIT.

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(2.) On a commission then appointed for that purpose, he was cleared from all irregularity, by bishop Andrews in divinity, sir Edward Coke in common- and sir Henry Martin in canon-law.

(3.) It would be of dangerous consequence to condemn him by the canons of foreign Councils, which never were allowed any legislative power in this land.*

(4.) The archbishop had manifested much remorse and self-affliction, for this (rather sad than sinful) act.

(5.) God may be presumed to have forgotten so much as there was of fault in the fact; and why then should man remember it?

(6.) Ever since, he had executed his jurisdiction without any interruption.

(7.) The archbishop had both feet in the grave, and all his whole body likely soon after to follow them.

(8.) Such heightening of casual homicide did savour of intentional malice.

The truth is, the archbishop's own stiffness and averseness to comply with the court-designs advantaged his adversaries against him, and made him the more obnoxious to the king's displeasure. But the blame did most light on bishop Laud;† men accounting this a kind of *filius ante diem*, &c., as if not content to succeed, he endeavoured to supplant him; who might well have suffered his decayed old age to have died in honour: what needs the felling of the tree a-falling?

However, a double good accrued hereby to the archbishop. First. He became the more beloved of men. (The country hath constantly a blessing for those for whom the court hath a curse.) And, Secondly, he may charitably be presumed to love God the more, whose service he did the better attend, being freed from the drudgery of the world; as that soul which hath the least of Martha hath the most of Mary therein.

53—55. *The Character of Archbishop Abbot; accounted no great Friend to the Clergy; accused for the Fautor of Malcontents.*

And although this archbishop survived some years after, yet it will be seasonable here for us to take a fair farewell of his memory, seeing henceforward he was buried to the world.‡ He was bred in Oxford, Master of University-College; an excellent preacher, as appears by his Lectures on Jonah; chaplain to the earl of Dunbar, (with whom he was once solemnly sent by king James into Scotland to preach there,) and afterwards by his means promoted to the archbishopric of Canterbury, haply according to his own, but sure I am

*. See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," pp. 566. EDIT. † *Idem*, p. 590.— EDIT. ‡ *Idem*, p. 568.— EDIT.

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above, if not against, the expectations of others; a grave man in his conversation, and unblamable in his life.

Indeed, it is charged on him that *non amavit gentem nostram*, "he loved not our nation;" forsaking the birds of his own feather, to fly with others, and generally favouring the laity above the clergy, in all cases brought before him. But this he endeavoured to excuse to a private friend, by protesting he was himself so severe to the clergy on purpose to rescue them from the severity of others, and to prevent the punishment of them from lay judges, to their greater shame.

I also read in a nameless author,* that towards his death he was not only discontented himself, but his house was the rendezvous of all malcontents in church and state; making midnight of noonday, by constant keeping of candles light in his chamber and study; as also such visitants as repaired unto him, called themselves Nicodemites, because of their secret addresses. But a credible person, and one of his nearest relations,† knew nothing thereof; which, with me, much shaketh the probability of the report. And thus we leave this archbishop, and the rest of his praises, to be reported by the poor people of Guildford, in Surrey, where he founded and endowed a fair almshouse in the town of his nativity.

56—59. *A Toleration, blasted in Ireland, hopes to spring in England; but is rejected. Sir John Savile's Motion.*

The king's treasury now began to grow low, and his expenses to mount high. No wonder then if the statesmen were much troubled to make up the distance betwixt his exchequer and his occasions. Amongst other designs, the papists in Ireland, taking advantage of the king's wants, proffered to pay constantly five thousand men, if they might but enjoy a toleration. But that motion was crushed by the bishops opposing it, and chiefly by bishop Downham's sermon in Dublin, on this text, "That we, being delivered from the hands of our enemies, might serve him without fear," Luke i. 74.

Many a man, sunk in his estate in England, hath happily recovered it by removing into Ireland: whereas, by a contrary motion, this project, bankrupt in Ireland, presumed to make itself up in England; where the papists promised to maintain a proportion of ships, on the aforesaid condition, of free exercise of their religion. Some were desirous the king should accept their tender, who might lawfully take what they were so forward to give, seeing "no injury is done to them who are willing."

It was urged on the other side, that where such willingness to be injured proceeds from the principle of an erroneous conscience, there their simplicity ought to be informed, not abused. Grant

* In answer to the pamphlet entitled, "The Court and Character of king James," p. 132. † Dr. Barnard, his household chaplain.

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papists so weak as to buy, protestants should be more honest than to sell, such base wares unto them. Such ships must needs spring many leaks, rigged, victualled, and manned with ill-gotten money, gained by the sale of souls. And here all the objections were revived, which in the reign of king James were improved against such a toleration.

Here sir John Saville interposed, that if the king were pleased but to call on the recusants to pay thirds, legally due to the crown, it would prove a way more effectual and less offensive to raise a mass of money; it being but just, who were so rich and free to purchase new privileges should first pay their old penalties. This motion was listened unto; and sir John, with some others, appointed for that purpose in the counties beyond Trent,—scarce a third of England in ground, but almost the half thereof for the growth of recusants therein. But whether the returns seasonably furnished the king's occasions, is to me unknown.

60—65. *A Parliament called, which proves full of Troubles. Mr. Pym's Speech against Dr. Manwaring. The severe Censure on the Doctor. His humble Submission. The Acts of this Parliament. Nothing done in the Convocation.* A.D. 1628.

It is suspicious, that all such projects to quench the thirst of the king's necessities proved no better than sucking-bottles,—soon emptied, and but cold the liquor they afforded. Nothing so natural as the milk of the breast; I mean, subsidies granted by Parliament, which the king at this time assembled. But, alas! to follow the metaphor, both the breasts, the two Houses, were so sore with several grievances, that all money came from them with much pain and difficulty; the rather, because they complained of doctrines destructive to their propriety, [property,] lately preached at court.

For, June 9th, towards the end of this session of parliament Dr. Manwaring was severely censured for two sermons he had preached and printed about the power of the king's prerogative. Such is the precipice of this matter, (wherein each casual slip of my pen may prove a deadly fall,) that I had rather the reader should take all from Mr. Pym's mouth,* than from my hand, who thus uttered himself:—

"Master Speaker, I am to deliver from the Sub-Committee a charge against Mr. Manwaring, a preacher and doctor of divinity, but a man so criminous that he hath turned his titles into accusations; for the better they are, the worse is he that hath dishonoured them. Here is a great charge that lies upon him; it is great in itself, and great because it hath many great charges in it: *serpens, qui serpentem devorat, fit draco;* his charge, having digested many

* Transcribed out of his manuscript speech.

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charges into it, is become a monster of charges. The main and great one is this;—a plot and policy to alter and subvert the frame and fabric of this state and commonwealth. This is the great one; and it hath others in it, that gain it more greatness. For, to this end, he labours to infuse into the conscience of his Majesty, the persuasion of a power not bounding itself with laws; which king James of famous memory calls, in his speech in parliament, 1619, 'tyranny; yea, tyranny accompanied with perjury.'

"Secondly. He endeavours to persuade the consciences of the subjects, that they are bound to obey illegal commands; yea, he damns them for not obeying them.

"Thirdly. He robs the subjects of the property of their goods.

"Fourthly. He brands them that will not lose this property, with most scandalous and odious titles, to make them hateful both to prince and people, so to set a division between the head and members, and between the members themselves.

"Fifthly. To the same end, (not much unlike to Faux and his fellows,) he seeks to blow-up Parliaments and parliamentary power.

"These five, being duly viewed, will appear to be so many charges; and withal they make up the main and great charge,—a mischievous plot to alter and subvert the frame and government of this state and commonwealth. And now, that you may be sure that Mr. Manwaring, though he leave us no propriety [property] in our goods, yet he hath an absolute propriety in his charge, *audite ipsam belluam*, hear Mr. Manwaring by his own words making up his own charge."

Here he produced the book, particularly insisting on pages 19, 29, and 30, in the first sermon; pages 35, 46, and 48, in the second sermon. All which passages he heightened with much eloquence and acrimony; thus concluding his speech: "I have showed you an evil tree that bringeth forth evil fruit; and now it rests with you to determine, whether the following sentence shall follow, 'Cut it down, and cast it into the fire.'"

June 13th, four days after, the Parliament proceeded to his censure, consisting of eight particulars; it being ordered by the House of Lords against him, as followeth:—

(1.) To be imprisoned during the pleasure of the House.

(2.) To be fined a thousand pounds.

(3.) To make his submission at the bar in this House, and in the House of Commons, at the bar there, *in verbis conceptis* by a Committee of this House.

(4.) To be suspended from his ministerial function three years; and in the mean time a sufficient preaching-man to be provided out of the profits of his living; and this to be left to be performed by the ecclesiastical court.

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(5.) To be disabled for ever hereafter from preaching at court.

(6.) To be for ever disabled of having any ecclesiastical dignity in the church of England.

(7.) To be uncapable of any secular office or preferment.

(8.) That his books are worthy to be burned, and his Majesty to be moved that it may be so in London, and both the universities.

But much of this censure was remitted, in consideration of the performance of his humble submission at both the bars in parliament: where he appeared on June 23rd following; and on his knees, before both Houses, submitted himself, as followeth, with outward expression of sorrow:—

"I do here, in all sorrow of heart and true repentance, acknowledge those many errors and indiscretions which I have committed in preaching and publishing the two sermons of mine, which I called 'Religion and Allegiance,' and my great fault in falling upon this theme again, and handling the same rashly, scandalously, and unadvisedly in my own parish-church in St. Giles-in-the-Fields, the fourth of May last past. I humbly acknowledge these three sermons to have been full of dangerous passages and inferences, and scandalous aspersions, in most part of the same. And I do humbly acknowledge the just proceedings of this honourable House against me, and the just sentence and judgment passed upon me for my great offence. And I do from the bottom of my heart crave pardon of God, the king, and this honourable House, and the commonweal in general, and those worthy persons adjudged to be reflected upon by me in particular, for those great offences and errors."

How this doctor, Roger Manwaring, (notwithstanding the foresaid censure,) was afterwards preferred, first to the deanery of Worcester, next to the bishopric of St. David's, God willing, in due place thereof.

On Thursday, the 26th of this month, ended the Session of Parliament; wherein little relating to religion was concluded, save only that divers abuses on the Lord's day were restrained. All carriers, carters, waggoners, wainmen, drovers of cattle, forbidden to travel thereon, on the forfeit of twenty shillings for every offence. Likewise, butchers to lose six shillings and eight-pence for killing or selling any victuals on that day. A law was also made, that whosoever goeth himself, or sendeth others, beyond the seas, to be trained-up in popery, &c., shall be disabled to sue, &c., and shall lose all his goods, and shall forfeit all his lands, &c., for life. Five entire subsidies were granted to the king by the spirituality; and the said grant confirmed by the Act of this Parliament; which now was first prorogued to October 20th following, and then, on some intervening obstructions, put off to January 20th, when it began again.

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As for the Convocation, concurrent in time with this parliament, nothing considerable was acted therein. Dr. Thomas Winniffe, dean of Gloucester, preached the Latin sermon; his text, *Attendite ad vos ipsos, et totum gregem, &c.*, Acts xx. 28; Dr. Curle was chosen Prolocutor: and a low voice would serve the turn where nothing was to be spoken.

66. *The Death of Dr. Preston.*

On July 20th following, Dr. Preston died in his native county of Northamptonshire, near the place of his birth, of a consumption, and was buried at Fauseley, Mr. Dod preaching his funeral sermon: an excellent preacher; of whom Mr. Noy was wont to say, that "he preached as if he knew God's will:" a subtle disputant and great politician; so that his foes must confess, that (if not having too little of the dove) he had enough of the serpent. Some will not stick to say he had large parts of sufficient receipt to manage the Broad Seal itself, which, if the condition had pleased him, was proffered unto him! * For he might have been the duke's right hand,—though at last less than his little finger unto him; who, despairing that this patriarch of the presbyterian party would bring off his side unto him, used *him* no longer *who* would not or could not be useful unto him. Most of this doctor's posthume books have been happy in their education; I mean, in being well brought forth into the world,—though all of them have not lighted on so good guardians. But his Life is so largely and learnedly written by one of his own pupils,† that nothing can be added unto it.

67—70. *The Death of Bishop Carleton. Mr. Mountagu's Confirmation opposed; but the Opposition ineffectual. Caution seasonably used.*

About this time George Carleton, that grave and godly bishop of Chichester, ended his pious life. He was born at Norham in Northumberland,‡ where his father was the keeper of that important castle in the Marshes; an employment speaking him wise and valiant, in those dangerous and warlike days. He was bred and brought up under Mr. Bernard Gilpin, that apostolical man, whose Life he wrote in gratitude to his memory; and retained his youthful and poetical studies fresh in his old age. He was selected by king James one of the five divines sent over to the Synod of Dort. He wrote many small tracts, (one against sir John Heydon, about judicial astrology,) which, conjoined, would amount to a great volume. Mr. Richard Mountagu, one of a different judgment, suc-

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 554.—EDIT. † MR. THOMAS BALLE of Northampton. ‡ CAMDEN'S "Britannia" in Northumberland.

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ceeded in his see, August 22nd, who at first met with some small opposition on the following occasion :—

There is a solemnity performed before the consecration of every bishop, in this manner: The royal assent being passed on his election, the archbishop's vicar-general proceeds to his confirmation, commonly kept in Bow church. A process is issued forth to call all persons to appear, to show cause why the elect there present should not be confirmed. For, seeing a bishop is in a manner married to his see, (save that hereafter he taketh his surname from his wife, and not she from him,) this ceremony is a kind of asking the bans, to see if any can allege any lawful cause to forbid them. Now, at the confirmation of Mr. Mountagu, when liberty was given to any objectors against him, one Mr. Humphreys, since a parliament-colonel, lately deceased, and William Jones, a stationer of London, (who alone is mentioned in the record,) excepted against Mr. Mountagu, as unfitting for the episcopal office, chiefly on this account,—because lately censured by Parliament for his book, and rendered uncapable of all preferment in the church.

But exception was taken at Jones's exceptions, which the record calls *prætensos articulos*, as defective in some legal formalities. I have been informed, it was alleged against him for bringing-in his objections *vivâ voce*, and not by a proctor; (that court adjudging all private persons effectually dumb, who speak not by one admitted to plead therein;) Jones returned, that he could not get any proctor, though pressing them importunately, and proffering them their fee, to present his exceptions, and therefore was necessitated *ore tenus* there to allege them against Mr. Mountagu. The register mentioneth no particular defects in his exceptions:* but Dr. Rives, substitute at that time for the vicar-general, declined to take any notice of them, and concludeth Jones amongst the contumacious, *quòd nullo modo legitimè comparuit, nec aliquid in hac parte juxta juris exigentiam diceret, exciperet, vel opponeret.* Yet this good Jones did bishop Mountagu, that he caused his addresses to the king to procure a pardon; which was granted unto him, in form like those given at the coronation, save that some particulars were inserted therein, "for the pardoning of all errors heretofore committed, either in speaking, writing, or printing, whereby he might hereafter be questioned." The like at the same time was granted to Dr. Manwaring, on whom the rich parsonage of Stanford Rivers in Essex was conferred, as void by bishop Mountagu's preferment.

An intention there was for the bishop, and all the company employed at his confirmation, to dine at a tavern; but Dr. Thomas Rives utterly refused it, rendering this reason,—that he had heard,

* *Registrum Cantuar.*, fol. 140, *in anno* 1628.

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that the dining at a tavern gave all the colour to that far-spreading and long-lasting lie, of Matthew Parker's being consecrated at the Nag's Head in Cheapside; and, for aught he knew, captious people would be ready to raise the like report on the same occasion. It being therefore Christian caution, not only to quench the fire of sin, but also, if possible, to put out the smoke of scandal, they removed their dining to another place.

71—73. *The Parliament dissolved. Proclamation against the Bishop of Chalcedon. He flieth into France.*

On January 20th the Parliament was re-assembled; which died issueless, as I may say, the March following, leaving no Acts (abortions are no children) completed behind it. Let the reader who desireth farther instructions of the passages herein, consult the historians of the state. Indeed, if the way were good, and weather fair, a traveller, to please his curiosity in seeing the country, might adventure to ride a little out of the road; but *he* is none of the wisest *who*, in a tempest and miry way, will lose time and leave his own journey. If pleasant and generally acceptable were the transactions in this Parliament, it might have tempted me to touch a little thereon, out of the track of my church-story; but, finding nothing but stirs and storms therein, I will only go on fair and softly in my beaten path of ecclesiastical affairs. Bishop Laud had no great cause to be a mourner at the funeral of this parliament, having entered it in his Diary, that it endeavoured his destruction.

At this time Richard Smith, (distinct from Henry Smith, *alias* Lloyd, a Jesuit, whom some confound as the same person,) being in title bishop of Chalcedon in Greece, in truth a dangerous English priest, acted and exercised episcopal jurisdiction over the catholics here, by commission from the pope, appearing in his *pontificalibus* in Lancashire, with his mitre and crosier, to the wonder of poor people, and conferring Orders and the like. This was much offensive to the Regulars, as intrenching on their privileges; who countermined him as much as they might. His Majesty, having notice of this Romish agent, March 24th, renewed his proclamation (one of a former date taking no effect) for his apprehension, promising an hundred pounds to be presently paid to him that did it, beside all the profits which accrued to the Crown, as legally due from the person who entertained him.

However, such as hid and harboured him were neither frighted with the penalty, nor flattered with the profit, to discover him. But Smith, conceiving his longer stay here to be dangerous, conveyed himself over into France, where he became a confidant of cardinal Richelieu's. The conveniency and validity of his episcopal

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power was made the subject of several books which were written thereon.

In favour of him.—(1.) N. de Maistre, a Sorbonne priest, in his book entitled, *De Persecutione Episcoporum, et De illustrissimo Antistite Chalcedonensi.* (2.) The Faculty of Paris, which censured all such as opposed him.

In opposition to him.—(1.) Daniel, a Jesuit. (2.) Horucan. (3.) Lumley. (4.) Nicholas Smith.

This Chalcedon Smith wrote a book called "the Prudential Balance," much commended by men of his own persuasion; and, for aught I know, is still alive.

74—76. *The Death and Character of Toby Matthew. His Gratitude unto God. He died yearly.*

Within the compass of this year died the reverend Toby Matthew, archbishop of York. He was born in the Somersetshire-side of Bristol, and in his childhood had a marvellous preservation, when with a fall he brake his foot, ancle, and small of his leg; which were so soon recovered to eye, use, sight, service, that not the least mark remained thereof.* Coming to Oxford, he fixed at last in Christ-Church, and became dean thereof. He was one of a proper person, (such people, *cæteris paribus*, and sometimes *cæteris imparibus*, were preferred by the queen,) and an excellent preacher; Campian himself confessing, that he did *dominari in concionibus*. He was of a cheerful spirit, yet without any trespass on episcopal gravity; there lying a real distinction between facetiousness and nugacity. None could condemn him for his pleasant wit, though often he would condemn himself, as so habited therein, he could as well *not be*, as *not be merry*, and not take up an innocent jest as it lay in the way of his discourse.

One passage must not be forgotten. After he had arrived at his greatness, he made one journey into the west, to visit his two mothers, —her that bare him at Bristol, and her that bred him in learning, the university of Oxford. Coming near to the latter, attended with a train suitable to his present condition, he was met almost with an equal number, who came out of Oxford to give him entertainment. Thus augmented with another troop, and remembering he had passed over a small water a poor scholar, when first coming to the university, he kneeled down and took up the expression of Jacob: "With my staff came I over this Jordan, and now I am become two bands." I am credibly informed, that, *mutatis mutandis*, the same was performed by his predecessor, archbishop Hutton, at Sophisters Hills

* Sir John Harrington in his Continuation of Bishop Godwin's "Catalogue of Bishops."

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nigh Cambridge; and am so far from distrusting either, that I believe both.

He died yearly in report; and I doubt not but that, in the apostle's sense, he died daily in his mortifying meditations. He went over the graves of many who looked for his archbishopric. I will not say, they catched a cold in waiting barefoot for a living man's shoes. His wife, the daughter of bishop Barlow, (a confessor in queen Mary's days,) was a prudent and a provident matron. Of this extraction came sir Toby Matthew, having all his father's name, many of his natural parts, few of his moral virtues, fewer of his spiritual graces, as being an inveterate enemy to the protestant religion. George Mountaine succeeded him, scarce warm in his church before cold in his coffin, as not continuing many months therein.

77. *The Death of Bishop Felton.*

I humbly crave the reader's pardon for omitting due time of the death of reverend Dr. Nicholas Felton, bishop of Ely, as buried before, though dying some days after, bishop Andrews; and, indeed, great was the conformity betwixt them: Both being sons of seafaring men,* who, by God's blessing on their industry, attained comfortable estates; both Scholars, Fellows, and Masters of Pembroke-Hall; both great scholars, painful preachers in London for many years, with no less profit to others than credit to themselves; both successively bishops of Ely. This bishop Felton had a sound head and a sanctified heart, beloved of God, and all good men, very hospitable to all, and charitable to the poor. He died, October 5th, 1626, and lieth buried under the communion-table in St. Antholin's in London; whereof he had been minister for twenty-eight years:† one (whilst a private man) happy in his curates, (whereof two, Dr. Bowles and Dr. Westfield, afterwards became bishops,) and (when a bishop) no less happy in his learned and religious chaplains.

SECTION II.

TO JOHN CARY, OF STANSTED IN HERTFORDSHIRE, ESQUIRE.

RARE is your happiness in leaving the court, before it left you; not in deserting your attendance on your mas-

* Bishop Andrews in London, and Felton in Yarmouth. † Attested unto me by John Norgate, his son-in-law.

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ter, of whom none more constantly observant; but in quitting such vanities which the court then in power did tender, and you, then in prime, might have accepted: whilst you seasonably retrenched yourself, and reduced your soul to a holy seriousness, declining such expensive recreations, (on principles of piety as well as providence,) wherewith your youth was so much affected.

And now, sir, seeing you are so judicious in racing, give me leave to prosecute the apostle's metaphor, in applying my best wishes to you and to your worthy lady, who hath repaired the losses caused by loyalty; so that you have found in a virtuous mate what you have lost for a gracious master.

Heaven is your mark, Christ your way thither, the word the way to Christ, God's Spirit the guide to both. When in this race impatience shall make you to tire, or ignorance to stray, or idleness or weakness to stumble, or wilfulness to fall; may repentance raise you, faith quicken you, patience strengthen you, till perseverance bring you both to the mark!

1. *The Birth and Death of Prince Charles.* 5 Charles I. *A.D.* 1629.

QUEEN MARY, surprised with some fright, (as is generally believed,) antedated the time of her travail by some weeks, and on Wednesday, May 13th, was delivered of a son. But a greater acceleration was endeavoured in his baptism, than what happened at his birth,—such the forwardness of the popish priests to snatch him from the hands of those as [who] dressed him, had not the care of king Charles prevented them, assigning Dr. Web (then waiting his month) to christen him. He died about an hour after; the king very patiently bearing the loss, as receiving the first-fruits of some of his subjects' estates, and as willingly paying those of his own body to the King of heaven.

2. *Oxford Muses.*

The university of Oxford (Cambridge being then heavily infected with the plague) at once in their verses congratulated the safe birth, and condoled the short life, of this prince; and a tetrastich, made by one of Christ-Church, (thus in making his address to the queen,) I must not omit:—

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Quòd Lucina tuos semel est frustrata labores,
Nec fortunantes præbuit illa manus,
Ignoscas, regina: uno molimine ventris,
Non potuit princeps ad tria regna dari.

This prince the next day after was buried by bishop Laud in the chapel at Westminster.

3. *Dr. Leighton's railing Book.*

During the sitting of the last Parliament, one Leighton, a Scottish man, presented a book unto them, May 14th: had he been an Englishman, we durst call him a furious, and now will term him a fiery (whence kindled let others guess) writer. His book consisted of a continued railing, from the beginning to the end; exciting the Parliament and people to kill all the bishops, and to smite them under the fifth rib. He bitterly inveighed against the queen, calling her "a daughter of Heth, a Canaanite and idolatress," and "Zion's Plea" was the specious title of his pamphlet; for which he was sentenced in the Star-chamber to be whipped and stigmatized, to have his ears cropped and nose slit. But, betwixt the pronouncing and inflicting this censure, he makes his escape into Bedfordshire.

4. *Recovered (after his Escape) and severely punished.*

The Warden of the Fleet was in a bushel of troubles about his escape, though alleging that some helped him over the wall, and that he himself knew nothing thereof till the noon after. But no plea seemed available for one in his place, but either the keeping or recovering of his prisoner; unfortunate in the former, he was happy in the latter, and brought him back into his custody; so that the aforesaid censure was inflicted on him. It is remarkable, that amongst the many accusations charged on archbishop Laud at his trial, the severity on Leighton is not at all mentioned, chiefly because (though he might be suspected active therein) his faults were of so high a nature, none then or since dare appear in his defence. The papists boast that they have beyond the seas, with them, his son, of another persuasion.

5, 6. *Feoffees to buy-in Impropriations begin and proceed hopefully.*

Some three years since, certain feoffees were (though not incorporated by the king's letters-patent, or any Act of Parliament) legally settled in trust, to purchase-in impropriations with their own and other well-disposed persons' money; and with their profit to set up and maintain a constant preaching ministry in places of greatest

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need, where the word was most wanting. These consisted of a number neither too few as the work should burden them, nor so many as might be a burden to the work; twelve in all, diversely qualified:—

(1.) William Gouge, D.D. (2.) Richard Sibbs, D.D. (3.) C. Offspring. (4.) J. Davenport. (5, 6.) Ralph Eyre and S. Brown, of Lincoln's Inn. (7.) C. Sherland, of Gray's Inn, Middle Temple. (8.) John White, of Gray's Inn, Middle Temple. (9.) John Geering, (10.) Richard Davis, (11.) George Harwood, (12.) Francis Bridges, Citizens.

Here were four divines to persuade men's consciences, four lawyers to draw all conveyances, and four citizens who commanded rich coffers; wanting nothing, save (what since doeth all things) some swordsmen to defend all the rest. Beside these the Cape-merchants, as I may term them, there were other inferior factors, Mr. Foxley, &c., who were employed by appointment, or of officiousness employed themselves, in this design.

It is incredible what large sums were advanced in a short time towards so laudable an employment. There are, indeed, in England, of parish-churches, nine thousand two hundred eighty-four, endowed with glebe and tithes. But of these, when these feoffees entered on their work three thousand eight hundred forty-five were either appropriated to bishops, cathedrals, and colleges, or impropriated (as lay fees) to private persons, as formerly belonging to abbeys. The redeeming and restoring of the latter was these feoffees' design; and it was verily believed, if not obstructed in their endeavours, within fifty years rather purchases than money would have been wanting unto them, buying them generally (as candle-rents) at or under twelve years' valuation. My pen, passing by them at the present, may safely salute them with a "God speed," as neither seeing nor suspecting any danger in the design.*

7. *The Bishop of Chalcedon's Episcopizing in England.*

Richard Smith, titulary bishop of Chalcedon, taking his honour from Greece, his profit from England, (where he bishoped it over all the Romish catholics,) was now very busy in his employment. But when, where, and how oft he acted here, is past our discovery, it being never known when men of his profession come hither till they be caught here. Now, if any demand why the pope did not entitle him to some English rather than this Grecian bishopric, (the grant of both being but of the same price of his Holiness's breath, and the confirmation equally cheap in wax and parchment,) especially seeing that in Ireland he had made anti-bishops to all sees; it is

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 369.—EDIT.

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easy for one (though none of his conclave) to conjecture. For in Ireland he had in every diocess and parish a counter-part of people for number and quality; which he had not in England; and therefore, to entitle bishops here, had but rendered it the more ridiculous in the granter, and dangerous in the accepter thereof.

8—11. *Opposed by Nicholas Smith, alleging a Bishop over English Catholics useless in Persecution, and burdensome; and this Bishop no Ordinary.*

Nicholas Smith, a Regular, (and perchance a Jesuit,) much stomached the advancement and activity of Richard Smith, bishop of Chalcedon, and wrote bitterly against him; the hammer of one Smith clashing against another. He fell foul also on Dr. Kellison, president of the College of Douay, who lately set forth "a Treatise of the Dignity and Necessity of Bishops and Secular Clergy;" generally opposing his doctrine, and particularly in relation to the English bishops, instancing in the following exceptions:—

First. A bishop over the English was useless, and might well be spared in times of persecution; there being but two peculiar performances of a bishop; namely, Ordination and Confirmation. For the former; it might be supplied by foreign bishops; the priests of our English nation being generally bred beyond the seas. As for confirmation of the children of English catholics, he much decried the necessity thereof, though not so far as to un-seven the sacraments of the church of Rome; affirming it out of St. Thomas of Aquin,* and other divines, that, by commission from the pope, a priest, though no bishop, might confirm. To this Dr. Kellison's scholar, or himself under the vizard, replied, that, in the definition of St. Cyprian, "a church was a people united to its bishop," and therefore an absolute necessity of that function.

Secondly. He was burdensome to the church, considering the present pressures of poor English catholics, needing now no unnecessary expenses for the maintenance of the bishop and his agents. To this it was answered, that Mr. Nicholas Smith, and his brethren, Regulars, daily put the catholics to far greater charges, as appeareth by the stately houses, purchases, &c.† Indeed, generally, the little finger of a Jesuit was conceived, in his entertainment, heavier than the loins of a Secular. Mean time, in what case were our English lay catholics, with Issachar, couching down between two burdens, Gen. xlix. 14, bearing the weight of both Regulars and Seculars! But who need pity them who will not pity themselves?

Thirdly. He took exceptions at the person of this bishop of

* *Tertia Pars*, Q. lxxix. art. 21, ad. 1. † "Reply to Mr. N. Smith." p. 294.

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Chalcedon, as not lawfully called in canonical criticism. First. Because not estated in his episcopal inspection over England during his life, as a bishop ought to be, but only constituted *ad beneplacitum papæ*, "at the pleasure of the pope," which restriction destroyeth his being a lawful ordinary. Secondly. He carpeth at him as made by delegation and commission, and therefore a delegate, not an ordinary. To which the other replied, that even legates have that clause in their commission, limited to the pope's pleasure, and yet no catholic will question them to be lawful ordinaries. As to the second exception, the same (saith he) doth not destroy his ordinaryship, but only showeth he was made an ordinary, in an extraordinary manner: which distinction how far it will hold good in the canon-law, let those inquire who are concerned therein.

12. *Regulars' Pride and Proposition condemned.*

Notwithstanding Dr. Kellison's confutation, the insolency of the Regulars daily increased in England, so that they themselves may seem the most Seculars; so fixed were they to the wealth and vanity of this world. The Irish Regulars exceeded the English in pride, maintaining, amongst other printed propositions, that the Superiors of Regulars are more worthy than bishops themselves; because the honour of the pastor is to be measured from the condition of the flock; *quemadmodum opilio dignior est subulco*, "as a shepherd is of more esteem than a hogherd." In application of the first to themselves, the last to the Seculars, it is hard to say whether their pride was more in their own praise, or charity less in condemning of others. It was therefore high time for the doctors of the Sorbonne in Paris, who for many ages have maintained in their college the hereditary reputation of learning, to take these Regulars to task. January 15th, sixty of the Sorbonne doctors censured the aforesaid proposition; and, January 30th, the archbishop of Paris condemned the book of Nicholas Smith, as also another tending to the same subject, made by one Daniel, a Jesuit.

13. *Query, Whether now reconciled?*

On what terms the Regulars and Seculars stand in England at this day, I neither know nor list to inquire. Probably they have learned wit from our woes; and our late sad differences have occasioned their reconcilement. Only I learn this distinction from them: "The catholics *as catholics* agree always in matters of faith; but the best catholics *as men* may vary in their opinions." * I hope they will allow to us what liberty they assume to themselves.

* "Reply to Mr. N. Smith," preface, p. 20.

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14, 15. *Bishop Davenant's Sermon at Court; for which he is convented before the Council. A.D.* 1630.

Dr. John Davenant, bishop of Salisbury, preached his course on a Sunday in Lent at Whitehall before the king and court, finishing a text on Rom. vi. 23; the former part whereof he had handled the year before. In prosecution whereof, it seems, he was conceived to fall on some forbidden points; insomuch that his Majesty (whether at first by his own inclination, or others' instigation, is uncertain) manifested much displeasure thereat. Sermon ending, his adversaries at court hoped hereby *to make him fall totally and finally from* the king's favour, though missing their mark herein; as, in fine, it did appear.

Two days after he was called before the Privy Council; where he presented himself on his knees; and so had still continued, for any favour he found from any of his own function there present. But the temporal lords bad him arise and stand to his own defence, being as yet only accused, not convicted. Dr. Harsnet, archbishop of York, managed all the business against him, (bishop Laud, walking-by all the while in silence, spake not one word,) making a long oration, uttered with much vehemency, to this effect:—

First. He magnified king James's bounty unto him, who, from a private master of a college in Cambridge, without any other immediate preferment, advanced him by an unusual rise to the great and rich bishopric of Salisbury.

Secondly. He extolled the piety and prudence of king Charles in setting-forth lately an useful Declaration, wherein he had commanded that many intricate questions, tending more to distraction than edification of people, should utterly be forborne in preaching, and which had already produced much peace in the church.

Thirdly. He aggravated the heinousness of the bishop's offence, who so ill requited his Majesty's favour unto him as to offer, in his own presence, in so great an auditory, to break his Declaration, inviting others by his example to do the like.

Fourthly. That "high contempt" was the lowest term could be given to such an offence, seeing ignorance could in no probability be pretended in a person of his reputed learning and eminent profession.

What the other answered hereunto will best appear by his own letter written to his worthy friend Dr. Ward, giving him an exact account of all proceedings herein in manner as followeth:—

16. *Bishop Davenant's Relation of the whole Matter in his Letter to Dr. Ward.*

"As for my court-business, though it grieved me that the established doctrine of our church should be distasted, yet it grieved me

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the less, because the truth of what I delivered was acknowledged, even by those who thought fit to have me questioned for the delivery of it. Presently after my sermon was ended, it was signified unto me by my lord of York, and my lord of Winchester, and my lord Chamberlain, that his Majesty was much displeased that I had stirred this question which he had forbidden to be meddled withal, one way or other. My answer was, that I had delivered nothing but the received doctrine of our church established in the seventeenth Article, and that I was ready to justify the truth of what I had then taught. Their answer was, the doctrine was not gainsaid; but his Highness had given command, these questions should not be debated; and therefore he took it more offensively that any should be so bold as in his own hearing to break his royal commands. And here my lord of York aggravated the offence, from many other circumstances. My reply was only this, that I never understood that his Majesty had forbid a handling of any doctrine comprised in the Articles of our church, but only raising of new questions, or adding of new sense thereunto, which I had not done, nor ever should do. This was all that passed betwixt us on Sunday night after my sermon. The matter thus rested; and I heard no more of it, till, coming unto the Tuesday sermon, one of the clerks of the council told me, that I was to attend at the Council-table the next day at two of the clock. I told him I would wait upon their lordships at the hour appointed. When I came thither, my lord of York made a speech well-nigh half an hour long, aggravating the boldness of mine offence, and showing many inconveniences that it was likely to draw after it. And he much insisted upon this, what good effect his Majesty's Declaration had wrought, how these controversies had ever since been buried in silence, no man meddling with them one way or other. When his Grace had finished his speech, I desired the lords, that, since I was called thither as an offender, I might not be put to answer a long speech upon the sudden, but that my lord's Grace would be pleased to charge me point by point, and so to receive my answer; for I did not yet understand wherein I had broken any commandment of his Majesty's, which my lord in his whole discourse took for granted. Having made this motion, I gave no further answer, and all the lords were silent for a while. At length my lord's Grace said, I knew well enough the point which was urged against me; namely, the breach of the king's Declaration. Then I stood upon this defence, that the doctrine of predestination which I taught was not forbidden by the Declaration. First. Because in the Declaration all the Articles are established; amongst which, the Article of predestination is one. Secondly. Because all ministers are urged to

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subscribe unto the truth of the Article, and all subjects to continue in the profession of that as well as of the rest. Upon these and such like grounds I gathered, it could not be esteemed amongst forbidden, curious, or needless doctrines; and here I desired that out of any clause in the Declaration it might be showed me, that, keeping myself within the bounds of the Article, I had transgressed his Majesty's command. But the Declaration was not produced, nor any particular words in it; only this was urged, that the king's will was, that, for the peace of the church, these high questions should be forborne. My answer then was, that I was sorry I understood not his Majesty's intention; which if I had done before, I should have made choice of some other matter to entreat of, which might have given none offence; and that, for the time to come, I should conform myself as readily as any other to his Majesty's command. The earl of Arundel seemed to approve of this my answer; and withal advised me to proceed no further in my defence. This is in substance all which was done or said in this matter; and so I was dismissed. The lords said nothing either in approbation of what I had alleged, to show that I had not wittingly broken the king's known command, or in confirmation of the contrary, urged against me by my lord's Grace. At my departure I entreated their lordships to let his Majesty understand, that I had not boldly or wilfully and wittingly, against his Declaration, meddled with the fore-named point; and that now understanding fully his Majesty's mind and intention, I should humbly yield obedience thereunto. This business thus ended, I went the next day to my lord Chamberlain, and intreated him to do me the favour, that I might be brought to kiss the king's hand before I went out of town; which his lordship most readily promised and performed. When I came in, his Majesty declared his resolution, that he would not have this high point meddled withal or debated, either the one way or the other, because it was too high for the people's understanding; and other points, which concern reformation and newness of life, were more needful and profitable. I promised obedience herein; and so, kissing his Majesty's hand, departed. I thought fit to acquaint you with the whole carriage of this business, because I am afraid many false reports will be made of it, and contrary one to another, as men stand contrarily affected. I showed no letter or instructions, neither have any but these general instructions, which king James gave us at our going to Dort, which make little or nothing to this business. I sought amongst my papers, but could not find them on the sudden, and I suppose you have them already. As for my sermon, the brief heads were these: 'Eternal life is the gift of God, through Jesus Christ our Lord,' Rom. vi. 23. As in the former part, I had spoken

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of the threefold misery of the wicked; so here I expounded the threefold happiness of the godly to be considered:—(1.) *Happy* in the Lord whom they serve: God or Christ Jesus. (2.) *Happy* in the reward of their service: Eternal life. (3.) *Happy* in the manner of their reward: χάρισμα, or *gratuitum donum in Christo.*

"The two former points were not excepted against. In the third and last I considered eternal life in three divers instances: (1.) In the eternal destination thereunto which we call 'election.' (2.) In our conversion, regeneration, or justification, which I termed 'the embryo of eternal life,' John iv. 14; and, last of all, in our coronation, when full possession of eternal life is given us. In all these I showed it to be χάρισμα, or 'the free gift of God,' through Christ, and not procured or premerited by any special acts depending upon the free-will of men. The last point, wherein I opposed the popish doctrine of merit, was not disliked. The second, wherein I showed the effectual vocation or regeneration (whereby we have eternal life inchoated and begun in us) is a free gift, was not expressly taxed. Only the first was it which bred the offence; not in regard of the doctrine itself, but because, as my lord's Grace said, the king had prohibited the debating thereof. And thus, having let you understand the carriage of this business, I commit you to the protection of the Almighty. March 24th."

17. *The Death of Bishop Dove.*

This year Thomas Dove, bishop of Peterborough, ended his life. He was bred in Pembroke-Hall in Cambridge, chosen *Tanquam* therein, which it seems is a Fellow in all things save the name thereof; afterwards chaplain to queen Elizabeth, who made him dean of Norwich, being much affected with his preaching, as wont to say, that "the Holy Ghost was again come down in the Dove."* He was a constant housekeeper and reliever of the poor; so that such who in his life-time condemned him for covetousness, have since justly praised his hospitality. Now, though DOVES are generally said to want gall, yet the nonconformists in his diocess will complain of his severity in asserting ecclesiastical discipline, when he silenced five of them in one morning,—on the same token that king James is said to say, it might have served for five years. He was an aged man, being the only queen-Elizabeth's bishop of that province who died in the reign of king Charles, living in a poor bishopric, and leaving a plentiful estate; to show that it is not the moisture of the place, but the long lying of the stone, which gathereth the great moss therein. In a word: had he been more

* GODWIN in the Bishops of Peterborough; and SIR JOHN HARRINGTON in his Continuation.

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careful in conferring of Orders, (too commonly bestowed by him,) few of his Order had exceeded him for the unblamableness of his behaviour.

18—21. *Troubles begin in Oxford. An Appeal from the Vice-Chancellor to the Proctors, severely punished, and ill-resented. A.D.* 1631.

Now began great discontents to grow up in the university of Oxford on this occasion: Many conceived that innovations (defended by others for renovations, and now only reduced, as used in the primitive times) were multiplied in Divine service. Offended whereat, they in their sermons brake out into (what was interpreted) bitter invectives. Yea, their very texts gave some offence: one preaching on Numbers xiv. 4: "Let us make us a captain, and let us return into Egypt:" another, on 1 Kings xiii. 2: "And he cried against the altar in the word of the Lord, and said, O altar, altar!" &c. In prosecution whereof they had not only tart reflection on some eminent persons in the church, but also were apprehended to violate the king's Declaration for the sopiting of all Arminian controversies.

Dr. Smith, Warden of Wadham, convented the principal persons, (namely, Mr. Thorn of Balliol-College, and Mr. Ford of Magdalen-Hall,) as offenders against the king's Instructions, and ordered them to bring-in the copies of their sermons. They, suspecting partiality in the vice-chancellor, appealed from him to the proctors, two men of eminent integrity and ability, Mr. Atherton Bruch, and Mr. John Doughty, who received their appeal, presuming the same justifiable by the statutes of the university. But, it seems, the proctors were better scholars than lawyers; except any will say, both law and learning must submit, when power is pleased to interpose.

Archbishop Laud did not like these retrograde appeals; but, sensible that his own strength moved rather *ascendendo* than *descendendo*, procured the cause to be heard before the king at Woodstock, where it was so ordered, that, (1.) The preachers complained of were expelled the university. (2.) The proctors were deprived of their places for accepting their appeal. (3.) Dr. Prideaux and Dr. Wilkinson were shrewdly checked for engaging in their behalf. The former of these two doctors' ingenuously confessing to the king, *Nemo mortalium omnibus horis sapit*, wrought more on his Majesty's affections, than if he had harangued it with a long oration in his own defence.

The expulsion of these preachers expelled not, but increased, the differences in Oxford, which burned the more for blazing the less: many complaining that the sword of justice did not cut indifferently on both sides, but that it was more penal for some to touch—than others to break—the king's Declaration.

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22—24. *The Death of Mr. Hildersham; often silenced and restored. His long and assiduous Preaching.*

This year ended the days of Mr. Arthur Hildersham, born at Stechworth in the county—bred in Christ-College in the university —of Cambridge; whose education was an experimental comment on the words of David: "When my father and mother forsake me, then the Lord taketh me up." Psalm xxvii. 10.

My father—Thomas Hildersham, a gentleman of an ancient family.

And mother—Anne Pole, daughter to sir Geoffrey—niece to cardinal—Pole, grandchild to sir Richard Pole and Margaret countess of Salisbury, who was daughter to George duke of Clarence.

Forsake me—Quite casting him off, because he would not be bred a papist, and go to Rome.

Then—An emphatical monosyllable, "just in that nick of time."

The Lord taketh me up—Not immediately, (miracles being ceased,) but in and by the hands of Henry earl of Huntingdon, (his honourable kinsman,) providing plentiful maintenance for him.

However, after he was entered in the ministry, he met with many molestations, as hereby doth appear.

Silenced, (1.) By the High Commission, in June, 1590. (2.) By bishop Chaderton, April 24, 1605. (3.) By bishop Neile, in November, 1611. (4.) By the court at Leicester, March 4, 1630.

Restored. (1.) By the High Commission, in January, 1591. (2.) By bishop Barlow, in January, 1608. (3.) By Dr. Ridley,* June 20, 1625. (4.) By the same court, August 2, 1631.

And now methinks I hear the Spirit speaking unto him, as once to the prophet Ezekiel, xxiv. 27: "Thou shalt speak, and be no more dumb," singing now with the celestial choir of saints and angels. Indeed, though himself a nonconformist, he loved all honest men, were they of a different judgment; minded like Luther herein, who gave for his motto, *In quo aliquid Christi video, illum diligo.*

He was minister of Ashby-de-la-Zouch forty-and-three years. This putteth me in mind of Theodosius and of Valentinian, two worthy Christian emperors; their Constitutions making those Readers of the civil-law "Counts of the first Order," *cùm ad viginti annos observatione jugi, ac sedulo docendi labore pervenerint,*† "when with daily observation and diligent labour of teaching, they shall arrive at twenty years." Surely, the readers of God's law who double that time shall not lose their reward.

* Vicar-general to archbishop Abbot.

† *C. Theod.* lib. vi. tit. 21.

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25. *The Death of Bolton.*

The same year died Robert Bolton, born in Lancashire, bred in Brasen-nose-College in Oxford, beneficed at Broughton in Northamptonshire; an authoritative preacher, who majestically became the pulpit, and whose life is exactly written at large,* to which I refer such as desire farther satisfaction. And here may the reader be pleased to take notice, that henceforward we shall on just grounds forbear the description of such divines as yearly deceased. To say nothing of them save the dates of their deaths, will add little to the reader's information; to say much in praise or dispraise of them, (wherein their relations are so nearly concerned,) may add too much to the writer's danger. Except, therefore, they be persons so eminent for their learning, or active for their lives, as their omission may make a maim in our History, we shall pass them over in silence hereafter.

26—30. *Impropriation-Feoffees questioned. Their first Accusation, and Answer thereunto. A second Charge against them. They are overthrown.* A.D. 1632.

Archbishop Laud began to look with a jealous eye on the feoffees for impropriations, as who in process of time would prove a thorn in the sides of episcopacy, and by their purchases become the prime patrons, for number and greatness of benefices. This would multiply their dependents, and give a secret growth to nonconformity. Whereupon, by the archbishop's procurement, a bill was exhibited in the Exchequer Chamber, by Mr. Noy the Attorney-General, against the feoffees aforesaid; and that great lawyer endeavoured to overthrow (as one termed it) their apocrypha incorporation.

It was charged against them, First, that they diverted the charity wherewith they were intrusted, to other uses,† when erecting a lecture every morning at St. Antholin's in London. What was this but lighting candles to the sun? London being already the land of Goshen, and none of those dark and far-distant corners where souls were ready to famish for lack of the food of the word! What was this but a bold breach of their trust, even in the eye of the kingdom?

They answered, that London, being the chief staple of charity, and the place where the principal contributors to so pious a work did reside, it was but fit that it should share in the benefit of their bounty; that they were not so confined to the uses in their feoffment, but that in their choice they might reflect as well on the

* By my good friend, MR. BAGSHAW.

† Being by their feoffment to erect them where preaching was wanting.

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eminency as necessity of the place; that they expended much of their own (as well as other men's) money, and good reason they should do therewith as they pleased.

It was pressed against them, that they generally preferred nonconformists to the lectures of their erection. To this it was answered, that none were placed therein but such whose sufficiency and conformity were first examined and approved, by the ordinary, to be to such a degree as the law required. Yea, it is said that Mr. White, one of the feoffees, privately proffered bishop Laud at his house in Fulham, that if he disliked either the persons who managed—or rder which they took in—this work, they would willingly submit the alteration to his lordship's discretion.

In conclusion, the Court condemned their proceedings, as dangerous to the church and state, pronouncing the gifts, feoffments, and contrivances, made to the uses aforesaid, to be illegal; and so dissolved the same, confiscating their money unto the king's use. Their criminal part was referred to, but never prosecuted in, the Star-chamber; because the design was generally approved, and both discreet and devout men were (as desirous of the regulation, so) doleful at the ruin of so pious a project.*

31. *The Death of Archbishop Harsnet.*

Samuel Harsnet about this time ended his life; born in Colchester, bred Scholar, Fellow, Master of Pembroke-Hall in Cambridge, afterwards bishop of Chichester and Norwich, archbishop of York, and Privy Counsellor. He was a zealous assertor of ceremonies, using to complain of (the first I believe who used the expression) conformable Puritans, who practised it out of policy, yet dissented from it in their judgments. He lieth buried in Chigwell church in Essex, (where he built a school,) with this epitaph, *Indignus episcopus Cicestrensis, indignior Norvicensis, et indignissimus archiepiscopus Eboracensis.*

32. *Bradborn's erroneous Opinion.*

Now the sabbatarian controversy began to be revived, which brake forth into a long and hot contention. Theophilus Bradborn, a minister of Suffolk, sounded the first trumpet to this fight, who, some five years since, (namely, *anno* 1628,) set forth a book, dedicated to his Majesty, entitled, "A Defence of the most ancient and sacred Ordinance of God, the Sabbath-Day;" maintaining therein, (1.) The fourth commandment simply and entirely moral. (2.) Christians, as well as Jews, obliged to the everlasting observation of that day. (3.) That the Lord's day is an ordinary working-day, it being

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p 571.—EDIT.

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will-worship and superstition to make it a sabbath by virtue of the fourth commandment. But whilst Mr. Bradborn was marching furiously, and crying *Victoria* to himself, he fell into the ambush of the High Commission, whose well-tempered severity herein so prevailed upon him, that, submitting himself to a private conference, and perceiving the unsoundness of his own principles, he became a convert, conforming himself quietly to the church of England.

33. *Sabbatarian Controversies revived.* *A.D.* 1633.

Francis White, bishop (formerly of Norwich, then) of Ely, was employed by his Majesty, to confute Mr. Bradborn's erroneous opinion. In the writing whereof, some expressions fell from his pen, (A.D. 1635,) whereat many strict people (but far enough from Bradborn's conceit) took great distaste. Hereupon books begat books, and controversies on this subject were multiplied, reducible to five principal heads:—

(1.) What is the fittest name to signify the day set apart for God's public service?

(2.) When that day is to begin and end?

(3.) Upon what authority the keeping thereof is bottomed?

(4.) Whether or no the day is alterable?

(5.) Whether any recreations, and what kinds of them, be lawful on that day?

And they are distinguishable into three several opinions:—

SABBATARIANS.—(1.) Are charged to affect the word "sabbath" as a *shibboleth* in their writing, preaching, and discoursing, to distinguish the true Israelites from lisping Ephraimites, as a badge of more pretended purity. As for Sunday, some would not have it mentioned in Christian mouths, as resenting of Saxon idolatry, so called from and dedicated to the sun, which they adored.

(2.) Some make the sabbath to begin on Saturday night, ("The evening and the morning were the first day,") and others on the next day in the morning; both agreeing on the extent thereof for four-and-twenty hours.

(3.) They found it partly on the law and light of nature, deriving some countenances for the septenary number out of heathen authors; and partly on the fourth commandment, which they avouch equally moral with the rest.

(4.) The church, no, not *ex plenitudine suæ potestatis*, may or can alter the same.

(5.) No exercises at all (walking excepted, with which strictness itself cannot be offended) are lawful on this day. Insomuch as some of them have been accused of turning the day of rest into the day of torture and self-maceration.

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MODERATE MEN.—(1.) Sabbath (especially if "Christian" be premised) may inoffensively be used, as importing in the original only "a rest." And it is strange that some who have a dearness, yea fondness, for some words of Jewish extraction, ("altar," "temple," &c.,) should have such an antipathy against the sabbath. Sunday may not only safely be used, without danger of Paganism, but with increase of piety, if, retaining the name, we alter the notation, and therewith the notion thereof, because on that day "the Sun of Righteousness did arise with healing in his wings," Mal. iv. 2. But the most proper name is "the Lord's day;" as ancient, used in the apostles' time, Rev. i. 10; and most expressive, being both a historian and preacher. For, the Lord's day, looking backward, mindeth us what the Lord did for us thereon, rising from the dead: and, looking forward, it monisheth what we ought to do for him on the same,—spending it to his glory, in the proper duties thereof.

(2.) The question is not of so great concernment. For, in all circular motions, it matters not so much where one beginneth, so be it he continueth the same, until he return unto that point again. Either of the aforesaid computations of the day may be embraced, *Diesque quiesque redibit in orbem.*

(3.) In the Lord's day three things are considerable: (i.) A day, founded on the light of nature; pure-impure Pagans destining whole days to their idolatrous service. (ii.) One day in seven, grounded on the moral equity of the fourth commandment; which is like the feet and toes of Nebuchadnezzar's image, part of potter's clay, and part of iron, Dan. ii. 41. The clay part, and ceremonial moiety of that commandment, (namely, that seventh day or Jewish sabbath, is mouldered away, and buried in Christ's grave. The iron part thereof, namely, a mixture of morality therein, "one day in seven," is perpetual and everlasting. (iii.) This seventh day (being indeed the eighth from the creation, but one of the seven in the week) is built on Divine right in a larger sense, having an analogy in the Old and insinuations in the New Testament, with the continued practice of the church.

(4.) Would be right glad of the general agreement of the Christian church; but, withal, right sorry that the same should be abused for the alteration of the Lord's day. But, as there is but little hope of the former; so is there no fear of the latter, it being utterly unexpedient to attempt the altering thereof.

(5.) The sabbath (in some sort) was lord (yea, tyrant) over the Jews; and they, by their superstition, contented vassals under it. Christ was "Lord of the sabbath," Matt. xii. 8, and struck out the teeth thereof. Indeed, such recreations as are unlawful on any day are most unlawful on that day; yea, recreations doubtful on other

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days are to be forborne on that day, on the suspicion of unlawfulness. So are all those which, by their over-violence, put people past a praying capacity. Add, also, those which, though acted after evening-service, must needs be pre-acted by the fancy (such the volatility thereof) all the day before, distracting the mind, though the body be at church. These recreations forbidden, other innocent ones may be permitted.

ANTI-SABBATARIANS.—(1.) The word "sabbath," as now used, containeth therein a secret magazine of Judaism; as if the affecters thereof, by spiritual necromancy, endeavoured the reviving of dead and rotten Mosaical ceremonies.

(2.) They confine the observation of the day only to the few hours of public service.

(3.) These unhinge the day off from any Divine right, and hang it merely on ecclesiastical authority first introducing it, as custom and consent of the church had since established it.

(4.) The universal consent of the Christian church may alter it. Yea, one saith,* that the church of Geneva went about to translate it to Thursday; but, it seems, it was carried in the negative.

(5.) Mixed dancings, masks, interludes, revels, &c., are by them permitted in the intervals betwixt, but generally after evening-service ended.

A worthy doctor,† who in his sermons at the Temple, no less piously than learnedly, handled the point of the Lord's day, worthily pressed, that gentlefolk were obliged to a stricter observation of the Lord's day, than labouring people. "The whole have no need of the physician, but those who are sick." Such as are not annihilated with labour, have no title to be recreated with liberty. Let servants, whose hands are ever working, whilst their eyes are waking; let such, who all the foregoing week had their cheeks moistened with sweat, and hands hardened with labour; let such have some recreation on the Lord's day indulged unto them; whilst persons of quality, who may be said to keep sabbath all the week long, (I mean, who rest from hard labour,) are concerned in conscience to observe the Lord's day with the greater abstinence from recreations.

34—36. *Troubles begin in Somersetshire. Judge Richardson's Order against Lord's-Day Revels; which he would not revoke.*

Pass we now from the pen to the practical part of the sabbatarian difference. Somersetshire was the stage, whereon the first and

* POCKLINGTON in his "Sunday no Sabbath," p. 8. † Dr. Paul Micklewaite.

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fiercest scene thereof was acted. Here wakes (much different, I dare say, from the watching prescribed by our Saviour) were kept on the Lord's day, with church-ales, bid-ales, and clerks'-ales. If the reader know not the critical meaning and difference of these words, I list not to be the interpreter; and his ignorance herein neither is any disgrace nor can be any damage unto him. The gentry of that county, perceiving such revels the cause of many, and occasion of more, misdemeanours, (many acts of wantonness bearing their dates from such meetings,) importuned sir Thomas Richardson, Lord Chief Justice, and baron Denham, then Judges, riding the western circuit in the Lent-vacation, to make a severe Order for the suppressing of all ales and revels on the Lord's day.

In compliance with their desires, the aforesaid Judges made an order on the nineteenth day of March, founded on former precedents signed by Judge Popham, Lord Chief Justice in the latter end of queen Elizabeth's reign; therein suppressing such revels, in regard of the infinite number of inconveniences daily arising by means thereof, enjoining the constables to deliver a copy thereof to the minister of every parish; who, on the first Sunday in February, and likewise the two first Sundays before Easter, was to publish the same every year.

The archbishop of Canterbury beheld this as an usurpation on ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and complained of the Judges to his Majesty; procuring a commission to bishop Pierce and other divines, to inquire into the manner of publishing this Order, and the Chief Justice's carriage in this business. Notwithstanding all which, the next assize, Judge Richardson gave another strict charge against these revels, required an account of the publication and execution of the aforesaid order, punishing some persons for the breach thereof. After whose return to London the archbishop sent for him, and commanded him to revoke his former Order, as he would answer the contrary at his peril, telling him it was his Majesty's pleasure he should reverse it. The Judge alleged it done at the request of the Justices of the Peace in the county, with the general consent of the whole bench, on the view of ancient precedents in that kind. However, the next assize, A.D. 1634, he revoked his Order with this limitation, "as much as in him lay." At what time also the Justices of the Peace in Somersetshire, who in birth, brains, spirit, and estate were inferior to no county in England, drew up a humble petition to his Majesty for the suppressing of the aforesaid unlawful assemblies, concurring with the Lord Chief Justice therein, sending it up by the hand of the *custos rotulorum*, to deliver it to the earl of Pembroke, lord lieutenant of their county, to present it to his Majesty.

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37—44. The King's Declaration. The Archbishop excuseth himself. No Injunction to the Ministers; yet some silenced for Refusal to read the Book. Moderation of some Bishops therein. Licentiousness increaseth. Conceived, by some, a concurring Cause of our Civil Wars. A sad Alteration. A.D. 1634.

Just in this juncture of time a Declaration for sports, set forth the fifteenth of king James, was revived and enlarged. For, his Majesty, being troubled with petitions on both sides, thought good to follow his father's royal example upon the like occasion in Lancashire; and we refer the reader to what we have written before,* for arguments *pro* and *con* about the lawfulness of public reading thereof.

It was charged, at his trial, on the archbishop of Canterbury, that he had caused the reviving and enlarging of this Declaration; strong presumptions being urged for the proof thereof.† He denied it, yet professing his judgment for recreations on that day, alleging the practice of the church of Geneva allowing shooting in long bows, &c., thereon; adding also, that, though indulging liberty to others, in his own person he strictly observed that day:‡ a self-praise, or rather self-purging, because spoken on his life, which seemed uttered without pride and with truth, and was not clearly confuted. Indeed, *they* are the best carvers of liberty on that day, *who* cut most for others, and leave least for themselves.

However, there was no express in this Declaration, that the minister of the parish should be pressed to the publishing. Many counted it no minister's work, and more proper for the place of the constable or tithing-man to perform it.§ Must they, who were (if not worst able) most unfitting, hold the candle to lighten and let-in licentiousness? But, because the Judges had enjoined the ministers to read their order in the church, the king's Declaration was enforced by the bishops to be published by them in the same place.

As for such whose consciences reluctated to publish the Declaration, various were their evasions. Some left it to their curates to read. Nor was this the plucking-out of a thorn from their own—to put it in another man's—conscience, seeing their curates were persuaded of the lawfulness thereof. Others read it indeed themselves, but presently after read the fourth commandment. And was this fair play, setting God and their king (as they conceived) at odds, that so they themselves might escape in the fray? Others point-blank refused the reading thereof; for which some of them were suspended *ab officio et beneficio*, some deprived, and more molested

* See the 15th of king James, in this volume, sect. iv. pp. 270—274, parag. 55—61.
† See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 590.—EDIT. ‡ *Idem*, p. 641.—EDIT.
§ *Idem*, p. 571.—EDIT.

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in the High Commission; it being questionable, whether their sufferings procured more pity to them, or more hatred to the causers thereof.

All bishops urged not the reading of the book with rigour alike, nor punished the refusal with equal severity. I hear the loudest, longest, and thickest complaints come from the diocess of Norwich, and of Bath and Wells. I knew a bishop in the west, (to whom I stood related in kindred and service,) who, being pressed by some to return the names of such as refused to read the book, to the archbishop of Canterbury, utterly denied: and his words to me were these: "I will never turn an accuser of my brethren; there be enough in the world to take that office." As for the archbishop of Canterbury, much was his moderation in his own diocess, silencing but three (in whom also a concurrence of other nonconformities) through the whole extent thereof.* But O the necessity of the general day of judgment! wherein all men's actions shall be expounded according to their intentions, which here are interpretable according to other men's inclinations. The archbishop's adversaries imputed this, not to his charity, but policy; fox-like preying farthest from his own den, and instigating other bishops to do more than he would appear-in himself. As for his own visitation-articles, some complained they were but narrow as they were made, and broad as they were measured; his under-officers improving and enforcing the same, by their inquiries, beyond the letter thereof.

Many complain that man's badness took occasion to be worse, under the protection of these sports permitted unto them. For, although liberty on the Lord's day may be so limited in the notions of learned men, as to make it lawful, it is difficult (if not impossible) so to confine it in the actions of lewd people, but that their liberty will degenerate into licentiousness.†

Many moderate men are of opinion, that this abuse of the Lord's day was a principal procurer of God's anger, since poured-out on this land, in a long and bloody civil war. Such observe, that our fights of chief concernment were often fought on the Lord's day, as pointing at the punishing of the profanation thereof.‡ Indeed, amongst so many battles which in ten years' time have rent the bowels of England, some on necessity would fall on that day; (seeing we have be-rubricked each day in the week, almost in the year, with English blood;) and therefore to pick a solemn providence out of a common casualty, savours more of curiosity than conscience. Yet, seeing Edgehill-fight (which first brake the peace, and made an irreconcilable breach betwixt the two parties) was fought on that day, and

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 641.—EDIT. † *Idem*, p. 573.—EDIT. ‡ *Idem*, p. 574.—EDIT.

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some battles since of greatest consequence, there may be more in the observation than what many are willing to acknowledge.* But, whatsoever it is which hence may be collected, sure I am, those are the best Christians who least censure others, and most reform themselves.

But here it is much to be lamented, that such who, at the time of the sabbatarian controversy, were the strictest observers of the Lord's day, are now reeled by their violence into another extreme, —to be the greatest neglecters, yea, contemners thereof. These transcendents, accounting themselves mounted above the predicament of common piety, aver they need not keep any, because they keep all, days Lord's-days, in their elevated holiness. But, alas! Christian duties, said to be ever done, will prove never done, if not *sometimes* solemnly done. These are the most dangerous levellers, equalling all times, places, and persons, making a general confusion to be gospel-perfection. Whereas, to speak plainly, we in England are, *rebus sic stantibus*, concerned now more strictly to observe the Lord's day than ever before. Holy days are not, and holy eves are not, and Wednesday and Friday Litanies are not, and Lord's-day eves are not; and now some out of error, and others out of profaneness, go about to take away the Lord's day also. All these things make against God's solemn and public service. O let not his public worship, now contracted to fewer channels, have also a shallower stream! But enough of this subject; wherein if I have exceeded the bounds of a historian, by being too large therein, such will pardon me who know (if pleasing to remember) that divinity is my proper profession.

45, 46. *Irish Impropriations restored. The Thirty-nine Articles received in Ireland.*

At this time miserable the maintenance of the Irish clergy, where scandalous means made scandalous ministers. And yet a popish priest would grow fat in that parish where a protestant would be famished, as have not their livelihood on the oblations of those of their own religion. But now such impropriations as were in the crown, by the king were restored to the church, to a great diminution of the royal revenue; though his Majesty never was sensible of any loss to himself, if thereby gain might redound to God, in his ministers. Bishop Laud was a worthy instrument in moving the king to so pious a work;† and yet this his procuring the restoring of Irish—did not satisfy such discontented at his obstructing the buying-in of English—impropriations: thus, those conceived to

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 575.—EDIT. † *Idem*, p. 641.—EDIT.

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have done hurt at home, will hardly make reparations with other good deeds at distance.

A Convocation (concurrent with a Parliament) was called and kept at Dublin in Ireland, wherein the Thirty-nine Articles of the church of England were received in Ireland for all to subscribe unto. It was adjudged fit, seeing that kingdom complies with England in the civil government, it should also conform thereto in matters of religion. Mean time the Irish Articles, concluded formerly in a synod, 1616, (wherein Arminianism was condemned *in terminis terminantibus*, and the observation of the Lord's day resolved *jure Divino,)* were utterly excluded.

47. *Bishop Laud refuseth a Cardinal's Cap.*

A cardinal's cap, once and again offered by the pope to bishop Laud, was as often refused by him.* The fashion thereof could not fit his head, who had studied and written so much against the Romish religion. He who formerly had foiled the Fisher himself in a public disputation, would not now be taken with so silly a bait, but acquainted the king therewith; *timuit Romam vel dona ferentem*, refusing to receive any thing from Rome till she was better reformed.

48, 49. *Bishop Juxon made Lord Treasurer. His commendable Carriage. A.D.* 1635.

March 6th, Dr. William Juxon, bishop of London, was by bishop Laud's procurement made lord treasurer of England, entering on that office with many and great disadvantages. First. Because no clergyman had executed the same, since William Grey, bishop of Ely, almost two hundred years ago, in the reign of king Edward IV. Secondly. Because the treasury was very poor; and if in private houses bare walls make giddy housewives, in princes' palaces empty coffers make unsteady statesmen. Thirdly. Because a very potent (I cannot say "competitor," the bishop himself being never a *petitor* for the place, but) "desirer" of this office was frustrated in his almost-assured expectation of the same to himself.

However, so discreet his carriage in that place, it procured a general love unto him; and politic malice, despairing to bite, resolved not to bark at him. He had a perfect command of his passion, (a happiness not granted to all clergymen in that age, though Privy Counsellors,†) slow, not of speech as a defect, but to speak, out of discretion; because, when speaking, he plentifully paid the principal and interest of his auditors' expectation. No hands, having so much money passing through them, had their

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 641.—EDIT. † *Idem*, p. 580.—EDIT.

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fingers less soiled therewith. It is probable, his frugality would have cured the consumption of the king's exchequer, had not the unexpected Scotch commotion put it into a desperate relapse. In this particular he was happy above others of his Order, that, whereas they may be said in some sort to have left their bishoprics, (flying into the king's quarters for safety,) he staid at home till his bsihopric left him, roused from his swan's nest at Fulham for a bird of another feather to build therein.

50. *Archbishop Laud presses Conformity.*

Dr. Laud, formerly archbishop in power, now so in place, after the decease of bishop Abbot, this year kept his metropolitical visitation, and henceforward conformity was more vigorously pressed than before: insomuch that a minister was censured in the High Commission for this expression in a sermon, that "it was suspicious that now the night did approach, because the shadows were so much longer than the body, and ceremonies more in force than the power of godliness." And now many differences about Divine worship began to arise, whereof many books were written *pro* and *con;* so common in all hands, that my pains may be well spared in rendering a particular account of what is so universally known. So that a word or two will suffice.

51—55. *Our Churches succeed not to the Temple, but Synagogues. Adoration towards the Altar, disliked by many.*

One controversy was about the holiness of our churches; some maintaining that they succeed to the same degree of sanctity with the tabernacle of Moses, and temple of Solomon; which others flatly denied. First. Because the tabernacle and temple were, and might be, but one at a time; whilst our churches, without fault, may be multiplied without any set number. Secondly. They both, for their fashion, fabric, and utensils, were *jure Divino*, their architects being inspired; whilst our churches are the product of human fancy. Thirdly. God *gloriously* appeared both in the tabernacle and temple; only *graciously* present in our churches. Fourthly. The temple was a type of Christ's body; which ours are not. More true it is, our churches are heirs to the holiness of the Jewish synagogues, which were many, and to which a reverence was due as publicly destined to Divine service.

Not less the difference about the manner of adoration to be used in God's house; which some would have done towards the communion-table, as the most remarkable place of God's presence. Those used a distinction between bowing *ad altare*, "towards the altar," as directing their adoration that way, and *ad altare*, "to the altar,"

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as terminating their worship therein; the latter they detested as idolatrous, the former they defended as lawful and necessary. Such a slovenly unmannerliness had lately possessed many people in their approaches to God's house, that it was high time to reform, Mal. i. 7.

But such as disliked the gesture, could not or would not understand the distinction, as in the suburbs of superstition; these, allowing some corporal adoration lawful, yea, necessary, seeing no reason [why] the moiety of man, yea, the total sum of him which is visible, his body, should be exempted from God's service, except such a writ of ease could be produced and proved from scripture. But they were displeased with this adoration, because such as enjoin it maintain one kind of reverence due to the very place, another to the elements of the sacraments, if on the table, a third to God himself: these several degrees of reverence ought to be railed about as well as the communion-table and clearly distinguished, lest that be given to the creature which belongs to the Creator, and such as shun profanation run into idolatry.

A controversy was also started about the posture of the Lord's board, communion-table, or altar; the last name beginning now in many men's mouths to out the two former. Some would have it constantly fixed with the sides east and west, ends north and south, on a graduated advance next the east wall of the chancel; citing a canon and the practice in the king's chapel for the same. Others pressed the queen's Injunctions, that (allowing it at other times to stand, but not altar-wise, in the chancel) it ought to be set in the body of the church when the sacrament is celebrated thereon.

Such the heat about this altar till both sides had almost sacrificed up their mutual charity thereon; and this controversy was prosecuted with much needless animosity. This mindeth me of a passage in Cambridge, when king James was there present, to whom a great person complained of the inverted situation of a college-chapel, (north and south,) out of design to put the House to the cost of new-building the same: To whom the king answered: "It matters not how the chapel stands, so *their* hearts *who* go thither be set aright in God's service." Indeed, if moderate men had had the managing of these matters, the accommodation had been easy with a little condescension on both sides.* But as a small accidental heat or cold (such as a healthful body would not be sensible of) is enough to put *him* into a fit *who* was formerly in *latitudine febris*; so men's minds, distempered in this age with what I may call "a mutinous tendency," were exasperated with such small occasions which otherwise might have been passed over, and no notice taken thereof.

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," pp. 576, 577.—EDIT.

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56—61. *Mr. William Prynne accused for libelling against the Bishops. Dr. Bastwick's Accusation. Mr. Burton's Character; the Cause of his Discontent. Their Fault-general. A.D.* 1637.

For now, Wednesday, June 14th, came the censure of Mr. Prynne, Dr. Bastwick, and Mr. Burton; and we must go a little backwards, to take notice of the nature of their offences. Mr. William Prynne, born about Bath in Somersetshire,* bred some time in Oxford, afterwards utter barrister of Lincoln's-Inn, began with the writing of some useful and orthodox books.† I have heard some of his detractors account him as only the hand of a better head, setting forth at first the endeavours of others. Afterwards he delighted more to be numerous with many—than ponderous with select—quotations; which maketh his books to swell with the loss oft-times of the reader, sometimes of the printer; and his pen, generally querulous, hath more of the plaintiff than of the defendant therein.

Some three years since he set forth a book called "*Histriomastix*, or the Whip of Stage-players." *Whip* so held and used by his hand, that some conceived the lashes thereof flew into the face of the queen herself, as much delighted in masks; for which he was severely censured to lose his ears on the pillory, and for a long time (after two removals to the Fleet) imprisoned in the Tower; where he wrote and whence he dispersed new pamphlets, which were interpreted to be libels against the established discipline of the church of England, for which he was indicted in the Star-chamber.

Dr. John Bastwick, by vulgar error generally mistaken to be a Scotchman, was born at Writtle in Essex, bred a short time in Emmanuel-College, then travelled nine years beyond the seas, made doctor of physic at Padua. Returning home, he practised it at Colchester, and set forth a book in Latin, (wherein his pen commanded a pure and fluent style,) entitled *Flagellum Pontificis et Episcoporum Latialium*. But it seems he confined not his character so to the Latian bishops beyond the Alps, but that our English prelates counted themselves touched therein. Hereupon he was accused in the High Commission, committed to the Gatehouse; where he wrote a second book, taxing the injustice of the proceedings of the High Commission, for which he was indicted in the Star-chamber.

Mr. Henry Burton, minister, rather took a snap than made a meal in any university, was first schoolmaster to the sons of the lord Carey, afterwards earl of Monmouth, whose lady was governess to

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," pp. 581—584.—EDIT. † "The Perpetuity of the Regenerate Man's Estate."

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king Charles when prince. And this opportunity, say some, more than his own deserts, preferred him to the service of prince Charles, being designed (as I have heard) to wait on him in Spain; but afterwards, when part of his goods were shipped for the voyage, excluded the attendance:—whether because his parts and learning were conceived not such as to credit our English church in foreign countries, or because his principles were accounted uncomplying with that employment.

The crudity of this affront lay long on his mind; hot stomachs (contrary to corporal concoction) being in this kind the slowest of digestion. After the venting of many mediate discontents, on the last fifth of November he took for his text, Proverbs xxiv. 21: "My son, fear thou the Lord and the king: and meddle not with them that are given to change." This sermon was afterwards printed, charging the prelates for introducing of several innovations into Divine worship; for which, as a libel, he was indicted in the Star-chamber.

But the fault-general, which at this day was charged on these three prisoners at the bar in the Star-chamber, was this: That they had not put-in their effectual answer into that Court wherein they were accused, though sufficient notice and competent time were allowed them for the performance thereof. The lord keeper Coventry minded them, that, for such neglect, they had a precedent, wherein the Court after six days had taken a cause *pro confesso*; whereas the favour of six weeks was allowed unto them, and now leave given them to render reason, why the Court should not proceed to present censure.

62—65. *Mr. Prynne's Plea rejected, and his Answer refused. So is Dr. Bastwick's. Mr. Burton's cast out for imperfect.*

Hereat Mr. Prynne first moved, that they would be pleased to accept a cross bill (which he there tendered) against the prelates. This the lord keeper refused to accept of at the present, as not being the business of the day. Then he moved that the prelates might be dismissed the Court; it being agreeable neither to nature, reason, nor justice, that those who were their adversaries should be their judges. This also was rejected by the lord keeper, because, by the same proportion, had he libelled against the temporal lords, judges, and privy counsellors in the place, by this plea none should pass censure upon them, because all were made parties.

Mr. Prynne proceeded to show he had done his endeavour to prepare his answer, being hindered, First, by his close imprisonment, denied pen, ink, and paper; and by the imprisonment also of his servant, who was to solicit his business; that the Counsel assigned him came very late; and, though twice paid for their pains, deferred

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the drawing-up of his answer, and durst not set their hands unto it. Mr. Hole, one of his Counsel being present, confessed that he found his answer would be very long, and of such a nature as he durst not subscribe it, fearing to give their lordships distaste.

Dr. Bastwick, being spoken to, to speak for himself, why he brought not in his answer before, laid the blame on the cowardice of his counsel, that durst not sign it for fear of the prelates. He there tendered his answer on oath with his own hand, which would not be accepted. He spake much of his own abilities, that he had been a soldier able to lead an army of men into the field, and now was a physician able to cure kings, princes, and emperors; and therefore how unworthy it was to curtailize his ears, generally given out, by the bishops' servants, as a punishment intended unto him. He minded them of the mutability of all earthly things, and chiefly of the changes of the Court; where he,* lately the chief judge therein, was the next day to have his own cause censured; wishing them seriously to consider, that some who now sat there on the Bench might stand prisoners at the Bar another day, and need the favour which now they denied.

Mr. Burton, being asked what he could allege, why the Court should not take his fault *pro confesso*, pleaded that he had put-in his answer, drawn up with great pains and cost, signed by his counsel, and received into the Court. The lord keeper rejoined that the judges had cast his answer out as imperfect; judge Finch affirming that they did him a good turn in making it imperfect, being otherwise as libellous as his book, and deserving a censure alone.

66—68. *The severe Censure; esteemed too low, by some; too high, by most.*

Here the prisoners, desiring to speak, were commanded silence; and, the premisses notwithstanding, the Court proceeded to censure; namely, that they should lose their ears in the palace-yard at Westminster, fining them also five thousand pounds a-man to his Majesty, perpetual imprisonment in three remote places. The lord Finch added to Mr. Prynne's censure, that he should be branded in each cheek with S. L., for *Slanderous Libeller;* to which the whole Court agreed. The archbishop of Canterbury made a long speech, since printed, to excuse himself from the introducing of any innovations in the church, concluding it, that he left the prisoners to God's mercy and the king's justice.

It will be lawful and safe to report the discourse of several persons hereon. This censure fell out scarce adequate to any judgment, as conceiving it either too low, or too high, for their offence.

* The bishop of Lincoln.

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High conformists counted it too low, and that it had been better if the pillory had been changed into a gallows. They esteemed it improvident, (but, by their leaves, more of Machiavel than of Christ in such counsel,) to kindle revenge, and not to quench life, in such turbulent spirits. The only way with them had been to rid them out of the way.

Most moderate men thought the censure too sharp, too base, and ignominious, for gentlemen of their ingenuous vocation. Besides, though it be easy in the notion, it is hard in the action, to fix shame on the professors—and sever it from the professions—of Divinity, Law, and Physic. As for the former, though Burton was first degraded,* June 27th, yet such who maintain an indelible character of priesthood hold, that degradation cannot delete what ordination hath impressed; and, grant the censure pronounced *ad terrorem*, it might have become the bishops to mediate for a mitigation thereof. Let canvass be rough and rugged, lawn ought to be soft and smooth; meekness, mildness, and mercy being more proper for men of the episcopal function.

69—75. *Mr. Burton's Words on the Pillory. Several Censures on his Behaviour. Mr. Bastwick's Speech. Many Men, many Minds. Mr. Prynne's Speech. His Behaviour at the Censure. Their Removal.*

Two days after, (June 30th,) three pillories were set up in the palace-yard; or one double one, and a single one at some distance for Mr. Prynne as the chief offender. Mr. Burton first suffered, making a long speech in the pillory, not entire and continued, but interrupted with occasional expressions. But the main intent thereof was to parallel his sufferings with our Saviour's. For at the first sight of the pillory, "Methinks," said he, "I see Mount Calvary whereon the three crosses were erected. If Christ was numbered amongst thieves, shall a Christian think much for his sake to be numbered amongst rogues?" And whereas one told an halberter standing by, who had an old rusty halbert, (the iron whereof was tacked to the staff with an old crooked nail,) "What an old rusty weapon is this!" Mr. Burton, overhearing them, answered: "It seems to be one of those halberts which accompanied Judas when Christ was betrayed and apprehended."

His ears were cut off very close; so that, the temporal or head artery being cut, the blood in abundance streamed down upon the scaffold; all which he manfully endured, without manifesting the least shrinking thereat. Indeed, of such who measured his mind by his words, some conceived his carriage far above—others (though

* By sir John Lamb in the High Commission in St. Paul's.

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using the same scale) suspected the same to be somewhat beside—himself. But let such who desire more of his character consult with his printed Life, written with his own hand, though it be hard for the most excellent artist truly to draw his own picture.

Dr. Bastwick succeeded him, making a speech to this effect:—"Here are many spectators of us who stand here as delinquents; yet am I not conscious to myself of the least trespass, wherein I have deserved this outward shame. Indeed, I wrote a book against antichrist the pope; and the pope of Canterbury said it was written against him. But were the press open unto us, we would scatter his kingdom, and fight courageously against Gog and Magog. There be many here that have set many days apart on our behalf, (let the prelates take notice thereof!) and have sent up strong prayers to God for us; the strength and fruit whereof we have felt all along in this cause. In a word, so far am I from fear or care, that had I as much blood as would swell the Thames," (then visible unto him, his face respecting the south,) "I would lose every drop thereof in this cause."

His friends much admired and highly commended the erection of his mind, triumphing over pain and shame, making the one easy, the other honourable; and imputed the same to an immediate spiritual support. Others conceived that anger in him acted the part of patience, as to the stout undergoing of his sufferings; and that, in a Christian, there lieth a real distinction betwixt spirit and stomach, valour and stubbornness.

Mr. Prynne concluded the sad sight of that day, and spake to this purpose:—"The cause of my standing here is for not bringing-in my answer, God knoweth, my conscience beareth witness, and my counsel can tell; for I paid them twice, though to no purpose. But their cowardice stands upon record. And that is the reason why they did proceed, and take the cause *pro confesso* against me. But rather than I would have my cause a leading cause to the depriving of the subjects' liberties, which I seek to maintain, I choose to suffer my body to become an example of this punishment."

The censure was with all rigour executed on him, and he who felt the most, fretted the least: commended for more kindly patience than either of his predecessors in that place. So various were men's fancies in reading the same letters, imprinted in his face, that some made them to spell the guiltiness of the sufferer, but others the cruelty of the imposer. Of the latter sort many for the cause, more for the man, most for humanity's sake, bestowed pity upon him. And now all three were remanded to their former prisons; and Mr. Prynne, as he returned by water to the Tower, made this distich upon his own stigmatizing:—

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S. L.
Stigmata maxillis referens, insignia Laudis,
Exultans remeo, victima grata Deo.

Not long after they were removed: Mr. Prynne to Carnarvon Castle in Wales: Dr. Bastwick and Mr. Burton, the one to Lancaster Castle, the other to Launceston in Cornwall.

But, it seems, these places were conceived to have, either too little of privacy, or too much of pleasure. The two latter, therefore, were removed again; one to the Isle of Scilly, the other to the Isle of Guernsey; and Mr. Prynne to Mount Orgueil Castle in Jersey. This, in vulgar apprehensions, added breadth to the former depth of their sufferings, scattering the same over all the English dominions, making the islands thereof as well as the continent partake of their patience. And here we leave them all in their prisons, and particularly Mr. Prynne, improving the rocks and the seas (good spiritual husbandry!) with pious meditations. But we shall hear more of them hereafter at the beginning of the parliament.

76—85. *A Preparative to the Censure of the Bishop of Lincoln. The Bishop's Discourse at the Table with Sir John Lamb, [who] informed against him in the Star-Chamber. Deserteth his Intents of compounding with the King. Puts-in an especial Answer. Kilvert entertained his Prosecutor. Pregion, a principal Witness of the Bishop, much molested. Subornation of Perjury charged on the Bishop. In vain endeavoureth a Composition with the King; frustrated therein by his great Adversary.*

Next came the bishop of Lincoln to be censured in the Star-chamber; and something must be premised preparative thereunto. After the Great Seal, some ten years since, was taken from him, he retired himself to Bugden in Huntingdonshire, where he may be said to have lived in a public privacy,—so many his visitants, hospitable his house-keeping; it being hard to say, whether his table were more free and full in diet or discourse. Indeed, he had a plentiful estate to maintain it, beside his purchased land, the revenues of his bishopric and deanery of Westminster, out of which long since he had been shaken, if not fastened therein by the letters-patent of king James. His adversaries beheld him with envious eyes; and one great prelate plainly said, in the presence of the king, that the bishop of Lincoln lived in as much pomp and plenty as any cardinal in Rome, for diet, music, and attendance. They resolved, therefore, to humble his height, the concurrence of many matters ministering occasion thereunto.

Sir John Lamb, Dean of the Arches, formerly a favourite of Lincoln, (fetched-off from being prosecuted in parliament, and

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knighted, by his means,) with Dr. Sibthorp, Allen, and Burden, (two proctors, as I take them,) were entertained at the bishop's table at Bugden, where their talk was (the discourse-general of those days) against Puritans. The bishop advised them to take off their heavy hand from them, informing them that his Majesty intended to use them hereafter with more mildness, as a considerable party, having great influence on the Parliament, without whose concurrence the king could not comfortably supply his necessities: adding moreover, that his Majesty had communicated this unto him by his own mouth, with his resolutions hereafter of more gentleness to men of that opinion.

Some years after, upon the denial of an official's place in Leicestershire, (which, notwithstanding, he carried in despite of the bishop,) sir John Lamb fell foul with his old friend, and in revenge complained of him for revealing the king's secrets concredited to his privacy. Hereupon Attorney Noy was employed to put the same into an information in the Star-Chamber; unto which bishop Williams by good advice of counsel did plead and demur, as containing no matter fit for the cognizance of that Court, as concerning words spoken of matters done in Parliament, and secrets pretended to be revealed by him, a Privy Counsellor and Peer of Parliament, and therefore not to be heard but in that high Court. This demurrer, being heard and argued by counsel *pro* and *con* in open court for two or three hours, (the lord-keeper and other lords there present, finding no cause nor colour to over-rule it,) was referred to judge Richardson (who lately having singe-ed his coat from blasts at the court) by him to be smothered, who in a private chamber presently after dinner over-ruled the same in a quarter of an hour.

The demurrer thus rendered useless in the bishop's defence, he used what means he could by the lord Weston (a proper person, because treasurer, to meddle in money-matters) to compound with his Majesty. But his Majesty resolved to have the bishop's answer, and confession of his fault, before he would compound with him. Whereupon the bishop, quitting all thoughts of composition, resolved to weather-out the tempest of his Majesty's displeasure at open sea; either out of confidence of the strength of his tackling, his own innocence, or skill of his pilots, who were to steer his suit, having the learnedest counsel of the land, by whose advice he put-in a strong plea; which likewise being argued and debated in open court, came at last to the same untimely end with the demurrer, as referred to judge Richardson, and smothered by him in a chamber.

This plea thus over-ruled, the bishop put in an especial answer to the information, declaring how all was grounded by a conspiracy and combination of the persons named in the Bill; to wit, Lamb,

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Sibthorp, Allen, and Burden, out of an intent to advance themselves, and hatred they bare to him, for not permitting them to poll and pill the king's subjects in Leicestershire, in their ecclesiastical courts, by haling them into their nets *ex officio mero* without any previous complaint, under an imaginary colour of Puritanism. To this especial answer, Attorney Noy rejoined in issue, admitting the bishop to prove his especial matters, who proceeded to the examination of his witnesses therein.

Now began Attorney Noy to grow weary of the matter, and became slow and remiss in the prosecution thereof;—whether out of respect to the bishop, whom he honoured, (though tart in terms against him, to please a greater prelate,) or out of consciousness that more weight was hung thereon, than the slender wires of the cause would bear. Hereupon Richard Kilvert was entertained to follow the suit, (though not entering himself, as he ought, *prosecutor upon record*,) at the best being a necessary evil, to do what an honest man would be ashamed of. Indeed, like an English mastiff, he would fiercely fly upon any person or project, if set-on with promise of profit: and having formerly made his breakfast on sir John Bennet, he intended to dine and sup on the bishop. And though his strength consisted much in a cunning head, yet far more in an able back, as seconded in this suit and abetted from the Court in his undertakings. This Kilvert so wrought himself into Warren, an examiner of the Star-chamber, that, some say, contrary to his oath he revealed unto him that the testimony of one John Pregion, register of Lincoln and Leicester, was most material in the bishop's defence.

Then was it Kilvert's design to uncredit the testimony of Pregion, by charging him with several accusations, particularly getting a bastard, (though being no matters upon record,) to take away the validity of his witness. The bishop, apprehending himself necessitated to weigh-up Pregion's repute, engaged himself more zealously therein than was conceived consistent with the gravity of so great a prelate for so inconsiderable a person; especially to such who knew not, that Dr. Morrison and this Pregion were the only persons of note present at the bishop's table when the discourse passed betwixt him and sir John Lamb. The bastard laid to his charge is bandied at Lincoln sessions, backward and forward betwixt Pregion and another. The first court fathers it upon him, the next freed him from it, and a third returned it upon him again. This last order of sessions was again dissolved as illegal, by the Judges of the King's Bench, and Pregion cleared from the child charged on him; sir John Munson, a Justice of that county, appearing very active against him, and the bishop no less earnest in his behalf.*

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 584.—EDIT.

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Here happened the occasion of that which was afterwards so highly charged, and heavily censured, on the bishop Williams; namely, tampering to suborn witnesses. Henceforward Kilvert let fall his first information, which from this day sunk in silence; and employed all his power on the proof of subornation. That bandog let go his first hold, too hard for his teeth to enter, and fastened his fangs on a softer place, so to pinch the bishop to purpose; yea, so expensive was the suit that the bishop (well skilled in the charge of charitable works) might with the same cost have built and endowed a small college.

Some days before the hearing, a noble lord of his Majesty's council, the bishop's great friend, interposed himself to compound the matter; prevailing so far that, on his payment of two thousand pounds, the suit should be superseded in the Star-chamber, and he freed from further molestation. But at this lord's return the price was risen in the market; and, beside the aforesaid sum, it was demanded of him, that, to procure his peace, he must part with his deanery of Westminster, parsonage of Walgrave, and prebend of Lincoln, which he kept *in commendam*. To this the bishop answered, that he would in no case forego those few remainders of the favour which his dead master, king James, had conferred upon him.

Not long after another bargain was driven, by the well-intended endeavours of the same lord; that, seeing his Majesty at that time had much occasion of moneys, if he would but double the former sum, and lay down four thousand pounds, he should be freed from further trouble, and might go home with all his parcels about him. The bishop returned, that he took no delight to fence at law with his sovereign; and, thankfully embracing the motion, prepared himself for the payment; when a great adversary, stepping in, so violented his Majesty to a trial, that all was not only frustrated, but this afterwards urged against the bishop, to prove him conscious of a crime from his forwardness to entertain a composition.

86—88. *His heavy Censure, to which the Archbishop of Canterbury did concur. Three of his Servants fined with him.*

The day of censure being come, Tuesday, July 11th, sir John Finch, lord chief justice, fined the bishop ten thousand pounds for tampering to suborn witnesses, secretary Windebank concurred with [him,] (that little bell being the loudest and shrillest in the whole peal,) as who alone motioned to degrade him; which was lustily pronounced by a knight and layman, having no precedent for the same in former ages.* The other lords brought the fine down to eight thousand pounds, and a thousand marks to sir John Munson, with suspension

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," pp. 585, 586.—EDIT.

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ab officio et beneficio, and imprisoning him during the king's pleasure. The earl of Arundel added, that the cause in itself was extraordinary, not so much prosecuted by the Attorney, as immediately by the king himself recommended to their justice. Manchester, lord privy seal, said that this was the first precedent, wherein a master had undone himself to save his servant.

The archbishop of Canterbury did consent thereunto, aggravating the fault of subornation of perjury with a pathetical speech of almost an hour long, showing how the world was above three thousand years old before ripe enough to commit so great a wickedness, and Jezebel the first in scripture branded with that infamy, whose false witnesses the Holy Spirit refused to name, otherwise than under the character of "men of Belial." Wherefore, although, as he said, he himself had been five times down on his knees to his Majesty, in the bishop's behalf; yet, considering the guilt so great, he could not but agree with the heaviest censure. And, although some lords, the bishop's friends, as treasurer Weston, earl of Dorset, &c., concurred in the fine, with hope the king should have the sole honour of the mitigation thereof; yet his Majesty's necessities, meeting with the person adjudged guilty, and well known for solvable, no wonder if the utmost penny of the fine was exacted.

At the same time were fined with the bishop, George Walker his secretary, Cadwallader Powell his steward, at three hundred pounds a-piece, and Thomas Lund, the bishop's servant, at a thousand marks; all as defendants in the same cause; yet none of them was imprisoned, save Lund for a few weeks, and their fine never called upon unto this day; which, the bishop said, was commuted into such offices, as hereafter they were to do in the favour of Kilvert.

89—93. *The Complaints against the unjust Proceedings against him, put-in by the Bishop into the Parliament. Is examined again in the Tower, whether some Books were orthodox? Who had Power to license them? His cautious Answer.*

To make this our History entire, the matter shall rather rule the time, than the time the matter, in this particular suit. Be it therefore known to the reader, that some four years after, namely, in 1640, when this bishop was fetched out of the Tower, and restored a Peer in Parliament, he therein presented several grievances concerning the indirect prosecution of this cause against him, whereof these the principal:—

First. That his adversaries utterly waved and declined the matter of their first information, about revealing the king's secrets, as hopeless of success therein; and sprung a new mine to blow up his credit, about perjury in the examination of witnesses. Whereas he

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conceived it just, that all accidentals and occasionals should sink with the substance of the accusation, otherwise suits would be endless, if the branches thereof should still survive when the root doth expire.

Secondly. That he was deprived of the benefit of bringing-in any exceptions against the testimonies of sir John Lamb and Dr. Sibthorp, to prove their combination against him, because, they deposing *pro domino rege*, none must impeach the credit of the king's witnesses; who must be reputed holy and sacred in what they aver, insomuch that, after briefs were drawn by Counsel on both sides, the Court was moved to expunge those witnesses who made most against the king and for the defendant.

Thirdly. That Kilvert used all ways to menace and intimidate the bishop's witnesses, frighting them as much as he could out of their own consciences, with dangers presented unto them. To this purpose, he obtained from secretary Windebank, that a messenger of the Star-chamber, one Pechye by name, was directed to attend him all along the speeding of the commission in the country, with his coat of arms upon him, with power to apprehend and close imprison any person whom Kilvert should appoint, pretending from the secretary warrants for matters of state and deep consequence so to do; by virtue whereof, in the face of the commission, he seized-on and committed George Walker and Thomas Lund, two material witnesses for the bishop, and by the terror thereof chased away many more, whose depositions were necessary to the clearing of the bishop's integrity. Yet when the aforesaid two prisoners, in the custody of the messenger, were produced before secretary Windebank, he told them, he had no matters of state against them, but turned them over to Kilvert, wishing them to give him satisfaction; and were not permitted to have their liberty, until, after long close imprisonment, they were forced to confess, under their own hands, crimes against themselves and the bishop; which afterwards they denied and revoked upon their oaths.

Lastly, and chiefly. That the Judges privately over-ruled his pleas; so that what shame, and the honour of the Court, with the inspection of so many eyes, would not permit to be done publicly in the sunshine of justice, was posted-over by a Judge privately in a corner.*

These and many more Kilvertisms, as he calls them, did the bishop complain of in parliament, who so far tendered his innocency therein, that they ordered all the records of that suit in the Star-chamber to be obliterated. Yea, we may justly conceive, that these

* These complaints I extracted out of the bishop's original.

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grievances of the bishop did much hasten, if not chiefly cause, the suppression of that court.

Monday, July 24th, thirteen days after, he was suspended by the High Commission, and imprisoned in the Tower for almost four years; during whose durance therein, two bishops and three doctors were sent thither unto him, to take his answer to a book of articles, of twenty-four sheets of paper written on both sides. They proffered him the Bible to take the oath thereon, which he utterly refused, claiming the privilege of a peer,* adding moreover that, being a bishop, it was against law and precedent in antiquity, that young priests, his Grace's (and some who had been his own) chaplains, and lay doctors, should sit as judges of a bishop's doctrine, with power to deprive him of his bishopric, if disliking the same. This was over-ruled, and he, as one of the king's subjects, required to make his answer.

First. The article that all books licensed by his Grace's chaplains (as Chune's and Sales's book, with Dr. Manwaring's sermons) are presumed by all true subjects to be orthodox, and agreeable to sound religion. This the bishop utterly denied, and wondered at their impudence, to propound such an article unto him.

Secondly. They alleged, that no bishop but his Grace, the lord of London, and their chaplains, had power to allow books. This the other denied, saying that all bishops, who were as learned as they, had as much power as they, citing for the same the Council of Lateran under Leo X.; *Reformatio Cleri*, under cardinal Pole; queen Elizabeth's Injunctions; and the Decree of the Star-chamber relating to all these. He also stoutly averred the privilege to belong only to the bishops, and not to their servants. Howbeit his Grace had shuffled-in his chaplains to the last printed Star-chamber decree. More frivolous were the ensuing articles whereon he was examined:— That he called a book entitled "A Coal from the Altar," a pamphlet; that he said, that "all flesh in England had corrupted their ways;" that he said scoffingly he had "heard of a mother-church, but not of a mother-chapel;" meaning the king's, to which all churches in ceremonies were to conform; that he wickedly jested upon St. Martin's hood; that he said, that "the people are not to be lashed by every man's whip;" that he said, (citing a national Council for it,) that "the people are God's and the king's, and not the priests' people;" that he doth not allow priests to jeer and make invectives against the people.

To all which the bishop made so wary an answer, that no advantage could be gained thereby; yea, though, some days after, they returned to re-examine him, upon the same articles, to try, as he

* See the "Appeal of Injured Innocence," p. 586.—EDIT.

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thought, the steadiness of his memory, or else to plunge him into some crime of perjury, if in any material point he dissented from his former depositions. But the bishop, like a good boy, said his lesson over again and again; so that no advantage could be taken against him, and thereupon they gave him leave to play, proceeding no further in this cause. Only they painted him out in an ugly shape to the king, as disaffected to the present government; and, God willing, we shall hear more of their proceedings against him hereafter.

94—97. *Transition to a sad Subject. The Project of a public Prayer-book began in the Reign of King James. Why a Difference betwixt the Scotch and English Liturgy. Canonical Scripture only used in the Scotch Liturgy. The Word "Priest" therein declined. Scotch Saints inserted into the Calendar.*

But now we are summoned to a sadder subject; from the sufferings of a private person, to the miseries and almost mutual ruin of two kingdoms, England and Scotland. I confess, my hands have always been unwilling to write of that cold country, for fear my fingers should be frost-bitten therewith; but necessity, to make our story entire, puts me upon the employment. Miseries, caused from the sending of the Book of Service or new Liturgy thither, which may sadly be termed a *Rubric* indeed, *dyed* with the blood of so many of both nations, slain on that occasion.*

It seems the design began in the reign of king James; who desired and endeavoured an uniformity of public prayers through the kingdom of Scotland. In order whereunto, an Act was passed in the General Assembly at Aberdeen, 1616,† to authorize some bishops present to compile and frame a public form of Common-Prayer; and let us observe the motions thereof. (1.) It was committed to the bishops aforesaid, and principally to the archbishop of St. Andrew's,‡ and William Cooper, bishop of Galloway, to draw up the order thereof. (2.) It was transmitted into England to king James, who punctually perused every particular passage therein. (3.) It was remitted with the king's observations, additions, expunctions, mutations, accommodations, to Scotland again. But here the design sunk with the sudden death of king James, and lay not only dormant but dead; till, some years after, it was awakened or rather revived again.

In the reign of king Charles, the project being resumed, (but

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," pp. 588, 589.—EDIT. † "The King's large Declaration concerning the Tumults in Scotland," p. 16. ‡ See the Life of Archbishop Spottiswood.

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whether the same book or no, God knoweth,)* it was concluded not to send into Scotland the same Liturgy of England *totidem verbis* lest this should be misconstrued a badge of dependence of that church on ours. It was resolved also, that the two Liturgies should not differ in substance, lest the Roman party should upbraid us with weighty and material differences.† A similitude therefore (not identity) being resolved of, it was drawn up with some, as they termed them, insensible alterations, but such as were quickly found and felt by the Scotch to their great distaste. These alterations are of two natures. First. Ingratiating; which may be presumed made to gain the affection of that nation. Secondly. Distasting; which, if not in the intent, in the event proved the great grievance and general cause that the book was hated and rejected. We will insist on three of the first sort:—

First. Whereas there was an ancient complaint, that so much of the Apocrypha was read in churches, namely, about sixty chapters for the first lesson, from the 28th of September till the 24th of November; canonical scripture is alone appointed to be read in the Scotch Liturgy, one day alone excepted, namely, All-Saints' Day, when Wisdom iii. and Ecclesiasticus xiv. are ordered for Morning and Evening Prayer; on the same token, there wanted not such who said that those two chapters were left there to keep possession, that all the rest might in due time be re-introduced.

Secondly. The word "priest," often used in the English Liturgy, gave offence to many; insomuch that one writeth:‡ "To call us *priests* as touching our office, is either to call back again the old priesthood of the law, which is to deny Christ to be come, or else to keep a memory of the popish priesthood of abomination still amongst us. Besides, we never read in the New Testament, that the word *priest* (as touching office) is used in the good part." Whereupon, to prevent exception, it was mollified into "presbyter" in the Scotch Rubric.

The names of sundry saints, omitted in the English, are inserted into the Scotch Calendar, (but only in black letters,) on their several days according to the form following:—

'*January* 11*th*, David, king; 13*th*, Mungo, bishop, in Latin *Kentigernus*. *February* 18*th*, Coleman. *March* 11*th*, Constantine, the third king; 17*th*, Patrick; 20*th*, Cuthbert. *April* 1*st*, Gilbert, bishop; 20*th*, Serfe, bishop. *June* 9*th*, Columba. *July* 6*th*, Palladias. *September* 18*th*, Ninian, bishop; 25*th*, Adaman, bishop, *November* 16*th*, Margaret, queen; 27*th*, Ode, virgin. *December* 4*th*, Droftane.

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 591.—EDIT. † King's "Declaration," p. 18. ‡ CARTWRIGHT in his "Admonition," chap. iii. division 1.

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Some of these were kings, all of them natives, of that country, (Scotch and Irish in former ages being effectually the same,) and, which in probability might render them to the favour of their countrymen, some of them (as Coleman, &c.) zealous opposites to the church of Rome in the celebration of Easter.

But these Scotch saints were so far from making the English Liturgy acceptable, that the English Liturgy rather made the saints odious unto them. Such the distasting alterations in the book, reducible to, (1.) Additions. (2.) Omissions. (3.) Variations. And, (4.) Transpositions.

98, 99. *Alterations of Addition in the Scotch Liturgy. The most material Omission.*

I. To instance in the most material of the first kind.

(1.) In the baptism, these words are inserted, "Sanctify this fountain of water, thou which art the Sanctifier of all things."* Which words are enjoined to be spoken by the minister, so often as the water in the fount is changed, which must be at least twice a-month.

(2.) In the prayer after the Doxology, and before the Communion, this passage (expunged by the English Reformers out of our Liturgy) is out of the Ordinary of Sarum inserted in the Scotch Prayer-Book: "And of thy almighty goodness vouchsafe so to bless and sanctify, with thy Word and Holy Spirit, these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son:"† From which words, saith the Scotch author,‡ all papists use to draw the truth of the transubstantiation.

(3.) He that celebrateth is enjoined to cover that which remaineth of the consecrated elements, with a fair linen cloth or "Corporal;"§ a word unknown to vulgar ears of either nations, in other sense than to signify "an under-officer in a foot-company," and complained of to be purposely placed here, to wrap-up therein all Romish superstition of Christ's carnal corporal presence in the sacrament.

(4.) In the prayer for the state of Christ's church militant, these words are added: "And we also bless thy holy name for all those thy servants who, having finished their course in faith, do now rest from their labours. And we yield unto thee most high praise and hearty thanks for the wonderful grace and virtue declared in all thy saints, who have been the choice vessels of thy grace, and the lights of the world in their several generations; most humbly beseeching thee,

* Fol. 106, p. 2. † Fol. 102, p. 1. ‡ BAILLIE in his "Canterburian's Self-conviction." § Fol. 103, p. 2.

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that we may have grace to follow the example of their steadfastness in thy faith, and obedience to thy holy commandments, that, at the day of the general resurrection, we, and all they which are of the mystical body of thy Son, may be set on his right hand, and hear that his most joyful voice, Come, ye blessed," &c.*

II. Amongst the omissions none more complained of than the deleting these words, in the delivery of the bread at the sacrament: "Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thine heart by faith with thanksgiving."† A passage destructive to transubstantiation, as diverting communicants from carnal manducation, and directing their souls to a spiritual repast on their Saviour. All which in the Scotch Liturgy is cut off with an "Amen" from the receiver.

III., IV. The variations and transpositions are of less moment; as where the money gathered at the offertory, distributable by the English Liturgy to the poor alone, hath a moiety thereof assigned the minister, therewith to buy him books of holy divinity; and some prayers are transposed from their place, and ordered elsewhere, whereat some do take no small exception. Other smaller differences (if worth the while) will quickly appear to the curious perusers of both Liturgies.

100. *The discontented Condition of the Scotch Nation when the Liturgy was first brought unto them.*

Pass we now from the constitution of the book, to the condition of the Scotch nation, in this unhappy juncture of time when it was imposed upon them. For it found them in a discontented posture, (and high royalists will maintain, that murmuring and mutinying against princes differ only in degree, not in kind,) occasioned on several accounts.

(1.) Some years since, the king had passed an act of revocation of crown-lands, (aliened in the minority of his ancestors,) whereby much land of the nobility became obnoxious to forfeiture.‡ And though all was forgiven again by the king's clemency, and nothing acted hereby to the prejudice of any; yet it vexed some to hold that as remitted by the king's bounty, wherein they conceived themselves to be before unquestionably estated.§

(2.) Whereas many formerly in Scotland were rather subjects than tenants, rather vassals than subjects, (such the landlords' princely (not to say tyrannical) power over them,) the king had lately freed many from such dangerous dependence; especially in point of payment of tithes to "the lords of the erection," equivalent to our

* Fol. 98, p. 1. † Fol. 103, p. 2. ‡ "The King's Declaration at large," p. 6. § See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 569.—EDIT.

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English lay-impropriators, (but allowing the landlords a valuable consideration, according to the purchases of that country,*) whereby the king got the smiles of those who were most in number, but the frowns of such who were greatest in power.

(3.) Many were offended, that, at the king's coronation, some six years ago, and a parliament following thereon, an Act of ratification was passed concerning the church's liberties and privileges, which, some complained of, was done without plurality of suffrages.

(4.) Some persons of honour, desiring higher titles, were offended, that they were denied unto them, whilst his Majesty conferred them on others.†

There want not those also, who confidently suggest it to posterity, that pensions constantly paid out of the English exchequer in the reign of king James, to some principal pastors in the Scottish church, were since detained. So also the bounty of boons was now restrained in the reign of king Charles, which could not fall so freely, as in the days of his father, the cloud being almost drained: adding, moreover, that the want of watering of Scotland with such showers made them to chap into such clefts and chinks of parties and factions, disaffected to the king's proceedings.

101—103. *The Book bears the Blame of all. The Scotch Church standeth on the Terms of its own Independency. Archbishop Laud accused as principal Composer of the Book.*

To increase these distempers, some complain (how justly, their own countrymen best know) of the pride and pragmaticalness of the Scotch bishops, who, being but probationers on their good behaviour, (as but re-introduced by king James,) offended the ancient nobility, with their meddling in state-matters. And I find two principally accused on this account: Dr. Forbes, bishop of the new bishopric of Edinburgh, and Dr. Wedderburne, bishop of Dumblain. Thus was the Scotch nation full of discontents, when this book, being brought unto them, bare the blame of their breaking-forth into more dangerous designs; as, when the cup is brim-full before, the last (though least) superadded drop is charged alone to be the cause of all the running-over.‡

Besides, the church of Scotland claimed not only to be independent and free as any church in Christendom, (a sister, not daughter, of England,§) but also had so high an opinion of its own purity, that it participated more of Moses's platform in the mount, than other protestant churches, being a reformed Reformation; so that the practice thereof might be directory to others, and she fit to give

* "The King's Declaration at large," p. 9. † *Idem*, p. 11. ‡ See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 588.—EDIT. § *Idem*, p. 592.—EDIT.

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not take—write not receive—copies from any neighbouring church, desiring that all others were like unto them, save only in their afflictions.

So much for the complained-of burden of the book, as also for the sore back of that nation, galled with the aforesaid grievances, when this Liturgy was sent unto them. And now we must not forget the hatred they bare to the hand which they accused for laying it upon them. Generally they excused the king in their writings; as innocent therein;* but charged archbishop Laud as the principal (and Dr. Cosin for the instrumental †) compiler thereof; which may appear by what we read, in a writer of that nation,‡ afterwards employed into England, about the advancing of the Covenant betwixt both nations, and other church-affairs:—

"This unhappy book was his Grace's invention; if he should deny it, his own deeds would convince him. The manifold letters which in this pestiferous affair have passed betwixt him and our prelates are yet extant. If we might be heard, we would spread out sundry of them, before the Convocation-house of England, making it clear as the light, that in all this design his hand had ever been the prime stickler; so that upon his back mainly (nill he, will he) would be laid the charge of all the fruits, good or evil, which from that tree are like to fall on the king's countries."

Surely, if any such evidence was extant, we shall hear of it hereafter at his arraignment, produced and urged by the Scotch commissioners.

105—107. *The Tumult at Edinburgh at the first reading the Book. More considerable Persons engaged in the Cause. The Occasion of the Scotch Covenant. The Author's Excuse, why not proceeding in this Subject.*

But leaving the roots to lie under the earth, let us look on the branches spreading themselves above ground; and, passing from the secret author of this book, behold the evident effects thereof. No sooner had the dean of Edinburgh begun to read the book in the church of St. Giles, Sunday, July 23rd, in the presence of the Privy Council, both the archbishops, divers bishops, and magistrates of the city, but presently such a tumult was raised that, through clapping of hands, cursing, and crying, one could neither hear nor be heard. The bishop of Edinburgh endeavoured in vain to appease the tumult; whom a stool, aimed to be thrown at him, had killed, if not diverted by one present;§ so that the same book had occasioned his death, and prescribed the form of his burial; and this

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 590.—EDIT. † BAILLIE, *ut prius*, p. 102. ‡ *Idem*, pp. 95, 96. § "The King's Declaration," p. 23.

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hubbub was hardly suppressed by the lord provost and bailiffs of Edinburgh.

This first tumult was caused by such, whom I find called "the scum of the city," considerable for nothing but their number. But, few days after, the cream of the nation (some of the highest and best quality therein) engaged in the same cause, crying out, "God defend all those who will defend God's cause! and God confound the service-book and all the maintainers of it!" *

The lords of the Council interposed their power; and, to appease all parties, issued-out a proclamation, October 17th, to remove the session (much like to our term in London) to Linlithgow. This abated their anger, as fire is quenched with oil; seeing the best part of the Edinburghers' livelihood depends on the session kept in their city. Yea, so highly were the people enraged against bishops, as the procurers of all these troubles, that the bishop of Galloway, passing peaceably along the street towards the Council-house, was waylaid in his coming thither,† if by Divine Providence, and by Francis Stewart, son to the late earl of Bothwell, he had not with much ado been got within the doors of the Council-house. Indeed, there is no fence but flight, nor counsel but concealment, to secure any single party against an offended multitude.

These troublesome beginnings afterwards did occasion "the solemn League and Covenant," whereby the greatest part of the nation united themselves to defend their privileges, and which laid the foundation of a long and woful war in both kingdoms. And here I crave the reader's pardon to break off; and leave the prosecution of this sad subject to pens more able to undertake it. For, First, I know none will pity me, if I needlessly prick my fingers with meddling with a thistle, which belongs not unto me. Secondly. I despair of perfect notice of particulars, at so great a distance of place, and greater of parties concerned therein. Thirdly. If exact intelligence were obtained, as ages long ago are written with more safety than truth, so the story hereof might be written with more truth than safety. Lastly. Being a civil business, it is aliened from my subject, and may justly be declined. If any object, that it is reducible to ecclesiastical story, because one, as they said, termed this *bellum episcopale*, "the war for bishops;" I conceive it presumption for so mean a minister as myself (and indeed for any under that great order) to undertake the writing thereof.

* "The King's large Declaration," p. 37. † *Ibid.* p. 35.

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SECTION III.

TO HENRY PUCKERINGNEWTON, SON AND HEIR TO SIR HENRY PUCKERINGNEWTON, BARONET.

No gentleman in this nation is more advantaged to be a scholar born than yourself. You may be free of the city of the Muses by the copy of your grandfathers: (by your father's side,) sir Adam Newton, tutor to prince Henry: (by your mother's side,) Mr. Murray, tutor to king Charles.

If you be not more than an ordinary scholar, it will not be less than an extraordinary disgrace. Good is not good, where better is expected. But I am confident, if your pains be added to your parts, your prayers to your pains, God's blessing will be added to your prayers to crown all with success.

1—5. *Bishop Williams's second Censure.* *A.D.* 1637.

Now bishop Williams was sentenced the second time in the Star-chamber on this occasion: Mr. Lambert Osbaldeston, schoolmaster of Westminster, wrote a letter unto him, wherein this passage: "The little vermin, the urchin and hocus-pocus, is this stormy Christmas at true and real variance with the Leviathan." Now the bishop was accused for divulging scandalous libels on Privy Counsellors, and that the archbishop of Canterbury was meant by the former names, the lord treasurer Weston by "the Leviathan," because he should have presented the libellous letter, at the receipt thereof, to some Justice of Peace, and not dispersed the same.

The bishop pleaded, that he remembered not the receiving of any such letter, that he conceived no law directs the subject to bring to a Justice of Peace, enigmas or riddles, but plain, literal, and grammatical libels against a known and clearly-deciphered person. Mr. Osbaldeston denied the words so meant by him, and deposed that he intended one Dr. Spicer, a civilian, by "hocus-pocus," and the lord Richardson (alive when the letter was written, but then dead) for "the Leviathan."

Here a paper was produced by Mr. Walker, the bishop's secretary, and found in a bandbox at Bugden, wherein the bishop had thus written unto him:—

"Here is a strange thing: Mr. Osbaldeston importunes me to

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contribute, to my lord treasurer's use, some charges upon the little great man, and assures me they are mortally out. I have utterly refused to meddle in this business: and I pray you learn from Mr. S. and Mr. H. if any such falling out be, or whether somebody hath not gulled the schoolmaster in these three last letters, and keep it to yourself what I write unto you. If my lord treasurer would be served by me, he must use a more near, solid, and trusty messenger, and free me from the bonds of the Star-chamber; else let them fight it out for me."

Now, Mr. Walker, being pressed by a friend, why he would discover this letter to his master's prejudice, averred, he brought it forth as a main witness of his innocency, and as able to clear him of all in the information. However, it was strongly misunderstood; for, by comparing both letters together, the court collected the bishop guilty.

Sir John Finch fined him a just ten thousand pounds, *rotundi numeri causâ*, whom secretary Windebank did follow. The rest brought it down to eight thousand pounds only. One lord thought fitting to impose no fine upon him, rendering this reason, *Qui jacet in terrâ non habet unde cadet.*

The bishop already being sequestered from all his temporal lands, spiritual preferment, and his person imprisoned, Mr. Osbaldeston was sentenced five thousand pounds, loss of his good living at Wheathamstead, and to have his ears tacked to the pillory in the presence of his scholars, whom his industry had improved to as great eminency of learning as any of his predecessors; insomuch that he had at the present above fourscore doctors in the two universities, and three learned faculties, all gratefully acknowledging their education under him. But this last personal penalty he escaped by going beyond Canterbury, conceived seasonably gone beyond the seas, whilst he secretly concealed himself in London.*

6—8. *The third Accusation against him.* *A.D.* 1638.

All this put not a period to the bishop's troubles; his unsequestered spirit so supported him, that some of his adversaries frowned because he could smile under so great vexations. A design is set a-foot, either to make him voluntarily surrender his bishopric, deanery, and dignities, (permitted, perchance, a poor bishopric in Ireland,) or else to press his degradation: in order whereunto a new information with ten articles is drawn up against him, though, for the main, but the consequence and deductions of the fault for tampering with witnesses, for which in the thirteenth of king Charles he had been so severely censured.

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 587.—EDIT.

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To this the bishop put in a plea and demurrer, that *Deus non judicat bis in id ipsum*, "God punisheth not the same fault twice;" that this is the way to make causes immense and punishments infinite; that whereas there were two things that philosophers denied,—infiniteness and vacuity, Kilvert had found them both in this prosecution, infiniteness in the bishop's cause, and vacuity in his purse; that the profane wits of this age should begin to doubt of the necessity of believing a hell hereafter, when such eternal punishments are found here in such kind of prosecution. He added also, that he could prove it, that it was a conspiracy of Kilvert's with other persons, if he might have freedom to bring his witnesses against them; which, because it cast scandal on those who were *pro domino rege*, was now denied him.

Then put he in a rejoinder and an appeal unto the next Parliament, whensoever it should be assembled, pleading his privilege of Peerage, as his freehold, and that he could not be degraded of his Orders and dignities. This was filed in the Star-chamber under the clerk's book, and copies thereof signed with [by] the usual officers. Now, although this was but a poor help, no light of a Parliament dawning at that time; yet it so far quashed the proceedings that it never came to farther hearing, and the matter superseded from any final censure.

9, 10. *Scots' Broils begin. The Reader referred to other Authors.* *A.D.* 1639, 1640.

And now began Scotland to be an actor, and England, as yet, a sad spectator thereof, as suspecting ere long to feel what she beheld. There is a high hill in Cumberland called Skiddaw, and another answering thereto, Scrussel by name, in Annandale in Scotland; and the people dwelling-by have an old rhyme:—

—— "If Skiddaw hath a cap,
Scrussel wots full well of that:" *

meaning, that such the vicinity (and, as I may say, sympathy) betwixt these two hills, that if one be sick with a mist of clouds, the other soon after is sad on the like occasion. Thus none, seeing it now foul weather in Scotland, could expect it fair sunshine in England, but that she must share in the same miseries: as soon after it came to pass.†

Let those who desire perfect information hereof, satisfy themselves from such as have [written], or may hereafter write, the History of the state. In whom they shall find how king Charles

* CAMDEN'S "Britannia" in Cumberland, p. 767. † See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 593.—EDIT.

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took his journey northward, (March 27th,) against the Scottish Covenanters; how some weeks after, on certain conditions, a peace was concluded betwixt them; how his Majesty returned to London, June 17th; and how this palliated cure soon after brake out again, more dangerous than ever before.

11—18. *A Parliament and Convocation called. Dr. Turner's Text and Sermon. The Effect of the Archbishop's Latin Speech. The just Suspicions of wise Men. The Parliament suddenly dissolved; yet the Convocation still continues. A Party dissents, and protests against the Continuance thereof. Out of the Burial of an old Convocation, the Birth of a new Synod.*

In these distracted times a Parliament was called, Monday, April 13th, with the wishes of all, and hopes of most that were honest; yet not without the fears of some, who were wise, what would be the success thereof. With this Parliament began a Convocation; all the mediate transactions (for aught I can find out) are embezzled; and therein it was ordered, that none present should take any private notes in the House; whereby the particular passages thereof are left at great uncertainty. However, so far as I can remember, I will faithfully relate; being comforted with this consideration, that generally *he* is accounted an unpartial arbitrator *who* displeaseth both sides.

On the first day thereof, Tuesday, 14th, Dr. Turner, chaplain to the archbishop of Canterbury, made a Latin sermon in the choir of St. Paul's. His text: "Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves," Matt. x. 16. In the close of his sermon he complained, that all bishops held not the reins of church-discipline with an even hand, but that some of them were too easy and remiss in the ordering thereof; whereby, while they sought to gain to themselves the popular praise of meekness and mildness, they occasionally cast on other bishops, more severe than themselves, the unjust imputation of rigour and tyranny; and therefore he advised them all with equal strictness to urge an universal conformity. Sermon [being] ended, we chose Dr. Stewart, dean of Chichester, Prolocutor.*

Next day of sitting, Friday, 17th, we met at Westminster, in the chapel of king Henry VII., both the Houses of Convocation being joined together; when the archbishop of Canterbury entertained them with a Latin speech, well nigh three quarters of an hour gravely uttered, his eyes oft-times being but one remove from weeping. It consisted most of generals, bemoaning the distempers of the church; but [he] concluded it with a special passage, acquainting us how highly we were indebted to his Majesty's favour

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 595.—EDIT.

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[for] so far intrusting the integrity and ability of that Convocation, as to empower them with his commission, the like whereof was not granted for many years before, to alter old—or make new—canons for the better government of the church.

Some wise men in the Convocation began now to be jealous of the event of new canons; yea, became fearful of their own selves, for having too great power, lest it should tempt them to be over-tampering in innovations. They thought it better that this Convocation, with its predecessors, should be censured for laziness, and the solemn doing of just nothing, rather than to run the hazard by over-activity to do any thing unjust. For, as waters long dammed up oft-times flounce, and fly out too violently, when their sluices are pulled up, and they let loose on a sudden; so the judicious feared, lest the Convocation, whose power of meddling with church-matters had been bridled up for many years before, should now, enabled with such power, over-act their parts, especially in such dangerous and discontented times.* Yea, they suspected, lest those who formerly had out-run the canons with their additional conformity, (ceremonizing more than was enjoined,) now would make the canons come up to them, making it necessary for others what voluntarily they had pre-practised themselves.

Matters began to be in agitation, when, on a sudden, (May 5th,) the Parliament (wherein many things were started, nothing hunted down, or brought to perfection) was dissolved. Whilst the immediate cause hereof is commonly cast on the king and court, demanding so many subsidies at once, England being as yet unacquainted with such prodigious payments; the more conscientious look higher and remoter, on the crying sins of our kingdom. And from this very time did God begin to gather the twigs of that rod (a civil war) wherewith soon after he intended to whip a wanton nation.

Next day the Convocation came together, as most supposed, merely meeting to part, and finally to dissolve themselves: when, contrary to general expectation, it was motioned to improve the present opportunity, in perfecting the new canons which they had begun. And soon after a new commission was brought from his Majesty, by virtue whereof we were warranted still to sit, not in the capacity of a Convocation, but of a Synod, to prepare our canons for the royal assent thereunto. But Dr. Brownrigg, Dr. Hacket, Dr. Holdsworth, Mr. Warmestry, with others, to the number of thirty-six, (the whole House consisting of about six-score,) earnestly protested against the continuance of the Convocation.†

These importunately pressed, that it might sink with the parlia-

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 595.—EDIT. † *Idem*, pp. 596—601.—EDIT.

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ment; it being ominous, and without precedent, that the one should survive when the other was expired. To satisfy these, an instrument was brought into Synod, signed with the hands of the Lord Privy Seal, the two Chief Justices, and other Judges, justifying our so sitting in the nature of a Synod to be legal according to the laws of the realm. It ill becometh clergymen to pretend to more skill in the laws, than so learned sages in that profession; and therefore unpartial judgments may take off from the fault of the followers, and lay it on the leaders, that this Synod sate when the Parliament was dissolved. This made the aforesaid thirty-six dissenters, though solemnly making their oral protests to the contrary, yet not to dissever themselves, or enter any act *in scriptis* against the legality of this assembly; the rather because they hoped to moderate proceedings with their presence. Surely, some of their own coat, who since have censured these dissenters for "cowardly compliance, and doing no more in this cause," would have done less themselves, if in their condition.

Thus was an old Convocation converted into a new Synod,* and now their disjointed meeting being set together again, they betook themselves to consult about new canons. Now, because great bodies move slowly, and are fitter to be the consenters to—than the contrivers of—business, it was thought fit to contract the Synod into a select Committee of some six-and-twenty, beside the Prolocutor,† who were to ripen matters, as to the propounding and drawing-up the forms to what should pass, yet so that nothing should be accounted the act of the House, till thrice (as I take it) publicly voted therein.

19—23. *Why the Canons of this Synod are not by us exemplified. The Form of the Oath et cætera. A Motion for a new Edition of the Welsh Bible. Gloucester's Singularity, threatened with Suspension. His Suspension suspended.*

Expect not here of me an exemplification of such canons as were concluded-of in this Convocation; partly, because being printed they are public to every eye; but chiefly, because they were never put in practice, or generally received. The men in Persia did never look on their little ones till they were seven years old, bred till that time with their mothers and nurses; nor did they account them in their genealogies amongst their children, but amongst the more long-lived abortives, if dying before seven years of age. I conceive such canons come not under our cognizance, which last not (at least) an apprenticeship of years in use and practice; and therefore we

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," pp. 601, 602.—EDIT. † *Idem*, pp. 603, 604.—EDIT.

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decline the setting-down the Acts of this Synod. It is enough for us to present the number and titles of the several canons.

(1.) Concerning the regal power. (2.) For the better keeping of the day of his Majesty's most happy inauguration. (3.) For suppressing of the growth of popery. (4.) Against Socinianism. (5.) Against Sectaries. (6.) An oath enjoined for the preventing of all innovations in doctrine and government. (7.) A declaration concerning some rites and ceremonies. (8.) Of preaching for conformity. (9.) One book of articles of inquiry to be used at all parochial visitations. (10.) Concerning the conversation of the clergy. (11.) Chancellors' patents. (12.) Chancellors alone not to censure any of the clergy in sundry cases. (13.) Excommunication and absolution not to be pronounced but by a priest. (14.) Concerning the commutations, and the disposing of them. (15.) Touching concurrent jurisdictions. (16.) Concerning licences to marry. (17.) Against vexatious citations.

As for the oath concluded-on in this Synod, because since the subject of so much discourse, it is here set forth at large, according to the true tenor thereof, as followeth:—

"I, A. B., do swear, that I do approve the doctrine and discipline or government established in the church of England, as containing all things necessary to salvation; and that I will not endeavour by myself or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring-in any popish doctrine contrary to that which is so established; nor will I ever give my consent to alter the government of this church, by archbishops, bishops, deans, and archdeacons, &c., as it stands now established, and as by right it ought to stand, nor yet ever to subject it to the usurpation and superstitions of the see of Rome. And all these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to the plain and common sense and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation or mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever. And this I do heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the faith of a Christian. So help me God, in Jesus Christ."

Towards the close of the Convocation, Dr. Griffith, a clerk for some Welsh diocess, (whose moderate carriage all the while was very commendable,) made a motion that there might be a new edition of the Welsh Church-Bible; some sixty years since first translated into Welsh, by the worthy endeavours of bishop Morgan, but not without many mistakes and omissions of the printer. He insisted on two most remarkable: a whole verse left out, Exodus xii., concerning the angel's passing over the houses besprinkled with blood, which mangleth the sense of the whole chapter. Another, Habakkuk ii. 5, where that passage, "He is a proud man," is wholly omitted. The matter was committed to the care of the Welsh bishops, who,

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I fear, surprised with the troublesome times, effected nothing therein.

The day before the ending of the Synod, Godfrey Goodman, bishop of Gloucester, privately repaired to the archbishop of Canterbury, acquainting him, that he could not in his conscience subscribe the new canons. It appeared afterwards that he scrupled some passages about the corporal presence; but, whether upon popish or Lutheran principles, he best knoweth himself. The archbishop advised him to avoid obstinacy and singularity therein. However, the next day, when we all subscribed the canons (suffering ourselves, according to the order of such meetings, to be all concluded by the majority of votes, though some of us in the committee privately dissenting in the passing of many particulars,)* he alone utterly refused his subscription thereunto. Whereupon the archbishop, being present with us in king Henry the seventh's chapel, was highly offended at him. "My lord of Gloucester," said he, "I admonish you to subscribe:" and presently after, "My lord of Gloucester, I admonish you the second time to subscribe:" and immediately after, "I admonish you the third time to subscribe:" to all which the bishop pleaded conscience, and returned a denial.

Then were the judgments of the bishops severally asked, whether they should proceed to the present suspension of Gloucester, for his contempt herein. Davenant, bishop of Salisbury, being demanded his opinion, conceived it fit some lawyers should first be consulted with, how far forth the power of a Synod in such cases did extend. He added, moreover, that the threefold admonition of a bishop ought solemnly to be done with some considerable intervals betwixt them, in which the party might have time of convenient deliberation. However, some days after he was committed (by the king's command, as I take it) to the Gate-house, where he got by his restraint what he could never have gained by his liberty; namely, of one reputed popish, to become for a short time popular, as the only confessor suffering for not subscribing the canons. Soon after the same canons were subscribed at York, where the Convocation is but the hand of the dial, moving and pointing as directed by the clock of the province of Canterbury. And on the last of June following, the said canons were publicly printed, with the royal assent affixed thereunto.

24—28. *First and second Exception against the Canons. The third and greatest Exception. Endeavoured to be excused. The Over-activity of some Bishops.*

No sooner came these canons abroad into public view, but various were men's censures upon them.† Some were offended, because

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 604.—EDIT. † *Idem, ibid.*—EDIT.

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bowing toward the communion-table (now called "altar" by many) was not only left indifferent, but also caution taken that the observers or the omitters thereof should not mutually censure each other; yet many complained, that this ceremony, though left indifferent as *hereafter* to salvation, was made necessary as *here* to preferment. Yea, this knee-mark of bowing or not bowing would be made the distinguishing character, that hereafter all such should be condemned as halting in conformity, who were not thorough-paced in these additional ceremonies.

Many took exception at the hollowness of the oath in the middle thereof, having its bowels puffed up with a windy *et cætera*, a cheveril word, which might be stretched as men would measure it.* Others pleaded for it, as only inserted to save the enumeration of many mean officers in the church, whose mention was beneath the dignity of an oath, and would but clog the same. Yea, since, some have endeavoured to excuse the same by the interpretative *et cetera*, incorporated into the body of "the Covenant," whereby people are bound to defend the privileges of Parliament; though what they be, is unknown to most that take the same.

But most took exception against that clause in the oath: "We will never give any consent to alter this church-government;" as if the same were intended to abridge the liberty of king and state in future Parliaments and Convocations, if hereafter they saw cause to change any thing therein. And this obligation seemed the more unreasonable, because some of those Orders specified in the oath (as archbishops, deans, archdeacons) stand only established *jure humano sive ecclesiastico;* and no wise man ever denied, but that by the same power and authority they are alterable on just occasion.

Yet there wanted not others, who with a favourable sense endeavoured to qualify this suspicious clause, whereby the taker of this oath was tied-up from consenting to any alteration. These argued, that if the authority, civil or ecclesiastical, did not herein impose an oath, binding those that took it hereafter to disobey themselves, and reject such orders which the foresaid civil or ecclesiastical power might afterwards lawfully enact or establish; for, seeing in all oaths this is an undoubted maxim, *Quâcunque formâ verborum juratur, Deus sic juramentum accipit, sicut ille cui juratur intelligit;* none can probably suppose, that the governors in this oath intended any clause thereof to be an abridgment of their own lawful power, or to debar their inferiors from consenting and submitting to such alterations, as by themselves should lawfully be made. Wherefore, these words, "We will never give any consent to alter," are intended here to be meant only of a voluntary and pragmatical alteration; when

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 605.—EDIT.

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men conspire, consent, labour, and endeavour to change the present government of the church, in such particulars as they do dislike, without the consent of their superiors.

But the exception of exceptions against these canons is, because they were generally condemned as illegally passed, to the prejudice of the fundamental liberty of the subject; whereof we shall hear enough in the next Parliament.* Mean time, some bishops were very forward in pressing this oath, even before the time thereof. For, whereas a liberty was allowed to all to deliberate thereon, until the Feast of Michael the Archangel, some presently pressed the ministers of their diocesses for the taking thereof,† and, to my knowledge, enjoined them to take this oath kneeling: a ceremony, to my best remembrance, never exacted or observed in taking the oath of supremacy or allegiance; which some accounted an essay of their activity, if Providence had not prevented them.

29. *The Importation of false-printed Bibles.*

Many impressions of English Bibles, printed at Amsterdam, and more at Edinburgh in Scotland, were daily brought over hither, and sold here. Little their volumes, and low their prices, as being of bad paper, worse print, little margin, yet greater than the care of the corrector,—many most abominable *errata* being passed therein. Take one instance for all:—Jeremiah iv. 17, speaking of the whole commonwealth of Judah, instead of, "Because she hath been REBELLIOUS against me, saith the Lord;" it is printed, (Edinburgh, 1637,) "because she hath been RELIGIOUS against me, saith the Lord."

Many complaints were made, especially by the Company of Stationers, against these false-printed Bibles, as giving great advantage to the papists; but nothing was therein effected. For, in this juncture of time came-in the Scottish-army, and invaded the northern parts of England. What secret solicitations invited them hither, is not my work to inquire. Many beheld them as the only physicians of the distempered state; and believed, that they gave not their patient a visit on pure charity, but having either received or being well promised their fee before.

30—33. *Parliament and Convocation begin. The Insolence of Anabaptists. The three Exiles brought Home in Triumph. Dr. Pocklington and Dr. Bray censured.*

Soon after began the long-lasting Parliament, so known to all posterity for the remarkable transactions therein. The king went to the House privately by water, many commending his thrift in sparing

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 606.—EDIT. † *Idem, ibid.*—EDIT.

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expenses, when two armies in the bowels of the land expected their pay from his purse. Others, distinguishing betwixt needless pomp and necessary state, suspected this might be misinterpreted as if the Scotch had frighted him out of that ceremony of majesty; and some feared such an omission presaged that Parliament would end with sadness to him which began without any solemnity. Abreast therewith began a Convocation, though unable long to keep pace together; the latter soon tiring, as never inspirited by commission from the king to meddle with any matters of religion. Mr. Warmestry, a clerk for Worcester, made a motion therein, that they should endeavour, according to the Levitical law, to cover the pit which they had opened, and to prevent their adversaries' intention, by condemning such offensive canons as were made in the last Convocation. But it found no acceptance, they being loath to confess themselves guilty before they were accused.

This day, January 18th, happened the first fruits of anabaptistical insolence, when eighty of that sect, meeting at a house in St. Saviour's in Southwark, preached that the statute in the 35th of Elizabeth, for the administration of the Common-Prayer, was no good law, because made by bishops; that the king cannot make a good law, because not perfectly regenerate; that he was only to be obeyed in civil matters. Being brought before the lords, they confessed the articles, but no penalty was inflicted upon them.

About this time, Mr. Prynne, Dr. Bastwick, and Mr. Burton were brought out of durance and exile, with great triumph, into London; it not sufficing their friends to welcome them peaceably, but victoriously, with bays and rosemary in their hands and hats. Wise men conceived that their private returning to the town had signified as much gratitude to God, and less affront to authority. But some wildness of the looks must be pardoned in such who came suddenly into the light out of long darkness.

As bishop Williams and Mr. Osbaldeston were the two first clergymen who found the favour of this Parliament, (being remitted their fines, and restored to their livings and liberty,) so Dr. Pocklington and Dr. Bray were the two first that felt their displeasures; the former for preaching and printing—the latter for licensing—two books, one called, "Sunday no Sabbath," the other "The Christian Altar." * Bishop Williams moved, that Dr. Bray might recant seven errors in the first, four-and-twenty in the second treatise. Soon after both the doctors deceased;—for grief, say some, that they had written what they should not;—for shame, say others, that they had recanted what they would not;—though a third sort more charitably

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," pp. 611, 612.—EDIT.

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take notice neither of the one nor the other, but merely impute it to the approach of the time of their dissolution.

34—38. *Superstitions charged on Dr. Cosin. Cruel Usage of Mr. Smart; relieved by Parliament. Dr. Cosin's due Praise.*

Dr. Cosin soon after was highly accused for superstition and unjust proceedings against Mr. Smart, on this occasion: The doctor is charged to have set-up in the church of Durham a marble altar with cherubims, which cost two thousand pounds, with all the appurtenances thereof; namely, a cope with the Trinity, and God the Father in the figure of an old man, another with a crucifix and the image of Christ, with a red beard and blue cap. Besides, he was accused for lighting two hundred wax candles about the altar on Candlemas-day; for forbidding any psalms to be sung before or after sermon, though making an anthem to be sung of the three kings of Cologne, by the names of Gaspar, Belthazar, and Melchior; and for procuring a consecrated knife, only to cut the bread at the communion.

Mr. Smart, a prebendary of the church, one of a grave aspect and reverend presence, sharply inveighed in a sermon against these innovations, taking for his text: "I hate all those that hold superstitious vanities; but thy law do I love."

Hereupon he was kept prisoner four months by the High Commission of York, before any articles were exhibited against him; and five months, before any proctor was allowed him. Hence was he carried to the High Commission at Lambeth; and, after long trouble, remanded to York, fined five hundred pounds, committed to prison, ordered to recant, and, for that neglect thereof, fined again, excommunicated, degraded, and deprived, his damage (as brought in) amounting to many thousand pounds.

But now Mr. Rouse, of the House of Commons, bringing-up the charge to the Lords against Dr. Cosin, termed Mr. Smart "the proto-martyr of England in these latter days of persecution," and large reparations were allowed unto him, though he lived not long after to enjoy them.

Now, though none can excuse and defend Dr. Cosin's carriage herein, yet this must be reported to his due commendation: Some years after, getting over into France, he neither joined with the church of French protestants at Charenton nigh Paris, nor kept any communion with the papists therein; but confined himself to the church of old English protestants therein; where, by his pious living and constant praying and preaching, he reduced some recusants to —and confirmed more doubters in—the protestant religion. Many his encounters with Jesuits and priests, defeating the suspicions

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of his foes, and exceeding the expectation of his friends, in the success of such disputes.*

39—43. *Goodman, a Priest, bandied betwixt Life and Death; yet he escapeth with Life at last.*

January 23rd, the Commons desired the Lords to join with them to find out who moved the king to reprieve John Goodman, a seminary priest, who (as they said) had been twice condemned, and now the second time reprieved, whilst the parliament sat.

January 25th, the king sent a message by the lord privy-seal, that Goodman was not (as the Commons were informed) condemned and banished, but only sentenced for being a priest; and, therefore, that in reprieving him he showed but the like mercy which queen Elizabeth and king James had showed in the like cases.

January 27th, the Lords joined with the Commons in their desire concerning Goodman,—that the statutes might speedily be executed upon him, as necessary in this juncture of time, wherein papists swarmed in all parts, presuming on indemnity. With what credit or comfort could they sit to enact new laws, whilst they beheld former statutes daily broken before their eyes?

February 3rd, the king acquainted the Houses, that, though queen Elizabeth and king James never condemned priest merely for religion; yet, rather than he would discontent his subjects, he left him to the judgment of both Houses, to be disposed of at their pleasure.

Goodman petitioned the king, that, like Jonah the prophet, he might be cast into the sea, to still the tempest betwixt the king and his people, conceiving his blood well-spent to cement them together. But, in fine, February 4th, he escaped with his life, not so much by any favour indulged him, as principally because the accusations could not be so fully proved against him.

44. *The first Mention of the Protestation.*

About this time was the first motion of a new protestation, to be taken all over England, the copy whereof is omitted as obvious every where; which, some months after, was generally performed,† as

* Dr. Cosin afterwards complained, through his friend Davenport, that in this account of his accusation before the Commons, his conduct was grievously misrepresented; and no notice taken of his complete purgation, during the same session, in the House of Lords. At the end of his "Appeal," A.D. 1659, Fuller addresses a letter to Dr. Cosin, in which he says, "What I wrote concerning your accusation in the House of Commons, I transcribed out of the manuscript Journals of that House. As for your purgation in the House of Lords, I knew not thereof; which maketh my omission the more excusable. In my next edition, I will do you all possible right (with improvement) that my pen can perform," &c. See "Appeal of injured Innocence," pp. 661—669.—EDIT. † See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 614.—EDIT.

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containing nothing but what was lawful and commendable therein. Yet some refused it, as suspecting the adding of new—would subtract obedience from former—oaths, (men being prone to love that best which left the last relish in their souls,) and, in fine, such new obligations of conscience, like suckers, would draw from the stock of the old oaths of supremacy and allegiance.

45—50. *A Committee of the Lords to settle Religion. A Sub-Committee for the same Purpose. They consult on Innovations in Doctrine and in Discipline, and concerning the Common-Prayer, and Regulation of Government.*

March began very blusteringly, on the first day whereof archbishop Laud was, in Mr. Maxfield's coach, carried to the Tower; and, not long after, the Lords appointed a Committee of their own members for settling of peace in the church. What hopeful opinion the aforesaid archbishop had of their proceedings, will appear by the following note which he entered into his diary: *—

"Monday, March 21st. A Committee for Religion settled in the Upper House of Parliament: ten earls, ten bishops, ten barons. So the lay votes will be double to the clergy. This committee will meddle with doctrines as well as ceremonies, and will call some divines to them to consider of the business, as appears by a letter hereto annexed, sent by the lord bishop of Lincoln to some divines, to attend this service; upon the whole matter, I believe this committee will prove the national synod of England, to the great dishonour of the church. And what else may follow upon it, God knows."

At the same time the Lords appointed a Sub-committee to prepare matters fit for their cognizance, (the bishop of Lincoln having the chair in both,) authorized to call together divers bishops and divines, to consult together for correction of what was amiss, and to settle peace; namely, the archbishop of Armagh; the bishop of Durham; the bishop of Exeter; Dr. Samuel Ward; Dr. John Prideaux; Dr. William Twisse; Dr. Robert Sanderson; Dr. Daniel Featley; Dr. Ralph Brownrigg; Dr. Richard Holdsworth; Dr. John Hacket; Dr. Cornelius Burgess; Mr. John White; Mr. Stephen Marshall; Mr. Edmund Calamy; Mr. Thomas Hill.† Jerusalem-chamber, in the dean of Westminster's house, was the place of their meeting, (where they had solemn debates six several days,) always entertained at his table with such bountiful cheer as well became a bishop. But this we behold as the last course of all public episcopal treatments; whose guests may now even put up their knives, seeing soon after the voider was called for, which took away all bishops' lands, and most of English hospitality.

* P. 24. † More were named; but these chiefly were present.

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First. They took the innovations of doctrine into consideration; and here some complained, that all the tenets of the Council of Trent had, by one or other, been preached and printed, abating only such points of state-popery against the king's supremacy, made treason by the statute:—Good works co-causes with faith, by justification; private confession by particular enumeration of sins needful, *necessitate medii*, to salvation; that the oblation (or as others, the consumption) of the elements in the Lord's supper holdeth the nature of a true sacrifice; prayers for the dead; lawfulness of monastical vows; the gross substance of Arminianism, and some dangerous points of Socinianism.

Secondly. They inquired into preter-canonical conformity, and innovations in discipline:—Advancing candlesticks in parochial churches in the day-time, on the altar so called; making canopies over, with traverses of curtains, (in imitation of the vail before the holy of holies,) on each side and before it; having a *credentia*, or side-table, (as a chapel-of-ease to the mother-altar,) for divers uses in the Lord's supper; forbidding a direct prayer before sermon; and ministers to expound the Catechism at large to their parishioners; carrying children (when baptized) to the altar so called, and there offering them up to God; pretending, for some of these innovations, the injunctions and advertisements of queen Elizabeth, which are not in force, and appertaining to the printed Liturgy *secundo et tertio Edvardi sexti*, which is reformed by Parliament.

Thirdly. They consulted about the Common-Prayer Book: Whether some legendary and some much-doubted saints, with some superstitious memorials, were not to be expunged the Calendar, whether it was not fit that the Lessons should be only out of canonical scripture; the Epistles, Gospels, Psalms, and Hymns, to be read in the new translation, &c.; whether times prohibited for marriage are not totally to be taken away; whether it were not fit that hereafter none should have a licence, or have their bans of matrimony asked, save such who should bring a certificate from their minister, that they were instructed in their Catechism; whether the Rubric is not to be mended, altered, and explained in many particulars.*

Lastly. They entered on the regulating of ecclesiastical government: which was not brought-in, because the bishop of Lincoln had undertaken the draught thereof, but not finished it, as employed at the same time in the managing of many matters of state: so easy it is for a great person never to be at leisure to do what he hath no great mind should be done.†

* This I did write out of the private notes of one of the Committee. † See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 563.—EDIT.

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51, 52. *Divers Opinions what this Conference might have produced; broken off.*

Some are of opinion, that the moderation and mutual compliance of these divines might have produced much good, if not interrupted; conceiving such lopping might have saved the felling of episcopacy. Yea, they are confident, had this expedient been pursued and perfected, *Troiaque nunc stares, Priamique arx alta maneres;*

> "Troy still had stood in power,
> And king Priam's lofty tower
> Had remained at this hour;"

it might, under God, have been a means, not only to have checked, but choked, our civil war in the infancy thereof. But the court-prelates expected no good from the result of this meeting, suspecting the doctrinal Puritans, (as they nicknamed them,) joined with the disciplinary Puritans, would betray the church betwixt them. Some hot spirits would not have one ace of episcopal power or profit abated; and, though since confuted by their own hunger, preferred no bread before half a loaf. These maintained, that any giving-back of ground was, in effect, the granting of the day to the opposite party; so covetous they be to multitply their cravings on the others' concessions. But what the issue of this Conference concluded would have been, is only known to Him who knew what the men of Keilah would do, 1 Sam. xxiii. 12, and whose prescience extends not only to things future, but futurable, having the certain cognizance of contingents, which might, yet never actually shall, come to pass.

This consultation continued till the middle of May, and the weaving thereof was fairly forward on the loom, when *Atropos occat*, the bringing-in the Bill against dean and chapters, root and branch, cut off all the threads, putting such a distance betwixt the foresaid divines that never their judgments, and scarce their persons, met after together.

53. *The Death of Bishop Davenant.*

In the midst of these troublesome times, John Davenant, bishop of Salisbury, ended his life, April 21st. His father was a wealthy and religious citizen of London, but born at Davenants-lands in Sible Heningham in Essex; where his ancestors had continued in a worshipful degree from sir John Davenant, who lived in the time of king Henry III. He bred his son a Fellow-Commoner in Queen's-College in Cambridge; and would not suffer him to accept a Fellowship, though offered, as conceiving it a bending of these places from the direct intent of the founders, when they are bestowed on such as have plenty; though, indeed, such preferments are appointed as well for the reward of those that are worthy, as the relief of those

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that want: and after his father's death he was chosen into that Society. In his youthful exercises, he gave such an earnest of his future maturity, that Dr. Whitaker, hearing him dispute, said, that he would in time prove the honour of the university: a prediction that proved not untrue, when afterward he was chosen Margaret-Professor of Divinity, being as yet but a private Fellow of the College; whereof, some years after, he was made Master, and at last bishop of Salisbury; where, with what gravity and moderation he behaved himself, how humble, hospitable, painful in preaching and writing, may better be reported hereafter, when his memory (green as yet) shall be mellowed by time. He sat bishop about twenty years, and died of a consumption, *anno* 1641; to which, sensibleness of the sorrowful times (which he saw were bad, and foresaw would be worse) did contribute not a little. I cannot omit, how, some few hours before his death, having lien for a long time (though not speechless, yet) not speaking, nor able to speak, (as we beholders thought, though indeed he hid that little strength we thought he had lost, and reserved himself for purpose,) he fell into a most emphatical prayer for half a quarter of an hour. Amongst many heavenly passages therein, he thanked God for this his fatherly correction, because in all his life-time he never had one heavy affliction, which made him often much suspect with himself whether he was a true child of God or no, until this his last sickness. Then he sweetly fell asleep in Christ, and so we softly draw the curtains about him.

54—56. *Deans and Chapters first opposed by Parliament. An unjust Charge. The Cathedral-men endeavour to preserve their Foundations.*

The whole bodies of cathedral churches, being of too great a bulk to be blown-up by their adversaries at once, they began with the choirs, accusing the members thereof for useless and unprofitable. The prelatical court-clergy were not so active and diligent in defending these foundations, as it was expected from their interest and relations: whether because they were disheartened at the imprisonment of their chief, the archbishop of Canterbury; or because some of them, being otherwise obnoxious to the Parliament, were loath therein to appear; or because they vainly hoped, that, this heat once over, all things would continue in their pristine condition; or because they were loath to plead in that suit wherein they despaired to prevail, as foreseeing those places destined to dissolution.

Yet some of the same side causelessly complained of the backwardness of other moderate cathedral-men, that they improved not their power with their Parliament friends so zealously as they might in this cause, as beginning too late, and proceeding too lazily there-

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in; who should sooner have set their shoulders and backs to those tottering choirs, so either to support them, or to be buried under the ruins thereof. Whereas they did whatsoever good men could, or wise men would do in their condition, leaving no stone unturned which might advantage them herein.

Indeed, it was conceived inconsistent with their gravity, to set themselves to fight against the shadow of common rumour, (and so to feign an enemy to themselves,) whilst as yet no certainty of the Parliament's intentions to destroy deans and chapters. What had this been but perchance to put that into their brains, which otherwise they charitably believed would not enter therein? But no sooner were they certified of the reality of their design, but they vigorously in their callings endeavoured the prevention thereof: (1.) By appointing one in each cathedral church to solicit their friends on this behalf. (2.) By drawing-up a petition (the same *mutatis mutandis)* to the Houses of Lords and Commons, which (because never formally presented) I forbear to insert. (3.) By retaining and instructing learned counsel to move for them in the House: until they were informed that the Orders of the House would not bear any to plead for them, but that they must personally appear and *vivâ voce* plead for themselves.

57—72. *Dr. Hacket's Speech in the Defence of Deans and Chapters. The Speech well-accepted.*

Lest therefore their longer silence should by posterity be interpreted either sullenness, that they would not—or guiltiness, that they durst not—speak for themselves; by their friends they obtained leave to be admitted into the House of Commons, and to be heard what they could allege in their own behalf. May 12th, they made choice of Dr. John Hacket, prebendary of Paul's, and archdeacon of Bedford, to be the mouth in the behalf of the rest. The brief heads of whose speech, copied (by his leave) out of his own papers, are here inserted.

First. He craved the favour of that honourable House, to whom he was to speak on a double disadvantage: One, caused from the shortness of time, this employment being imposed on him but in the afternoon of the day before: The other, because he had not heard what crimes or offences were charged on deans and chapters, that so he might purge them from such imputations; reports only flying abroad, that they were accounted of some of no use and convenience; the contrary whereof he should endeavour to prove, reducing the same to two heads, *quoad res et quoad personas*, "in regard of things of great moment, and divers persons" concerned in such foundations.

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To the first: It is fit that, to supply the defects of prayer committed by private men, the public duty thereof should be constantly performed in some principal place in imitation of the primitive practice; and this is daily done in cathedral churches. And whereas some complain that such service gives offence for the super-exquisiteness of the music therein, (so that what was intended for devotion vanished away into quavers and air,) he, with the rest of his brethren there present, wished the amendment thereof, that it might be reduced to the form which Athanasius commends, *ut legentibus sint quàm cantantibus similiores*. And here he spake much in praise of the church-music, when moderated, to edification.

Hence he passed to what he termeth "the other wing of the cherubim," which is preaching, first planted, since the Reformation, in cathedral churches, as appears by the learned sermons which Dr. Alley, afterwards bishop of Exeter, preached in the church of St. Paul's, and since continued therein. Where, by the way, he took occasion to refel that slander which some cast on lecture-preachers as an upstart corporation; alleging that the local statutes of most or all cathedral churches do require lectures on the week-days. And, in the name of his brethren, he requested that honourable House that the godly and profitable performance of preaching might be the more exacted.

In the Third place. He insisted on the advancement of learning, as the proper use and convenience of cathedrals; each of them being a small academy for the champions of Christ's cause against the adversary, by their learned pens. Here he proffered to prove, by a catalogue of their names and works, which he could produce, that most excellent labours in this kind (excepting some few) have proceeded from persons preferred in cathedrals or the universities. Now, what a disheartening would it be to young students, if such promotions were taken away! witness the fewness of such admitted this last year into the universities, and the deadness of the sale of good books in St. Paul's Church-yard, merely upon a timorous imagination abroad,—that we are now shutting-up learning in a case, and laying it aside. But if the bare threatening make such a stop in literature, what will the blow given do thereon?

Fourthly. He alleged that the ancient and genuine use of deans and chapters was, as *senatus episcopi*, to assist the bishop in his jurisdiction. Now, whereas some of his reverend brethren had lately complained, that bishops have for many years usurped the sole government to themselves and their consistories, the continuing of chapters, rightly used, would reduce it from one man to a plurality of assistants.

Lastly. The structures themselves should, said he, speak for the

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structures. Not that he would have them, with Christ's disciples, fondly to admire the fabrics, but to put them in remembrance, that cathedral churches were the first monuments of Christianity in the kingdom.

From things, he passed to persons; and began with the multitude of such members as had maintenance from cathedrals; some one of them allowing livelihood to three hundred, and the total amounting to many thousands; all which, by the dissolutions of deans and chapters, must be exposed to poverty. Next. He instanced in their tenants, who, holding leases from deans and chapters, are sensible of their own happiness, (as enjoying six parts of seven in pure gain,) and therefore have petitioned the House to continue their ancient landlords. Thirdly. Such cities wherein cathedrals stand, if maritime, being very poor in trade, are enriched by the hospitality of the clergy, and the frequent resort of strangers unto them.

Then proceeded he to speak of the branches of the whole kingdom, all being in hope to reap benefit by the continuance of deans' and chapters' lands as now employed. For all men, said he, are not born elder brothers, nor all elder brothers inheritors of land. Divers of low degree, but generous spirits, would be glad to advance themselves, and achieve an estate by qualifying themselves, by industry and virtue, to attain a share of cathedral endowments, as the common possession of the realm, enclosed in no private men's estate.

And whereas travellers inform them, that all ranks and degrees of people in England (knights, gentlemen, yeomen) live more freely and fashionably than in any other countries, he trusted their Honours would account it reasonable that the clergy had, in some sort, a better maintenance than in neighbouring Reformed churches, and not, with Jeroboam's priests, to be the basest of all the people.

Then did he instance in some famous protestants of foreign parts, who had found great relief and comfort by being installed prebendaries in our cathedral and collegiate churches; as Dr. Saravia, preferred by queen Elizabeth; Dr. Casaubon, father and son, by king James; Dr. Primrose and Mr. Vossius, in the reign of king Charles; and Dr. Peter Moulin, alive at this day, and who intended to leave Sedan, if the warlike preparations there proceeded, and come over into England, where he should have but sad welcome if all his livelihood were taken away from him.

Nor could an act be done more to gratify the church of Rome, than to destroy deans and chapters, seeing Sanders * himself seemeth to complain, that queen Elizabeth had left provosts, deans, canons, and prebendaries, in cathedral and collegiate churches, because he foresaw such foundations would conduce to the stability of religion;

* *De Schismate Anglicano*, p. 163.

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so that, by his words, a fatter sacrifice could not be offered up to such as himself than the extirpation of them.

He went forwards to show the benefit the king and commonwealth reaped by such lands, as paying greater sums to the exchequer for first-fruits, tenths, and subsidies, according to the proportion, than any other estates and corporations in the kingdom; and are ready, said he, if called upon, cheerfully to contribute in an extraordinary manner to the charge of the kingdom.

Now, as he was by their Honours' favour admitted to plead under that roof, where their noble progenitors had given to the clergy so many charters, privileges, and immunities; so he implored to find the ancient and honourable justice of the House unto his brethren who were not charged, much less convicted, of any scandalous faults, justly for the same to forfeit their estates.

At last he led them to the highest degree of all considerations; namely, the honour of God, to whose worship and service such fabrics and lands were dedicated, and barred all alienation with (which he said is *tremenda vox)* curses and imprecations. He minded them of the censers of Korah and his complices, pronounced "hallowed," Numbers xvi. 38, because pretended to do God service therewith. And lest any should wave this as a Levitical nicety, it was proverbial divinity, as a received rule in every man's mouth, "It is a snare to a man that devoureth that which is holy," Proverbs xx. 25. He added the smart question of St. Paul, "Thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou commit sacrilege?" and concluded, that, on the ruins of the rewards of learning, no structure can be raised but ignorance; and upon the chaos of ignorance, nothing can be built but profaneness and confusion.

This his speech was uttered with such becoming gravity, that it was generally well resented, and wrought much on the House for the present; so that had the aliening of such lands been then put to the vote, some (who conceived themselves knowing of the sense of the House) concluded it would have been carried on the negative by more than six-score suffrages.

73, 74. *Dr. Burgess's Speech against Deans and Chapters. His Ability in casuistical Divinity.*

In the afternoon Dr. Cornelius Burgess, as speaker for his party, made a vehement invective against deans and chapters, and the unprofitableness of such corporations. He heavily aggravated the debauchedness of singing-men, not only useless, but hurtful by their vicious conversations. Yet he concluded with the utter unlawfulness to convert such endowments to any private person's profit. So that the same doctrine was delivered by both the doctors, only they

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differed in their applications; the former being for the continuing such lands to their ancient—the latter for diverting them to other—but neither for alienating them from public and pious—employments.

If, since, Dr. Burgess hath been a large purchaser of such lands to himself; if, since, St. Andrew,* the first-converted—and St. Paul, the last-converted—apostle have met in his purse; I doubt not but that he can give sufficient reason for the same, both to himself and any other that shall question him therein; the rather, because lately he read his learned lectures in St. Paul's, on "the Criticisms of Conscience," no less carefully than curiously weighing satisfaction to *scruples;* and if there be any fault, so able a confessor knows how to get his absolution.†

75, 76. *A Medley-Bill against Bishops, partly granted, partly denied. At last wholly cast out.*

A Bill brought-up from the Commons to the Lords against bishops and clergymen; which, having several branches, was severally voted.

(1.) That they should have no votes in Parliament. (2.) That they should not be in the Commission of the Peace, nor Judges in temporal Courts. (3.) Nor sit in the Star-chamber, nor be Privy Counsellors.

The two last branches of this bill passed by general consent; not above two dissenting. But the first branch was voted in the negative; wherein all the bishops gave their own voices for themselves; yet had their suffrages been secluded, and the question only put to the lay lords, it had been carried for the bishops by sixteen decisive.

After some days' debate, the Lords who were against the bishops protested, that the former manner of voting the Bill by branches was unparliamentary and illegal. Wherefore they moved the House, that they should be so joined together as either to take the Bill in wholly, or cast it all out. Whereupon the whole Bill was utterly cast out by many voices; had not the bishops, as again they did, given their suffrages in the same.

77, 78. *Mr. Maynard's Speech against the Canons. Several Judgments of the Clergy's Offence.*

Mr. Maynard made a speech in the committee of Lords, against the canons made by the bishops in the last Convocation; therein with much learning endeavouring to prove,—

* [The lands belonging to the bishoprics of] Wells and London. † Burgess was much irritated at these remarks; and in his treatise called "A Case concerning the Buying of Bishops' Lands, with the Lawfulness thereof," &c., employed abusive language against Fuller. The reader will find an account of it at the conclusion of that (till now) very scarce book, Fuller's "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 673, 8vo. edition.—EDIT.

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(1.) That, in the Saxons' times, (as Malmesbury, Hoveden, sir Henry Spelman, &c., do witness,) laws and constitutions ecclesiastical had the confirmation of Peers and sometimes of the people, to which great Councils our Parliaments do succeed.*

(2.) That it appears, out of the aforesaid authors and others, that there was some checking about the disuse of the general making of such church-laws.

(3.) That for kings to make canons without consent of Parliament cannot stand, because built on a bad foundation; namely, on the pope's making canons by his sole power; so that, the ground-work not being good, the superstructure sinketh therewith.

(4.) He examined the statute 25th of Henry VIII.; avouching that the clause, "The clergy shall not make canons without the king's leave," implieth not, that by his leave alone they may make them.

Lastly. He endeavoured to prove that these canons were against the king's prerogative, the rights, liberties, and properties of the subject,† insisting herein on several particulars:—

(i.) The first canon puts a penalty on such as disobey them.

(ii.) One of them determineth the king's power and the subjects' right.

(iii.) It showeth that the ordinance of kings is by the law of nature, and then they should be in all places and all alike.

(iv.) One of the canons saith, that the king may not be resisted.

(v.) Another makes a holy-day, whereas the Parliament saith, that there shall be such and no more.

This his speech lost neither life nor lustre, being reported to the Lords by the bishop of Lincoln, a back-friend to the canons, because made during his absence and durance in the Tower.‡

One in the House of Commons heightened the offence of the clergy herein into treason, which their more moderate adversaries abated into a premunire. Many much insisted on the clerks of the Convocation for presuming (being but private men after the dissolution of the Parliament) to grant subsidies, and so, without law, to give away the estates of their fellow-subjects.

79. *A Bill read against the High Commission.*

A Bill was read, June 17th, to repeal that statute of 1st Elizabeth whereby the High-Commission Court is erected. This Bill afterwards forbade any archbishop, bishop, &c., deriving power from the king, to assess or inflict any pain, penalty, amercement, imprisonment, or corporal punishment for any ecclesiastical offence or trans-

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," pp. 607—610.—EDIT. † *Idem*, p. 610.—EDIT. ‡ *Idem*, p. 609.—EDIT.

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gression; forbidding them likewise to administer the oath *ex officio*, or give oath to churchwardens, sidesmen, or any others, whereby their own or others' offences should be discovered.

SECTION IV.

DIGNISSIMO DOMINO THOMÆ FISHER, BARONETTO.

CUM insignia tua Gentilitia intueor, non sum adeò heraldicæ artis ignarus, quin probè sciam, quid sibi velit manus illa, scutello inserta.

Te scilicet Baronettum designat, cùm omnes in illum ordinem co-optati, ex institutione suâ, ad Ultoniam (Hiberniæ provinciam) forti dextrâ defendendam teneantur.*

At sensum (præter hunc vulgarem) alium *latiorem*, et (quoàd meipsum) *lætiorem*, Manui illi expansæ, quæ in tuo clypeo spectabilis, subesse video. Index est summæ tuæ munificentiæ, quo nomine me tibi divinctissimum profiteor.

1—3. *The High-Commission Court put down. The Bill for Regulation of Bishops. A crying Sin of the English Clergy.*

OMITTING matters of greater consequence, know that the Bill against the High Commission was the third time read in the House of Lords, June 24th, and passed it; which, some days after, was confirmed by his Majesty. Thus the edge of the spiritual sword, as to discipline, was taken away. For, although I read of a proviso made in the House of Lords, that the general words in this Bill should extend only to the High-Commission Court, and not reach other ecclesiastical jurisdiction; yet, that proviso being but written, and the statute printed, all coercive power of church-consistories was taken away. Mr. Pym triumphed at this success, crying out, *Digitus Dei*, "It is the finger of God," that the bishops should so supinely suffer themselves to be surprised in their power.† Some disaffected to episcopacy observed a justice, that, seeing many simple souls were, in the High-Commission Court, by captious interro-

* SELDENUS *in Titulis Honoris.* † See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 610.—EDIT.

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gatories circumvented into a self-accusation, an unsuspected clause in this statute should abolish all their lawful authority.

July 2nd, the bishop of Lincoln brought-up a Bill to regulate bishops and their jurisdiction, consisting of several particulars:—

(1.) That every bishop, being in his diocess, not sick, should preach once every Lord's day, or pay five pounds to the poor, to be levied by the next Justice of Peace, and distress made by the constable.

(2.) That no bishop shall be Justice of Peace, save the dean of Westminster in Westminster and St. Martin's.

(3.) That every bishop should have twelve assistants, beside the dean and chapter; four chosen by the King, four by the Lords, and four by the Commons, for jurisdiction and ordination.

(4.) That in all vacancies they should present to the king three of the ablest divines in the diocess, out of which his Majesty might choose one to be bishop.

(5.) Deans and prebends to be resident at the cathedrals but sixty days.

(6.) That sermons be preached therein twice every Lord's day, once every holy-day, and a lecture on Wednesday, with a salary of one hundred marks.

(7.) All archbishops, bishops, collegiate churches, &c., to give a fourth part of their fines and improved rents, to buy out impropriations.

(8.) All double-beneficed men to pay a moiety of their benefice to their curates.

(9.) No appeal to the Court of Arches or Audience.

(10.) Canons and ecclesiastical capitulations to be drawn up and fitted to the laws of the land by sixteen learned men, chosen six by the King, five by the Lords, and five by the Commons.

This Bill was but once read in the House, and no great matter made thereof: the anti-episcopal party conceived it needless to shave *their* beards *whose* heads they intended to cut off, designing an utter extirpation of bishops.

By the way, the mention of a moiety to the curates minds me of a crying sin of the English clergy, conceived, by the most conscientious amongst them, a great incentive of Divine anger against them; namely, the miserable and scandalous stipends afforded to their curates; which made laymen follow their pattern in vicarages unendowed, seeing such who knew most what belonged to the work allowed the least wages to the ministry. Hence is it that God since hath changed his hand, making many who were poor curates rich rectors, and many wealthy incumbents to become poor curates.

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It will not be amiss to wish thankfulness without pride to the one, and patience without dejection to the other.

4—7. A Bill against Bishop Wren. The Bishops, impeached for making of Canons, have Time and Counsel allowed them. The impeachment of the Bishops waved, and why.

July 20th, a Bill was sent up by the Commons against Matthew Wren, bishop of Ely, containing twenty-five articles,* charging him for being popishly affected, a suppresser of preaching, and introducer of arbitrary power, to the hazard of the estates and lives of many. They desired he might be sequestered from the king's person and service.

To return to the bishops: The Commons, perceiving that they were so tenacious of their votes in Parliament, resolved vigorously to prosecute the impeachment against them for making of canons, expecting the bishops should willingly quit their votes as barons to be acquitted of their premunire, whereby they forfeited all their personal estates; yet the sound of so great a charge did not so affright them but that they persisted legally to defend their innocence.

August 16th, the bishops that were impeached for making canons craved time till Michaelmas term to make their answer. This was vehemently opposed by some lords, and two questions were put:—(1.) Whether the bishops should sit still in the House, though without voting, (to which themselves consented,) whilst the circumstance of time for their answer was in debate? (2.) What time they should have for their answer? The first of these was carried for them by one present voice and four proxies; and for the second, time was allowed them till the tenth of November. And although the adverse lords pleaded, that, in offences criminal, for matters of fact, no counsel should be allowed them, but to answer Yea or No: yet on the lord keeper's affirming it ordinary and just to allow counsel in such cases, it was permitted unto them.

Bishop Warner, of Rochester, is chosen, by joint consent, to solicit the cause, sparing neither care nor cost therein. Of the counsel he retained, two only appeared; serjeant Jermyn, who declined to plead for them, except the bishops would first procure him a warrant from the House of Commons, (which they refused to do,) and Mr. Chuite, who, being demanded of the lords whether he would plead for the bishops, "Yea," said he, "so long as I have a tongue to plead with!" Soon after, he drew up a demurrer in their behalf,—that their offence in making canons could not amount to a premunire. This being shown to the bishop of Lincoln, he protested that he

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," pp. 613, 614.—EDIT.

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never saw a stronger demurrer all the days of his life; and the notice hereof to the Lords was probably the cause that they waved any further prosecution of the charge, which henceforward sunk in silence.

8—11. *The Bishops, accused for mean Birth, vindicated their Parentage. The Degrees whereby the Bishops declined in Parliament. Bishops refuse willingly to resign their Votes.*

Pass we now from the outworks of episcopacy, (I mean the deans and chapters, thus fiercely stormed, but as yet not taken,) to the bishops themselves, who began to shake, seeing their interest and respects in the House of Lords did daily decay and decline. Yea, about this time came forth the lord Brooke's book against bishops, accusing them in respect of their parentage to be *de fæce populi*, "of the dregs of the people;" and, in respect of their studies, no way fit for government, or to be barons in parliament.*

Whereupon the bishops, taking this accusation to heart, meet together; and, in their own necessary defence, thought fit to vindicate their extractions, some publicly, some in private discourse.

Dr. Williams began, then archbishop of York, (Canterbury being in the Tower,) [who] was accused in the Star-chamber for purchasing the two ancientest houses and inheritances in North Wales, (which are Penrhyne and Quowilocke,) in regard he was descended from them. So that he might as truly accuse all the ancient nobility of Britain, as tax him for meanly descended.

Dr. Juxon, bishop of London, did or might plead that his parents lived in good fashion; and gave him large allowance, first in the university, then in Gray's Inn, where he lived as fashionably as other gentlemen; so that the lord Brooke might question the parentage of any inns-of-court gentlemen, as well as his.

Bishop Morton, of Durham, averred that his father had been lord mayor of York, and borne all the offices of that city with credit and honour; so that the lord Brooke might as justly quarrel the descent of any citizen's sons in England.

Bishop Curle, of Winchester: his father was for many years auditor in the Court of Wards, to queen Elizabeth and king James; and the aforesaid lord may as well condemn all the sons of officers to be meanly born as accuse him.

Bishop Cook, of Hereford: his father's family had continued in Derbyshire, in the same house and in the same means, four hundred years at least, often sheriffs of that county, and matched to all the best houses therein. So that the lord Brooke might as well have charged all the ancient gentry of that shire for mean parentage as accuse him.

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 615.—EDIT.

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Bishop Owen, of St. Asaph,—that there was not a gentleman in the two counties of Carnarvon and Anglesey, of three hundred pounds a-year, but was his kinsman or ally-man in the fourth degree; which, he thinks, will sufficiently justify his parentage.

Bishop Goodman, of Gloucester,—that though his very name seemed to point out his descent from yeomanry, yet, though the youngest son of the youngest brother, he had more left unto him than the lord Brooke's father had to maintain him and all his family; that his grandfather by his father's side purchased the whole estate of sir Thomas Exmew, lord mayor, London, 1517; and that, by his mother's side, he was descended of the best parentage of the city of London.

The rest of the bishops might sufficiently vindicate their parentage, as most the sons of ministers or lay gentlemen, whose extractions ran not so low as to any such feculency charged upon them.

But more symptoms of their dying power in parliament daily discovered themselves; some whereof we will recount, that posterity may perceive by what degrees they did lessen in the House, before they lost their votes therein.

First. Whereas it was customary, that, in all commissions, such a number of bishops should be joined with the temporal lords, of late their due proportions were not observed.

Secondly. The clerk of the Parliament, applying himself to the prevalent party, in the reading of Bills turned his back to the bishops, who could not (and, it seems, he intended they should not) distinctly hear any thing, as if their consent or dissent were little concerned therein.

Thirdly. When a bill passed for exchange of lands, betwixt the bishop of London and sir Nicholas Crispe, the temporal lords were offended that the bishop was styled "right honourable" therein; which, at last, was expunged, and he entitled, "one of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council;" the honour being fixed upon his state-employment, not episcopal function.

Fourthly. On a solemn fast in their going to church, the temporal lords first took precedency of the bishops, (who quietly submitted themselves to come behind,) on the same token, that one of the lay lords * said, "Is this a day of humiliation, wherein we show so much pride, in taking place of those to whom our ancestors ever allowed it?"

But the main matter was, that the bishops were denied all meddling even in the commission of preparatory examinations concerning the earl of Strafford, as *causa sanguinis*, and they as men of mercy not to deal in the condemnation of any person. The bishops

* The young lord Spencer, afterwards earl of Sunderland.

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pleaded, though it was not proper for them to condemn the guilty, yet they might acquit the innocent, and such an one as yet that earl was charitably presumed to be until legally convicted to be otherwise. They alleged also, in their own behalf, that a commission was granted, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, to certain Privy-Counsellors for the examination of the queen of Scots, even to her condemnation if just cause appeared,* and John Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, first-named therein. All would not prevail; the bishops being forbidden any interposing in that matter.

It must not be forgotten, how about this time the lord Kimbolton made a motion to persuade the bishops willingly to depart with their votes in Parliament; adding, that if the same would surrender their suffrages, the temporal lords who remained in the House were obliged in honour to be more tender of and careful for the bishops' preservation in their jurisdictions and revenues. An instrument was employed, by the earl of Essex, (or else he employed himself, conceiving the service acceptable,) who dealt privately with several bishops to secure themselves by prevention, to surrender that which would be taken away from them. But the bishops persisted in the negative, refusing by any voluntary act to be accessary to their own injury, resolving to keep possession of their votes, till a prevalent power outed them thereof.

12—14. *Multitudes of Petitions against Bishops. A Land-tide of Apprentices flow to Westminster. The Manner of the Tumult at Westminster-Abbey and Whitehall belongs to the Pens of State-Historians.*

Now no day passed wherein some petition was not presented to the Lords or Commons, from several persons, against the bishops as grand grievancers, causing the general decay of trade, obstructing the proceedings in Parliament, and what not? insomuch that the very porters, as they said, were able no longer to undergo the burden of episcopal tyranny, and petitioned against it. But hitherto these were but blunt petitions: the last was a sharp one, (with point and edge,) brought-up for the same purpose by the armed apprentices.

Now, seeing men's judgments are at such a distance about the nature of this their practice;—some terming it "a tumult, mutiny, riot;" others calling it "courage, zeal, and industry;" some admiring them as acted with a public spirit, above their age and education; others condemning them much, their countenancers more, their secret abettors and contrivers most of all:—I say, when men are thus divided in point of judgment, it will be safest for us to confine ourselves merely to matter of fact; wherein also we meet

* CAMDEN'S "Elizabeth" in *anno* 1586.

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with much diversity of relation; though, surely, what a parliamentary chronicler * writes thereof must be believed:—

"Now, see how it pleased the Lord it should come to pass. Dec. 26th, some of the apprentices and citizens were again affronted about Westminster-Abbey, and a great noise and hubbub fell out thereabouts. Others, some of them, watched (as it seems by the sequel) the bishops coming to the Parliament, who, considering the disquiet and great noise by land all about Westminster, durst not come to Parliament that way, for fear of the apprentices, and therefore intended to have come to Parliament by water in barges. But the apprentices watched them that way also; and as they thought to come to land, they were so pelted with stones, and frighted at the sight of such a company of them, that they durst not land, but were rowed back, and went away to their places."

Thus the bishops were fain to shelter themselves from the shower of stones ready to fall upon them, and with great difficulty made their escape; who otherwise, on St. Stephen's day, [Dec. 26th,] had gone St. Stephen's way to their graves.

As for the hubbub at Westminster-Abbey lately mentioned, eye-witnesses have thus informed me of the manner thereof. Of those apprentices who coming up to the Parliament cried, "No bishops! No bishops!" some, rudely rushing into the Abbey church, were reproved by a verger for their irreverent behaviour therein. Afterwards quitting the church, the doors thereof, by command from the dean, were shut up, to secure the organs and monuments therein against the return of the apprentices. For though others could not foretell the intentions of such a tumult, who could not certainly tell their own, yet the suspicion was probable, by what was uttered amongst them. The multitude presently assault the church, (under pretence that some of their party were detained therein,) and force a pane out of the north door, but are beaten back by the officers and scholars of the college. Here an unhappy tile was cast by an unknown hand, from the leads or battlements of the church, which so bruised sir Richard Wiseman, conductor of the apprentices, that he died thereof; and so ended that day's distemper.

15, 16. *Why no more than twelve of the Bishops present at the Protest. The Form thereof.*

To return to the bishops: The next day twelve of them repaired to Jerusalem-chamber, in the dean's lodgings; and if any demand, "Where were the rest of them, to make up twenty-six?" take this account of their absence:—

* JOHN VICARS in his "God in the Mount; or, Parliamentary Chronicle," lib. i. p. 53.

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(13.) Dr. Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, was in the Tower.

(14.) Dr. Juxon, bishop of London, was keeping his hospitality, (it being Christmas,) at Fulham.

(15.) So was Dr. Curle at Winchester-house, and it was conceived unsafe, though but cross the Thames, to send unto him.

(16.) So also was Dr. Warner, of Rochester, returned to entertain his neighbours in the country.

(17, 18.) Dr. Bridgman, of Chester, and Dr. Roberts, of Bangor, were not as yet come out of the country.

(19.) Dr. Manwaring, bishop of St. David's, sat not in the House, as disabled long since by his censure in Parliament.

(20.) Dr. Duppa, bishop of Salisbury, was attending his charge, prince Charles.

(21.) Dr. John Prideaux was not yet consecrated bishop of Worcester.

(22.) Dr. Winniffe was not yet consecrated bishop of Lincoln.

(23.) Dr. Ralph Brownrigg was not yet consecrated bishop of Exeter.

(24.) Dr. Henry King was not yet consecrated bishop of Chichester.

(25.) Dr. John Westfield was not yet consecrated bishop of Bristol.

(26.) Carlisle was void by the late death of Dr. Potter, only conferred by the king on archbishop Usher to hold it *in commendam*.

Thus have we made up their numbers; and must not forget, that a secret item was given to some of the bishops, by some of their well-wishers, to absent themselves in this licentious time of Christmas, though they had not the happiness to make use of the advice.

The other twelve bishops being not yet fully recovered from their former fear, grief, and anger, (which are confessed by all to be but bad counsellors in cases of importance,) drew up in haste and disturbance, December 27th, such a Protestation, that posterity already hath had more years to discuss and examine, than they had hours, (I had almost said "minutes,") to contrive and compose, and (most of them implicitly relying on the conceived infallibility of the archbishop of York in point of common-law) all subscribed, as followeth:—

"TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY, AND THE LORDS AND PEERS NOW ASSEMBLED IN PARLIAMENT.

"WHEREAS the petitioners are called-up by several and respective writs, and under great penalties, to attend the Parliament, and have a clear and indubitable right to vote in Bills, and other matters whatsoever debatable in Parliament, by the ancient customs,

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laws, and statutes of this realm, and ought to be protected by your Majesty quietly to attend, and prosecute that great service: they humbly remonstrate and protest before God, your Majesty, and the noble lords and peers now assembled in Parliament, that as they have an undubitate right to sit and vote in the House of the Lords; so are they, if they may be protected from force and violence, most ready and willing to perform their duties accordingly. And that they do abominate all actions or opinions tending to popery, and the maintenance thereof, as also all propension and inclination to any malignant party, or any other side or party whatsoever, to the which their own reasons and conscience shall not move them to adhere. But whereas they have been at several times violently menaced, affronted, and assaulted by multitudes of people in their coming to perform their services in that honourable House, and lately chased away, and put in danger of their lives, and can find no redress or protection upon sundry complaints made to both Houses in these particulars; they humbly protest before your Majesty, and the noble House of Peers, that, saving unto themselves all their rights and interest of sitting and voting in that House at other times, they dare not sit or vote in the House of Peers, until your Majesty shall further secure them from all affronts, indignities, and dangers in the premisses. Lastly: Whereas their fears are not built upon phantasies and conceits, but upon such grounds and objects as may well terrify men of resolution and much constancy; they do in all humility and duty protest before your Majesty, and Peers of that most honourable House of Parliament, against all laws, orders, votes, resolutions, and determinations, as in themselves null and of none effect, which, in their absence, since the 27th of this instant month of December, 1641, have already passed, as likewise against all such as shall hereafter pass, in that most honourable House, during the time of this their forced and violent absence from the said most honourable House; not denying but if their absenting of themselves were wilful and voluntary, that most honourable House might proceed in all their premisses, their absence or this protestation notwithstanding. And humbly beseeching your most excellent Majesty to command the clerk of that House of Peers to enter this their petition and protestation among his records:

"They will ever pray God to bless, &c.

"JOHN EBORAC. GEO. HEREF.
JHO. DURESME. ROBT. OXON.
RO. CO. LICH. MA. ELY.
JOS. NORW. GODFREY GLOUC.
JO. ASAPH. JO. PETERBURG.
GULI. BA. AND WELLS. MORICE LANDASF."

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This instrument they delivered to archbishop Williams, who, according to their desire, his own counsel and promise, at the next opportunity, presented it to his Majesty.

17, 18. *The Bishops impeached of High-Treason, and committed to the Tower.*

His Majesty would not meddle therewith in this dangerous juncture of time, (his great Council then sitting,) but wholly remitted the matter to the Parliament. The next morning, a Privy Counsellor brought this Protestation into the House; at the reading whereof the anti-episcopal party much triumphed, that the bishops had gratified them with such an advantage against themselves, which their adversaries might wish but durst not hope for heretofore. A conference is desired with the Commons in the painted chamber: and therein concluded, that the bishops should be impeached of high treason, for endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws of the land, and the very being of parliaments.

Hereupon, the next day, (December 28th,) the twelve subscribers were voted to be committed to the Tower, save that bishop Morton of Durham, and Hall of Norwich, found some favour, partly in respect of their old age, and partly in regard of the great good they had done with their pens and preaching to the church of God.* So that they alone were sent to the custody of the Black Rod. The rest, being brought into the Tower, had that honour granted them in the prison which was denied them in the Parliament, to be esteemed equal with—yea, above—temporal lords, as appeared by the fees demanded of them; though, in fine, sir John Biron, lieutenant of the Tower, proved very courteous in removing the rigour thereof. The archbishop of Canterbury, by a civil message, excused himself for not conversing with them, because he was committed on a different account from them, and probably they might mutually fare the worse for any intercourse. And here we leave them prisoners for eighteen weeks together, and proceed.

19. *Viscount Newark's two Speeches in the Behalf of Bishops.*

Now was the Bill against the bishops' sitting in Parliament brought up into the House of Lords, and the matter agitated with much eagerness on both sides. Amongst those who sided with them, none appeared in print more zealous than the lord viscount Newark, (afterward earl of Kingston, &c.,) whose two speeches in

* Heylin says, that it was "Dr. Wright, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, and not Dr. Hall, bishop of Norwich, who found that favour at their hands." Fuller adds in his "Appeal of injured Innocence," (p. 616,) "The next edition shall be reformed herein." —EDIT.

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parliament, although spoken some months before,* yet, for the entireness of the History, may now seasonably be inserted.

HIS FIRST SPEECH.

"I SHALL take the boldness to speak a word or two upon this subject, first as it is in itself, then as it is in the consequence. For the former: I think he is a great stranger in antiquity that is not well acquainted with that of their sitting here. They have done thus and in this manner almost since the Conquest, and by the same power and the same right the other peers did and your lordships now do. And to be put from this their due, so much their due, by so many hundred years strengthened and confirmed, and that without any offence, nay, pretence of any, seems to me to be very severe. If it be *jus*, I dare boldly say it is *summum*. That 'this hinders their ecclesiastical vocation,' (an argument I hear much of,) hath in my apprehension more of shadow than substance in it: If this be a reason, sure I am, it might have been one six hundred years ago.

"A bishop, my lords, is not so circumscribed within the circumference of his diocess that his sometimes-absence can be termed, no, not in the most strict sense, 'a neglect or hinderance of his duty;' no more than that of a lieutenant from his county. They both have their subordinate ministers, upon which their influences fall, though the distance be remote.

"Besides, my lords, the lesser must yield to the greater good; to make wholesome and good laws for the happy and well regulating of church and commonwealth, is certainly more advantageous to both, than the want of the personal execution of their office, and that but once in three years, (and then, peradventure, but a month or two,) can be prejudicial to either. I will go no further to prove this, which so long experience hath done so fully, so demonstratively.

"And now, my lords, by your lordships' good leave, I shall speak to the consequence, as it reflects both on your lordships, and my lords the bishops. Dangers and inconveniences are ever best prevented *e longinquo*. This precedent comes near to your lordships. The Bill, indeed, hath a direct aspect only upon them, but an oblique one upon your lordships; and such a one that, *mutato nomine, de vobis*. Pretences are never wanting; nay, sometimes the greatest evils appear in the most fair and specious outsides. Witness the ship-money, the most abominable, the most illegal thing that ever was; and yet this was painted over with colour of the law. What bench is secure, if to allege be to convince? And which of your lordships can say, that he shall continue a member of this House, when at one blow six-and-twenty are cut off? It then

* The first, May 21st; the second, May 24th, *anno* 1641.

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behoves the neighbour to look about him, *cùm proximus ardet Ucalegon.*

"And for the bishops, my lords, in what condition will you leave them? The House of Commons represents the meanest person; so did the master his slave. But they have none to do so much for them; and what justice can tie them to the observation of those laws to whose constitution they give no consent? The wisdom of former times gave proxies unto this House merely upon this ground,—that every one might have a hand in the making of that which he had an obligation to obey. This House could not represent; therefore, proxies in room of persons were most justly allowed.

"And now, my lords, before I conclude, I beseech your lordships to cast your eyes upon the church, which I know is most dear and tender to your lordships. You will see her suffer in her most principal members, and deprived of that honour which here and throughout all the Christian world, ever since Christianity, she constantly hath enjoyed. For what nation or kingdom is there in whose great and public assemblies, and that from her beginning, she had not some of hers, if I may not say as essential—I am sure I may say, 'as integral'—parts thereof? And, truly, my lords, Christianity cannot alone boast of this, or challenge it only as hers: even Heathenism claims an equal share. I never read of any of them, civil or barbarous, that gave not due honour to their religion: so that it seems to me to have no other original, to flow from no other spring, than nature itself.

"But I have done, and will trouble your lordships no longer. How it may stand with the honour and justice of this House to pass this Bill, I most humbly submit unto your lordships, the most proper and only judges of them both."

HIS SECOND SPEECH.

"I SHALL not speak to the preamble of the Bill, that bishops and clergymen ought not to intermeddle in temporal affairs. For, truly, my lords, I cannot bring it under any respect to be spoken of. *Ought* is a word of relation, and must either refer to human or divine law. To prove the lawfulness of their intermeddling by the former, would be to no more purpose than to labour to convince that by reason which is evident to sense: it is by all acknowledged. The unlawfulness by the latter, the Bill by no means admits of; for, it excepts universities and such persons as shall have honour descend upon them. And your lordships know, that circumstance and chance alter not the nature and essence of a thing, nor can except any particular from an universal proposition by God himself delivered. I will, therefore, take these two as granted: First.

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That they ought by our law to intermeddle in temporal affairs. Secondly. That from doing so they are not inhibited by the law of God; it leaves it at least as a thing indifferent. And now, my lords, to apply myself to the business of the day: I shall consider the conveniency, and that in the several habitudes thereof, but very briefly. First. In that which it hath to them merely as men, *quà tales:* Then, As parts of the commonweal: Thirdly: From the best manner of constituting laws: And, Lastly, from the practice of all times, both Christian and Heathen.

"(1.) *Homo sum, nihil humanum a me alienum puto*, was indeed the saying of the comedian; but it might well have become the mouth of the greatest philosopher. We allow to sense all the works and operations of sense; and shall we restrain reason? Must only man be hindered from his proper actions? They are most fit to do reasonable things that are most reasonable. For, science commonly is accompanied with conscience; so is not ignorance: they seldom or never meet. And why should we take that capacity from them which God and nature have so liberally bestowed?

"(2.) My lords, the politic body of the commonwealth is analogical to the body natural. Every member in that contributes something to the preservation of the whole: the superfluity or defect which hinders the performance of that duty, your lordships know what the philosopher calls ἁμαρτίαν τῆς φύσεως, 'nature's sin.' And, truly, my lords, to be part of the other body, and do nothing beneficial thereunto, cannot fall under a milder term. The commonwealth subsists by laws and their execution: and they that have neither head in the making—nor hand in the executing—of them, confer not any thing to the being or well-being thereof. And can such be called 'members' unless most unprofitable ones? only *fruges consumere nati.*

"(3.) Methinks it springs from nature itself, or the very depths of justice, that none should be tied by other laws than himself makes. For, what more natural and just than to be bound only by his own consent? To be ruled by another's will is merely tyrannical. Nature there suffers violence, and man degenerates into beast. The most flourishing estates were ever governed by laws of an universal constitution. Witness this our kingdom: witness *senatus populusque Romanus*, the most glorious commonwealth that ever was; and those many others in Greece and elsewhere of eternal memory.

"(4.) Some things, my lords, are so evident in themselves that they are difficult in their proofs. Amongst them I reckon this conveniency I have spoken of: I will therefore use but a word or two more in this way. The long experience that all Christendom hath had hereof for these thirteen hundred years, is certainly *argumentum*

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ad hominem. Nay, my lords, I will go further: (for the same reason runs through all religions:) never was there any nation that employed not their religious men in the greatest affairs. But, to come to the business that now lies before your lordships: Bishops have voted here ever since Parliaments began; and, long before, were employed in the public. The good they have done, your lordships all well know, and at this day enjoy. For this, I hope, ye will not put them out, nor for the evil they may do; which yet your lordships do not know, and I am confident never shall suffer. A position ought not to be destroyed by a supposition; *et a posse ad esse non valet consequentia*. My lords, I have done with proving of this positively: I shall now, by your good favours, do it negatively, in answering some inconveniences that may seem to arise."

OBJECTION I.—"For the text, 'No man that wars entangles himself with the affairs of this life,' which is the full sense of the word both in Greek and Latin; it makes not at all against them, except *to intermeddle* and *entangle* be terms equivalent. Besides, my lords, though this was directed to a churchman, yet it is of a general nature and reaches to all, clergy and laity; as the most learned and best expositors unanimously do agree. To end this, *argumentum symbolicum non est argumentativum*."

OBJECTION II.—"It may be said, 'that it is inconsistent with a spiritual vocation.' Truly, my lords, grace and nature are in some respects incompatible; but, in some others, most harmoniously agree. It perfects nature, and raises it to a height above the common altitude, and makes it most fit for those great works of God himself,—to make laws, to do justice. There is, then, no inconsistency between themselves; it must arise out of scripture: I am confident it doth not formally out of any place there, nor did I ever meet with any learned writer of these or other times that so expounded any text."

OBJECTION III.—"'But, though in strict terms this be not inconsistent, yet it may peradventure hinder the duty of their other calling.' My lords, there is not any that sits here more for preaching than I am. I know it is the ordinary means to salvation; yet I likewise know, there is not that full necessity of it as was in the primitive times. God defend, that sixteen hundred years' acquaintance should make the gospel of Christ no better known unto us! Neither, my lords, doth their office merely and wholly consist in preaching; but, partly in that; partly in praying and administering the blessed sacraments; in a godly and exemplary life, in wholesome admonitions, in exhortations to virtue, dehortations from vice; and partly in easing the burdened conscience. These, my lords, complete the office of a churchman. Nor are they altogether tied to

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time or place; though, I confess, they are most properly exercised within their own verge, except upon good occasion; nor then the omission of some can be termed the breach of them all. I must add one more, an essential one,—the very form of episcopacy that distinguisheth it from the inferior ministry, the orderly and good government of the church. And how many of these, (I am sure, not the last,) my lords, is interrupted by their sitting here, once in three years, and then peradventure but a very short time? And can there be a greater occasion than the common good of the church and state? I will tell your lordships what the great and good emperor Constantine did, in his expedition against the Persians: He had his bishops with him, whom he consulted about his military affairs, as Eusebius has it in his Life, lib. iv. c. 56."

OBJECTION IV.—"'Reward and punishment are the great negotiators in all worldly businesses; these may be said to 'make the bishops swim against the stream of their consciences.' And may not the same be said of the laity? Have these no operations, but only upon them? Has the king neither frown, honour, nor offices, but only for bishops? Is there nothing that answers their translations? Indeed, my lords, I must needs say, that in charity it is a supposition not to be supposed, no nor in reason, that they will go against the light of their understanding. The holiness of their calling, their knowledge, their freedom from passions and affections to which youth is very obnoxious, their vicinity to the gates of death, which, though not shut to any, yet always stand wide open to old age: These, my lords, will surely make them steer aright."

OBJECTION V.—"'But of matter of fact there is no disputation: some of them have done ill.' *Crimine ab uno disce omnes*, is a poetical not a logical argument. Some of the judges have done so, some of the magistrates and officers; and shall there be therefore neither judge, magistrate, nor officer more? A personal crime goes not beyond the person that commits it; nor can another's fault be mine offence. If they have contracted any filth or corruption through their own or the vice of the times, cleanse and purge them thoroughly. But still remember the great difference between reformation and extirpation. And be pleased to think of your Triennial Bill, which will save you this labour for the time to come; fear of punishment will keep them in order, if they should not themselves through the love of virtue. I have now, my lords, according to my poor ability, both showed the conveniences, and answered those inconveniences that seem to make against them. I should now propose those that make for them: As their falling into a condition worse than slaves, not represented by any; and then the dangers and inconveniences that may happen to your lordships. But

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I have done this heretofore, and will not offer your lordships *cramben bis coctam.*"

These speeches (though they converted none of the opposite) confirmed those of the episcopal party, making the Lords very zealous in the bishops' behalf.

20. *Temporal Lords, Favourers of Bishops.*

There were in the House many other defenders of episcopacy: as William lord marquess of Hertford; the earl of Southampton; the earl of Bristol, and the lord Digby, his son; and the never-to-be-forgotten Henry earl of Bath,* a learned lord, and lover of learning, oftentimes on occasion speaking for bishops, once publicly professing it one of the greatest honours which ever happily happened to his family, that one thereof (Thomas Bourchier by name) was once dignified with the archbishopric of Canterbury. Many other lords, though not haranguing it in long orations, by their effectual votes for bishops manifested their unfeigned affections unto them.

21—31. *The Death of Bishop Mountagu. Eminent and popular Persons made Bishops. All would not do. A disadvantageous Juncture of Time for Bishops. Bishop Warner, the best Champion for Bishops. The principal Plea against Bishops' Baronies. Earl of Bristol's Plea for Bishops; refuted by others. The King unwilling to consent; but is importuned thereunto. Keep in thy Calling. A.D.* 1642.

About this time, there were many vacant cathedrals, which the king lately had or now did furnish with new bishops: Dr. Joseph Hall being removed from Exeter to Norwich, void by the death of Richard Mountagu, born in Westminster, bred in Eton school, Fellow in King's-College; a great Grecian and church antiquary, well read in the Fathers. But (all in his diocess not being so well skilled in antiquity as himself) some charged him with superstitious urging of ceremonies; and, being accused in parliament, he appeared not, (being very weak,) but went a more compendious way to answer all in the high court of heaven.†

As for new-elected bishops, his Majesty was most careful to choose them out of the most sound for judgment, and blameless for conversation.

(1.) Dr. John Prideaux, almost grown to the King's Professor's Chair in Oxford, he had sat so long and close therein; procuring, by his painful and learned Lectures, deserved repute at home and amongst foreign protestants. He was made bishop of Worcester.

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 616—EDIT. † He died on the 12th of April.

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(2.) Dr. Thomas Winniffe, dean of St. Paul's; a grave, learned, and moderate divine; made bishop of Lincoln.

(3.) Dr. Ralph Brownrigg; of most quick and solid parts, equally eminent for disputing and preaching; made bishop of Exeter.

(4.) Dr. Henry King; acceptable on the account of his own merit, and on the score of a pious and popular father; made bishop of Chichester.

(5.) Dr. John Westfield; for many years the painful and profitable preacher of Great St. Bartholomew's, London; made bishop of Bristol. He died not long after.

Surely, *si urbs defensa, fuisset his dextris*, if Divine Providence had appointed that episcopacy (at this time) should have been kept up and maintained, more probable persons for that purpose could not have been picked out of England. So that envy and detraction might even feed on their own flesh, their teeth finding nothing in the aforesaid elects to fasten upon.

But episcopacy was so far from faring the better for them, that they fared the worse for it; insomuch that many, who much loved them in their gowns, did not at all like them in their rochets.

The bill was again brought-in against bishops' votes in Parliament, and that in a disadvantageous juncture of time, the bishops then being under a threefold qualification:—

(1.) Imprisoned in the Tower. Of these, eleven, beside archbishop Laud; whose absence much weakened the party.

(2.) Lately consecrated, and later inducted into the House of Lords; as the bishops of Worcester, Lincoln, Exeter, Chichester, Bristol: Such their modesty and manners, they conceived it fitting to practise their hearing, before speaking, in the House. So that, in some sort, they may be said to have lost their voices before they found them in the Parliament.

(3.) The remainder of ancient bishops,—London, Salisbury, Bangor, &c.,—who seldom were seen, (detained with other occasions,) and more seldom heard, in the Parliament.

So that the adversaries of episcopacy could not have obtained a fitter opportunity, (the spirits of time at large being distilled thereinto,) than in this very instant, to accomplish their desires.

Only Dr. John Warner, bishop of Rochester, was he, in whom dying episcopacy gave the last groan in the House of Lords; one of good speech and a cheerful spirit, and (which made both) a good purse, and (which made all three) a good cause, as he conceived in his conscience; which made him very pertinently and valiantly defend the antiquity and justice of bishops' votes in Parliament. This is he of whose bounty many distressed souls since have tasted; whose reward no doubt is laid up for him in another world.

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The main argument which was most insisted on against their temporal baronies, were the words of the apostle, "No man which warreth, entangleth himself with the affairs of this life," 2 Tim. ii. 4. Their friends pleaded, (1.) That the words equally concerned all militant Christians; bishops being not particularized therein. (2.) That it was uncharitable to conclude their fingers more clasping of the world, or the world more glutinous to stick to their fingers, that they alone, of all persons, could not touch the world, but must be entangled therewith. But it was answered, that then, *a fortiori*, clergymen were concerned in the text aforesaid not to meddle with worldly matters, whose governing of a whole diocess was so great an employment, that their attendance in parliament must needs be detrimental to so careful a vocation.

The earl of Bristol engaged himself a valiant champion in the bishops' behalf. He affirmed, that it was according to the Orders of the House, that no Bill, being once cast out, should be brought-in again at the same sessions. Seeing therefore the Bill against bishops' votes had formerly been clearly carried by many decisive votes for the bishops, it was not only *præter*- but *contra*-parliamentary, it should be brought again this sessions.

But seeing this Parliament was extraordinary in the manner and continuance thereof, (one session being likely to last for many years,) it was not conceived fit they should be tied to the observance of such punctual niceties; and the resumption of the Bill was not only overruled by votes, but also it was clearly carried in the negative, "that bishops never more should vote as peers in parliament."

Nothing now [was] wanted, save the royal assent, to pass the said votes into a law. The king appeared very unwilling therein; partly, because he conceived it an injury to give away the bishops' undoubted right; partly because he suspected, that the haters of the function—and lovers of the lands—of bishops would grow on his grants, and improve themselves on his concessions; so that such yielding unto them would not satisfy their hunger, but quicken their appetites to demand the more hereafter.

The importunity of others pressed upon him, that to prune off their baronies was the way to preserve their bishoprics; that his Majesty, lately obnoxious to the Parliament for demanding the five members, would now make plenary satisfaction, and give such assurance of his affections for the future, that all things would answer his desired expectation. This was set home unto him, by some (not the farthest) relations, insomuch that at last, February 14th, he signed the bill, as he was in St. Augustine's in Canterbury, passing with the queen towards Dover, then undertaking her voyage into the Low Countries.

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Many expected, and more desired, that the king's condescension herein should put a period unto all differences. But their expectations were frustrate; and, not long after, the king, apprehending himself in danger by tumults, deserted Whitehall, went into the north, erected his standard at Nottingham, Edge-hill field was fought, and much English blood on both sides shed in several battles. But I seasonably remember, that the church is my castle; namely, that the writing thereof is my house and home, wherein I may stand on my own defence against all who assault me. It was good counsel king Joash gave to king Amaziah, "Tarry at home," 2 Kings xiv. 10. The practice whereof shall, I hope, secure me from many mischiefs.

32, 33. *The word "malignant" first coined, and the word "Plunder."*

About this time the word "malignant" was first born (as to the common use) in England; the deduction thereof being disputable, whether from *malus ignis*, "bad fire;" or, *malum lignum*, "bad fuel;"* but this is sure, betwixt both, the name made a combustion all over England. It was fixed as a note of disgrace on those of the king's party; and, because one had as good be dumb as not speak with the vulgar, possibly in that sense it may occur in our ensuing History. However, the royalists plead for themselves, that "malignity," a scripture-word, Rom. i. 29, properly denoteth "activity in *doing* evil," whereas they, being ever since on the *suffering* side, in their persons, credits, and estates, conceive the name improperly applied unto them. Which plea the parliamentary party smile at, instead of answering; taking notice of the affections of the royalists, how malignant they would have appeared, if success had befriended them.

Contemporary with "malignant," was the word "plunder;" which some make of Latin original, from *planum dare*, "to level," or "plane all to nothing." Others make it of Dutch extraction, as if it were "to plume or pluck the feathers of a bird to the bare skin." Sure I am, we first heard thereof in the Swedish wars; and if the name and thing be sent back from whence it came, few English eyes would weep thereat.

* Heylin is exceedingly severe in his reprehension of this definition of *malignant;* and Fuller replies, in his "Appeal," p. 618: "I confess the name *round-head* at the same time trundled about in the mouths of many men; but I conceived it beneath a historian to make use thereof, because his Majesty, in all his proclamations, declarations, and other acts of state, never made mention thereof; whilst *malignant* was often used in Acts of Parliament. But if my bare mention, not using, of *malignant* be so distasteful, I will cut down all *the ill wood* therein to the last sprig, quench all *the ill fire* therein to the last spark; I mean, God willing, totally delete that paragraph in the next edition."—EDIT.

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34—36. *The Bishops in the Tower released. A Query worth inquiring. Divines consulted with in Parliament. A.D.* 1643.

By this time ten of the eleven bishops, formerly subscribing their Protestation to the Parliament, were, after some months' durance, upon good bail given, released; two of them finding great favour in their fees from the lieutenant of the Tower, in respect of their great charge and small estate. These, now at liberty, severally disposed themselves; some went home to their own diocess, as the bishops of Norwich, Oxford, &c. Some continued in London, as the bishop of Durham, not so rich in age, as in all commendable episcopal qualities. Some withdrew themselves into the king's quarters, as archbishop Williams, &c. Only bishop Wren was still detained in the Tower, where his long imprisonment (being never brought-in to a public answer) hath converted many of his adversaries into a more charitable opinion of him.*

The bishops' votes in parliament being dead and departed, (neither to be helped with flattery, nor hurt with malice,) one word of inquiry in what notion they formerly voted in parliament:—

* In his *Examen Historicum*, Dr. Heylin proceeds to rectify and explain this paragraph in the following manner: "He telleth us, that '*ten of the eleven* which had subscribed were released;' whereas there were twelve which had subscribed, as appears, p. 433, whereof ten were sent unto the Tower, and the other two committed to the custody of the Black Rod, p. 434. And if ten only were released, the other two must be kept in custody for a longer time; whereas we find the bishop of Norwich at home in his diocess, and the bishop of Durham at liberty in London,—they being the two whom he makes so far favoured by the Parliament as they scaped the Tower. Bishop Wren was released upon bail when the others were; returned into his diocess as the others did; and there continued for a time; when, of a sudden, he was snatched from his house at Downham, in the Isle of Ely, carried to the Tower, and there imprisoned; never being brought unto a hearing, nor any cause showed for his imprisonment to this very day. Archbishop Williams, after his restoring unto liberty, went not *into the king's quarters*, as our author saith, but unto one of his own houses in Yorkshire, where he continued till the year 1643, and then came to Oxford: not that he found the north too cold for him, or the war too hot; but to solicit for renewing of his *commendam* in the deanery of Westminster, the time for which he was to hold it drawing towards an end." In his "Appeal," (p. 620,) Fuller admits the general justness of Heylin's corrections, except in those respecting archbishop Williams, concerning whom he observes: "Nothing false or faulty. The archbishop of York stayed some weeks after his enlargement at Westminster; thence he went privately to the house of sir Thomas Hedley in Huntingdonshire; and thence to his palace at Cawood nigh York, where he gave the king a magnificent entertainment. King James settled the deanery of Westminster, under the Great Seal, on Dr. Williams, so long as he should continue bishop of Lincoln. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ;* hence the great heaving and huffing at him, because he would not resign it, which was so signal a monument of his master's favour unto him. Being archbishop of York, king Charles confirmed his deanery unto him for three years, in lieu of the profits of his archbishopric, which the king had taken, *sede vacante*. So that it is probable enough, the renewing that term might be a joint motive of his going to Oxford."—EDIT.

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Whether as a distinct third estate of the clergy? or,

This was formerly received for a truth, countenanced with some passages in the old Statutes, reckoning the Lords Spiritual, and Lords Temporal, and the Commons, to be the three estates; the King, as paramount of all, not comprehended therein.

Whether as so many single barons in their temporal capacity?

This is maintained by those who account the King, the Lords, and Commons, the three estates; amongst which Lords the bishops (though spiritual persons) appeared as so many temporal barons; whose absence is no whit prejudicial to the Acts passed in Parliament.

Some of the aged bishops had their tongues so used to the language of a third estate, that more than once they ran on that reputed rock in their speeches: for which they were publicly shent,* and enjoined an acknowledgment of their mistake.

The Convocation now not sitting, and many matters of religion being brought under the cognizance of the Parliament, their wisdoms adjudged it not only convenient but necessary, that some prime clergymen might be consulted with.† In order whereunto, they resolved to select some out of all counties, whom they conceived best-qualified for their design herein; and the first of July was the day appointed for their meeting.

SECTION V.

TO MR. GILES VANDEPIT, MR. CLEGAT, AND MR. PETER MATTHEWES, OF LONDON, MERCHANTS.

A THREEFOLD cable is not easily broken; and a triplicate of friends may be presumed effectual to protect my

* Heylin asks, By whom were they publicly *shent*, or reproached? Fuller replies, in his "Appeal of injured Innocence," pp. 620—623: "The earl of Essex and the lord Say were two of the lords who checked them. And of two of those bishops, Dr. Hall, late bishop of Norwich, is gone to God, and the other is still alive." Heylin then proceeds very learnedly and satisfactorily to prove, that the lords spiritual had, from the early periods of our national history, been always accounted one of the three estates of the realm, and concludes with this remark: "Those aged bishops had been but little studied in their own concernments, and betrayed their rights, if any of them did acknowledge any such mistake in challenging to themselves the names and privileges of *the third estate*."—EDIT. † See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 623.—EDIT.

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endeavours: of whom, two are of Dutch, the third (in the midst) of English extraction, not falling there by casual confusion, but placed by designed conjunction. Methinks it is a good sight, to behold the Dutch embracing the English; and this Dedication may pass for the emblem of the late agreement; which God long continue, if for the mutual good of both nations!

1. *The first Meeting of the Assembly.*

WHEN on this day, Saturday, July 1st, the Assembly of Divines, to consult about matters of religion, met at Westminster in the chapel of king Henry VII., then the constitution of this assembly, as first elected and designed, was to consist of about one hundred and twenty persons chosen by the Parliament (without respect of dioceses) in relation to shires, two or more of a county. They thought it not safe to intrust the clergy with their own choice, of whose general corruption they constantly complained; and therefore adjudged it unfit that the distempered patients should be, or choose, their own physicians.

2. *The four English Quarters of the Assembly.*

These elects were of four several natures, as the quarters of the same body, easily distinguishable by these conditions or opinions:—

First. Men of episcopal persuasion; as the right reverend James Usher, archbishop of Armagh; Dr. Brownrigg, bishop of Exeter; Dr. Westfield, bishop of Bristol; Dr. Daniel Featley; Dr. Richard Holdsworth, &c.

Secondly. Such who in their judgments favoured the presbyterian discipline, or in process of time were brought over to embrace it; amongst whom, (to mention those "who seemed to be pillars," as on whose abilities the weight of the work most lay,) we take special notice of Dr. Hoyle, divinity-professor in Ireland: CAMBRIDGE.—Dr. Thomas Gouge, of Blackfriars; Dr. Smith, of Barkway; Mr. Oliver Bowles; Mr. Thomas Gataker; Mr. Henry Scudder; Mr. Anthony Tuckeney; Mr. Stephen Marshall; Mr. John Arrowsmith; Mr. Herbert Palmer; Mr. Thomas Thoroughgood; Mr. Thomas Hill; Mr. Nathanael Hodges; Mr. Gibbons; Mr. Timothy Young; Mr. Richard Vines; Mr. Thomas Coleman; Mr. Matthew Newcomen; Mr. Jeremiah Whitaker; &c. OXFORD.—Dr. William Twisse; Dr. Cornelius Burgess; Dr. Stanton; Mr. White of Dorchester; Mr. Harris of Hanwell; Mr. Edward Reynolds; Mr. Charles Herle; Mr. Corbet of Merton-College; Mr. Conant; Mr.

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Francis Cheynell; Mr. Obadiah Sedgwick; Mr. Cartar, sen.; Mr. Cartar, jun.; Mr. Joseph Caryl; Mr. Strickland, &c. I hope an *et cætera* (so distasteful elsewhere) may be permitted in the close of our catalogue, and am confident that the rest here omitted, as unknown unto me, will take no exception. The like assurance I have, that none will cavil if not reckoned-up in their just seniority, both because they know I was none of the register that entered their admissions in the universities, and because it may savour something of a prelatical spirit to be offended about precedency.*

Thirdly. Some zealous ministers, who, formerly disliking conformity, to avoid the censures of episcopal consistories, removed themselves beyond the seas, chiefly to Holland, where some had plentiful—all comfortable—subsistence; whence they returned home at the beginning of this Parliament. These afterwards proved Dissenting Brethren to some transactions in the Assembly, as Thomas Goodwin, Sidrach Simpson, Philip Nye, &c.

Fourthly. Some members of the House of Lords and Commons were mingled amongst them, and voted jointly in their consultations; as the earl of Pembroke, the lord Say; the most learned antiquary, Mr. John Selden, Mr. Francis Rouse, Mr. Bulstrode Whitelocke, &c.

Thus was this Assembly (as first chosen and intended) a quintessence of four parties. Some conceive, so motley a meeting promised no good results, whilst others grounded their hopes on what was the motive of the former to despair,—the miscellaneous nature of the Assembly. For what speedier way to make peace in a distracted church, than to take-in all interests to consult together? It had been little better than a spiritual monopoly, only to employ those of one party; whilst, if all men's arguments, objections, complaints, desires, be indifferently admitted, an expedient may be the sooner found out for their just and general satisfaction.

* Heylin, offended with this clause, justly observes: "Certainly, if it savour of a *prelatical* spirit to contend about precedencies, that spirit, by some Pythagorean metempsychosis, hath passed into the bodies of the *presbyterians*, whose pride had swelled them in conceit above kings and princes, and thus cometh home to our author," &c. Fuller's rejoinder is very remarkable, especially when we consider the juncture of time in which it was written, 1659: "If it cometh home to me, I will endeavour, God willing, to thrust it far from me, by avoiding the odious sin of pride. And I hope the presbyterians will herein make a real and practical refutation of this note, in evidencing more humility hereafter; seasonably remembering, they are grafted on the stock of bishops, and are concerned 'not to be high-minded, but fear, lest if God spared not' episcopacy, (for what sins, I am not to inquire,) peaceably possessed, above a thousand years, of power in the church of England, 'take heed that he spare not' presbytery also; which is but a probationer on its good behaviour, especially if by their insolence they offend God and disoblige our nation, the generality whereof is not over-fond of their government." ("Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 625.)—EDIT.

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3—5. *The Scots Commissioners joined in the Assembly. Dr. Twisse, the Prolocutor's, Sermon. The Royalists' Reasons of their Non-appearance.*

So much for the English party of this Assembly. For know, that commissioners from Scotland were joined with them; some of the nobility, as the earl of Lothian, the lord Lauderdale, the lord Warristone; others of the clergy, as Mr. Alexander Henderson, Mr. Gillespie, &c. So that as Livy calleth the general meeting of Ætolia *Pan-Ætolium*, this Assembly endeavoured to put on the face of *Pan-Britannicum*, that the walls of the palace wherein they met might in some sort be like the waves of the sea, within the compass whereof they lived, as surrounding one island and two nations.

Dr. Twisse preached the first sermon at the meeting of the Assembly; (though the Schools, not the pulpit, was his proper element, witness his controversial writings;) and in his sermon he exhorted them faithfully to discharge their high calling to the glory of God and the honour of his church. He much bemoaned that one thing was wanting, namely, the royal assent, to give comfort and encouragement to them. Yet he hoped, that, by the efficacy of their fervent prayers, it might in due time be obtained, and that a happy union might be procured betwixt him and the Parliament. Sermon ended, the ordinance was read, by which was declared the cause, ground, and intent of their convention; namely, to consult with the Parliament for the settling of religion and church-government. Then the list of their names was called over who were appointed to be present there, and a mark (but no penalty) set on such who appeared not at the time prefixed.

The appearance of the persons elected answered not expectation; seeing, of an hundred and twenty, but sixty-nine were present; and those in coats and cloaks of several forms and fashions; so that Dr. Westfield and some few others seemed the only nonconformists amongst them for their conformity, whose gowns and canonical habits differed from all the rest. For, of the first sort of royalists, episcopal in their judgments, very few appeared; and scarce any continued any time in the House, (save Dr. Daniel Featley, of whom hereafter,) alleging privately several reasons for their absence or departure:—

(1.) They had no call from the king, having read how anciently the breath of Christian emperors gave the first being to councils. Yea, some, on my knowledge, had from his Majesty a flat command to the contrary.

(2.) They were not chosen by the clergy, and so could not appear as representatives, but in their personal capacities.

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(3.) This meeting seemed set up to pluck down the Convocation, (now neither sitting, nor legally dissolved,) which solemnly was summoned for ecclesiastical affairs.

(4.) If appearing there, they should be beheld by the rest (what Joseph charged on his brethren) as spies come thither to see the nakedness of the Assembly.

(5.) Being few, they should easily be out-voted by the opposite party, and so only worn as countenances to credit their proceedings.

However, I have heard many of both parties desire, that those defenders of the hierarchy had afforded their presence; as hoping that their learning and abilities, their temper and moderation, might have conduced much to mitigate some violence and extremity in their proceedings. But God, in his all-ordering providence, saw it unfitting; and whether or no any good had been effected by them, if present, (seeing as yet no law to order men's conjectures,) is left to the liberty of every man's opinion.

6—13. *The Assembly constituted. The superadded Divines. The Assembly's first Petition for a Fast. The Covenant entereth England. The Covenant first taken; commanded to be printed; taken by Gentlemen; enjoined* [*on*] *all in London.*

Soon after, the Assembly was completely constituted with all the essentials thereunto: Dr. Twisse, Prolocutor; Mr. Roborough and Adoniram Byfield, their Scribes and Notaries. And now their good success (next to the Parliament's) was publicly prayed for by the preachers in the city, and books dedicated unto them, under the title of the most Sacred Assembly; * which because they did not disavow, by others they were interpreted to approve. Four shillings a-day salary was allowed them; much too little, as some thought, for men of their merit; others grumbling at it as too much for what by them was performed. And now, what place more proper for the building of Sion, (as they propounded it,) than the chamber of Jerusalem (the fairest in the dean's lodgings, where king Henry IV. died, and) where these divines did daily meet together?

Be it here remembered, that some, (beside those episcopally-affected,) chosen to be at this Assembly, notwithstanding, absented themselves, pretending age, indisposition, &c., as it is easy for able unwillingness to find out excuses, and make them probable. Fit it was, therefore, so many vacuities should be filled up, to mount the meeting to a competent number; and assemblies, as well as armies, when grown thin, must be recruited. Hence it was that at several times the Lords and Commons added more members unto them, by the name of "the super-added divines." Some of these, though

* MR. SALTMARSH'S book against Thomas Fuller.

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equal to the former in power, were conceived to fall short in parts; as chosen rather by the affections of others, than for their own abilities,—the original members of the Assembly not over-pleased thereat, such addition making the former rather more, than more considerable.

One of the first public acts which I find by them performed, was the humble presenting of a petition to both Houses, for the appointing of a solemn fast to be generally observed. And no wonder if their request met with fair acceptance and full performance, seeing the Assembly's petition was the Parliament's intention; and this solemn suit of the divines did not create new—but quicken the old—resolutions in both Houses. Presently a fast is appointed, and accordingly kept on the following Friday, July 21st, Mr. Bowles and Mr. Newcomen (whose sermons are since printed) preaching on the same; and all the rest of the particulars promised to be taken into speedy consideration.

It was now projected to find out some band or tie, for the straiter union of the English and Scottish amongst themselves, and both to the Parliament. In order whereunto the Covenant was now presented. This Covenant was of Scottish extraction, born beyond Tweed, but now brought to be bred on the south side thereof.

Monday, September 25th, the House of Commons in Parliament, and the Assembly of Divines, solemnly took the Covenant at St. Margaret's in Westminster.

Wednesday, September 27th, it was ordered by the Commons in Parliament that this Covenant be forthwith printed and published.

Friday, September 29th, divers lords, knights, gentlemen, colonels, officers, soldiers, and others, then residing in the city of London, met at St. Margaret's in Westminster, and there took the said Covenant; Mr. Coleman preaching a sermon before them concerning the piety and legality thereof.

It was commanded by the authority of both Houses, that the said Covenant on the sabbath-day ensuing, October 1st, should be taken in all churches and chapels of London within the lines of communication, and throughout the kingdom in convenient time appointed thereunto, according to the tenor following:—

"A SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT FOR REFORMATION AND DEFENCE OF RELIGION, THE HONOUR AND HAPPINESS OF THE KING, AND THE PEACE AND SAFETY OF THE THREE KINGDOMS OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND.

"We, noblemen, barons, knights, gentlemen, citizens, burgesses, ministers of the gospel, and Commons, of all sorts in the kingdom

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of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by the providence of God living under one king, and being of one Reformed religion, having before our eyes the glory of God, and the advancement of the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the honour and happiness of the king's Majesty and his posterity, and the true public liberty, safety, and peace of the kingdom, wherein every one's private condition is included; and calling to mind the treacherous and bloody plots, conspiracies, attempts, and practices of the enemies of God against the true religion and the professors thereof in all places, especially in these three kingdoms ever since the Reformation of religion; and how much their rage, power, and presumption are of late, and at this time, increased and exercised, whereof the deplorable estate of the church and kingdom of Ireland, the distressed estate of the church and kingdom of England, the dangerous estate of the church and kingdom of Scotland, are present and public testimonies. We have now at last, (after other means of supplications, remonstrances, protestations, and sufferings,) for the preservation of ourselves and our religion from utter ruin and destruction, according to the commendable practices of these kingdoms in former times, and the example of God's people in other nations, after mature deliberation, resolved and determined to enter into a mutual solemn league and covenant, wherein we all subscribe, and each one of us for himself, with our hands lifted up to the most high God do swear:—

"That we shall sincerely, really, and constantly, through the grace of God, endeavour, in our several places and callings, the preservation of the Reformed religion in the church of Scotland in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, against our common enemies; the Reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the word of God, and the example of the best Reformed churches; and shall endeavour to bring the churches of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of church-government, directory for worship and catechising; that we and our posterity after us may as brethren live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us.

"That we shall in like manner, without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of popery, prelacy, (that is, church-government by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors, and commissaries, deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers, depending on that hierarchy,) superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness; lest we partake in other men's sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues, and that the Lord may be one, and his name one in the three kingdoms.

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"We shall, with the same sincerity, reality, and constancy in our several vocations, endeavour with our estates and lives mutually to preserve the rights and privileges of the Parliaments, and the due liberties of the kingdoms, and to preserve and defend the king's Majesty, his person and authority, in the preservation and defence of the true religion and liberties of the kingdoms, that the world may bear witness with our consciences of our loyalty, and that we have no thoughts or intentions to diminish his Majesty's just power and greatness.

"We shall also with all faithfulness endeavour the discovery of all such as have been or shall be incendiaries, malignants, or evil instruments, by hindering the Reformation of religion, dividing the king from his people, or one of the kingdoms from another, or making any faction or parties amongst the people contrary to this League and Covenant, that they may be brought to public trial, and receive condign punishment, as the degree of their offences shall require or deserve, or the supreme judicatories of both kingdoms respectively, or others having power from them for that effect, shall judge convenient.

"And whereas the happiness of a blessed peace between these kingdoms, denied in former times to our progenitors, is by the good providence of God granted unto us, and hath been lately concluded and settled by both Parliaments, we shall each one of us, according to our place and interest, endeavour that they remain conjoined in a firm peace and union to all posterity; and that justice may be done upon the wilful opposers thereof in manner expressed in the precedent article.

"We shall also, according to our places and callings, in this common cause of religion, liberty, and peace of the kingdoms, assist and defend all those that enter into this League and Covenant, in the maintaining and pursuing thereof, and shall not suffer ourselves directly or indirectly, by whatsoever combination, persuasion, or terror, to be divided and withdrawn from this blessed conjunction and union, whether to make defection to the contrary part, or to give ourselves to a detestable indifferency or neutrality in this cause, which so much concerneth the glory of God, the good of the kingdoms, and honour of the king; but shall all the days of our lives zealously and constantly endeavour to continue therein against all opposition, and promote the same according to our power against all lets and impediments whatsoever; and what we are not able of ourselves to suppress or overcome, we shall reveal and make known, that it may be timely prevented or removed. All which we shall do as in the sight of God.

"And because these kingdoms are guilty of many sins and pro-

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vocations against God, and his Son Jesus Christ, as is too manifest by our present distresses and dangers, the fruits thereof; we profess and declare, before God and the world, our unfeigned desire to be humbled for our own sins, and for the sins of these kingdoms, especially that we have not as we ought valued the inestimable benefit of the gospel, that we have not laboured for the purity and power thereof, and that we have not endeavoured to receive Christ in our hearts, nor to walk worthy of him in our lives; which are the causes of other sins and transgressions so much abounding amongst us, and our true and unfeigned purpose, desire, and endeavour for ourselves, and all others under our charge, both in public and in private, in all duties we owe to God and man, to amend our lives, and each one to go before another in the example of a real reformation, that the Lord may turn away his wrath and heavy indignation, and establish these churches and kingdoms in truth and peace. And this covenant we make in the presence of Almighty God, the Searcher of all hearts, with a true intention to perform the same, as we shall answer at the great day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed; most humbly beseeching the Lord to strengthen us by his Holy Spirit to this end, and to bless our desires and proceedings with such success as may be deliverance and safety to his people, and encouragement to other Christian churches groaning under or in danger of the yoke of anti-christian tyranny, to join in the same or like association and covenant, to the glory of God, the enlargement of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the peace and tranquillity of Christian kingdoms and commonwealths."

We listen not to their fancy who have reckoned the words in the Covenant six hundred sixty-six, Rev. xiii. 18, preface and conclusion (as only circumstantial appendants) not accounted;* and esteem him who trieth it as well at leisure (*aliàs* as idle) as he that first made the observation. Much less applaud we their parallel who (the number in branches agreeing) compare it to the superstitious and cruel Six Articles enacted by king Henry VIII. But let us consider the solid and serious exceptions alleged against it, not so light and slight as to be puffed away with the breath of the present age, but whose weight is likely to sink them down to the consideration of posterity.

14, 15. *Exceptions-general to the Whole: made without the King's Consent: full of doubtful Words.*

First. Seeing this Covenant, (though not as first penned,) as prosecuted, had heavy penalties inflicted on the refusers thereof, such pressing is inconsistent with the nature of any contract; wherein

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 625.—EDIT.

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consent, not constraint, is presumed. In a Covenant men should go of their own good-will, or be led by persuasions; not drawn by frights and fears, much less driven by forfeits and punishments.

Secondly. Subjects are so far from having the express or tacit consent of the king for the taking thereof, that by public proclamation he hath forbidden the same. Now, seeing parents had power by the law of God to rescind such vows which their children made without their privity, Num. xxx. 3–5; by the equity of the same law, this Covenant is void, if contrary to the flat command of him who is *parens patriæ*.

Many words occur in this Covenant, some obscure, others of doubtful meaning; namely, "common enemies," "best-reformed churches," "malignants," "highest judicatories of both kingdoms," &c. Until, therefore, the obscure be cleared, the doubtful stated and fixed, the same cannot (as it ought) be taken in judgment.

16, 17. *Exceptions to the Preface, pretended ancient, yet unprecedented.*

Therein it is suggested, that "supplications, remonstrances, protestations" to the king, were formerly used; which, proving ineffectual, occasioned the trying of this Covenant, as the last hopeful means "to preserve religion from ruin," &c. Now, seeing many joined neither with their hands nor hearts in presenting these writings, such persons scrupled this Covenant, which they cannot take in truth, because founded on the failing of the aforesaid means, to the using whereof they concurred not in the least degree.

It is pretended in the Preface, that this Covenant is "according to the commendable practice of these kingdoms in former times." Whereas, indeed, it is new in itself, following no former precedents; a grand divine of the parliament-party publicly professing, that "we read not either in divine or human histories the like oath extant in any age, as to the matter, persons, and other circumstances thereof."*

18—21. *Exceptions to the First Article. Cannot be taken knowingly: nor without a double Scandal,—Injury to themselves, Perjury to their Souls.*

They are unsatisfied to swear, to maintain "the preservation of the Reformed religion of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government," as being ignorant (such their distance thence, and small intelligence there) of the particulars thereof. They are loath therefore to make a blind promise, for fear of a lame performance.

As for "the reforming of religion" (which necessarily implies a changing thereof) of England and Ireland, "in doctrine, worship,

* Philip Nye, "Covenant with Narrat." p. 12.

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discipline, and government;" they cannot consent thereunto without manifest scandal both to papists and separatists. For, beside that they shall desert that just cause which many pious martyrs, bishops, and divines of our church have defended both with their ink and blood, writings and sufferings, hereby they shall advantage the cavils of papists against our religion, taxing it of uncertainty, not knowing where to fix our feet, as always altering the same. Yea, they shall not only supply papists with pleas for their recusancy, sectaries for their separation, acknowledging something in our church-doctrine and service not well agreeing with God's word; but also shall implicitly confess papists unjustly punished by the penal statutes for not conforming with us to the same public service, wherein some things are by ourselves, as well as them, misliked and disallowed.

Nor can they take this Covenant without injury and perjury to themselves. INJURY, by ensnaring their consciences, credits, and estates, if endeavouring to reform religion, under the notion of faulty and vicious; to which formerly they had subscribed, enjoined thereto by the law of the land, not yet abrogated, never as yet checked by the regrets of their own consciences, nor confuted by the reasons of others for the doing thereof.*

PERJURY, as contrary to the protestation and solemn vow they had lately taken, (May 5th, 1641,) and oath of supremacy, swearing therein to defend all the king's rights and privileges; whereof his spiritual jurisdiction in reforming church-matters, is a principal. Now, although a latter oath may be corroborative of the former, or constructive of a new obligation consistent therewith, yet can it not be inductive of a tie, contrary to an oath lawfully taken before.

22. *Exceptions to the Second Article. Ill, but forced, Equipage of Prelacy. Four Reasons against Extirpation of Prelacy.*

It grieveth them therein to see prelacy so unequally yoked; popery being put before it; superstition, heresy, schism, and profaneness following after. Such the pleasure of those that placed them, though nothing akin in themselves. But a captive, by the power of others, may be fettered to those whom he hates and abhors.

Consent they cannot to the extirpation of prelacy,

(1.) Neither in respect of *the thing itself;* being persuaded that either Papal monarchy, nor Presbyterian democracy, nor Independent anarchy, is so conformable to the scriptures as Episcopal aristocracy, being (if not of *Divine* in a strict sense) of *apostolical* institution, confirmed with church-practice (the best comment on scripture when obscure) for fifteen hundred years, and bottomed

* 13th Elizabeth, cap. 12.

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on the same foundation with infants' baptism, national churches, observing the Lord's day, and the like.

(2.) In respect of *themselves*; of whom, (i.) All, when taking degrees in the university—(ii.) Most, as many as are entered into Holy Orders—(iii.) Not a few, when lately petitioning the parliament for the continuing of episcopacy—(iv.) Some, being members of cathedral and collegiate churches—have subscribed with their hands, and with their corporal oaths avowed the justification and defence of that government.

(3.) In respect of the *church of England*; fearing many mischiefs from this alteration, (felt sooner than seen in all great and sudden changes,) especially because the ecclesiastical government is so interwoven in many statutes of the land. And, if schisms so increase on the suspension, what is to be expected on the extirpation, of episcopacy?

(4.) In respect of *his Majesty*; as contrary to their oath of supremacy, wherein they were bound to maintain, (i.) His privileges; amongst which a principal is, that he is "supreme moderator over all causes and persons spiritual," wherein no change is to be attempted without his consent. (ii.) His dignity; the collations of bishoprics and deaneries, with their profits in their vacancies, belonging unto him, and the first-fruits and tenths of ecclesiastical dignities, a considerable part of the royal revenue.

Here we omit their plea whose chief means consisting of cathedral preferment, [they] allege the like not done from the beginning of the world, that men (though deserving deprivation for their offences) should be forced to swear "sincerely, seriously, and from their souls," to endeavour the rooting-out of that whence their best livelihood doth depend.

23, 24. *Exceptions against the Third Article.*

It grieveth them herein to be sworn to "the preservation of the privileges of parliament and liberties of the kingdom," at large and without any restriction; being bound, in the following words, to defend "the king's person and authority," as limited "in the preservation and defence of true religion and the liberties of the realm;" enlarging the former, that the latter may be the more confined.

They are jealous what should be the cause of the inversion of the method, seeing in the "Solemn Vow and Protestation," the defence of the king's person and authority is put first, which in this Covenant is postposed to the privileges of parliament. However, seeing "the Protestation" was first taken, "the Covenant," as the younger, cannot disinherit the elder of the possession which it hath quietly taken in men's consciences.

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25—27. *Exceptions to the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Articles.*

They are unsatisfied whether the same imposeth not a necessity for children to prosecute their parents even to death, under the notion of "malignants," against all rule of religion and humanity. For, even in case of idolatry, children under the old law were not bound publicly to accuse their parents, so as to bring them to be stoned for the same, Deut. xiii. 6; though such unnatural cruelty be foretold by our Saviour to fall out under the gospel, of those that shall "rise up against their parents, and cause them to be put to death," Matt. x. 21.

They understand not what is meant therein by "the happiness of a blessed peace betwixt these kingdoms," whereof Ireland must needs be one; whilst the same is rent with a woful war, and the other two lands distracted with home-bred discords: whereof no settlement can be hoped until first all interests be equally stated, and the king's authority, privileges of parliament, and liberties of subjects, justly bounded, and carefully preserved.

They are unsatisfied therein as wholly hypothetical, supposing what as yet is not cleared by solid arguments; namely, that this is "the common cause of religion, liberty, and peace of the realms," &c. And if the same be granted, it appeareth not to their conscience, that the means used to promote this cause are so lawful and free from just objections which may be raised from the laws of God and man.

28, 29. *Exceptions to the Conclusion.*

They quake at the mention, that the taking of this Covenant should "encourage other churches, groaning under the yoke of anti-christian tyranny," to join in the same; fearing the dangerous consequences this may produce to foreign protestants, and enrage popish princes (in whose dominions they live) to cruelty against them, as disaffected to their government. Besides, when Divine Providence layeth such burdens on his servants, even the yoke of anti-christ is then the yoke of Christ,—not to be thrown off with force, but to be borne with the confession of the truth, prayers, patience, and Christian courage.

So much concerning the Covenant, which, some three months after, began to be rigorously and generally urged. Nor have I aught else to observe thereof, save to add in mine own defence, that I never saw the same, except at distance as hung up in churches; nor ever had any occasion to read, or hear it read, till this day, July 1st, 1654, in writing my History; whatever hath been reported and printed to the contrary, of my taking thereof in London, who went away from the Savoy to the king's quarters, long before any mention thereof in England.

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30. *The Author's Plea in his own just Defence.*

True it is, there was an oath, which never exceeded the line of communication, meeting with so much opposition that it expired in the infancy thereof, about the time when the plot was discovered for which Mr. Tomkins and Mr. Chaloner suffered. This was tendered to me, and taken by me in the vestry of the Savoy-church, but first protesting some limitations thereof to myself. This, not satisfying, was complained of, by some persons present, to the Parliament; where it was ordered, that the next Lord's day I should take the same oath *in terminis terminantibus*, in the face of the church; which not agreeing with my conscience, I withdrew myself into the king's parts, which (I hope) I may no less safely than I do freely confess, because punished for the same with the loss of my livelihood, and since (I suppose) pardoned in the Act of Oblivion.

31—34. *The Parliament's Purge to the Clergy. The expelled Clergy's Plea. The First Century, why without a Second. Vacant Livings, how supplied.*

Now began the great and general purgation of the clergy in the Parliament's quarters, many being outed for their misdemeanours by the committee appointed for that purpose. Some of their offences were so foul, it is a shame to report them, crying to justice for punishment.* Indeed, Constantine, the Christian emperor, was wont to

* Heylin severely reprehends Fuller for the whole of this account of the ejected episcopal clergy. The following are some of his remarks: "Our author might have done well to have satisfied himself in all particulars, before he raised so foul a scandal on his Christian brethren: which modesty he might have learned from the most excellent master in the schools of piety and morality which this age hath given us, even the king himself; who, as our author telleth us, p. 460, would not give way, that any such book should be written of the vicious lives of some parliament-ministers, when such an undertaking was presented to him. But, *Qui alterum incusat probri, seipsum intueri oportet*, is a good rule in the schools of prudence; and therefore it concerns our author to be sure of this,—that all things be well at home, both in his own person and in his family, before he throw so much foul dirt in the face of his brethren." In his "Appeal of injured Innocence," (pp. 627, 628,) Fuller replies, with a pun upon his own name: "If God's restraining grace hath bridled me from *scandalous* obnoxiousness, may he alone have the honour thereof. As for other stains and spots in my soul, I hope, (be it spoken without the least *verbal reflection,*) that He who is the *Fuller's soap*, Mal. iii. 2, will scour them forth with his merit, that I may appear clean, by God's mercy. Some of my brethren, or fathers rather, I reverence and admire for their eminences. Others I commend, and will endeavour to imitate. Others, guilty of human infirmities,—I desire to conceal their faults, and, that not taking effect, to excuse their persons. Such as are past pleading for fall under my pity, and have my prayers that God would amend them. But, willingly, much less causelessly, I will not accuse any; and my pen and tongue have been, and shall be, tender of their reputations. Proceed I now to what I have written concerning the sequestered clergy of England; wherein I will freely (God willing) unbosom my mind; and 'if I perish, I perish.' I appeal to the Searcher of hearts, if I did not desire to do them all just favour, as I hope to find favour from Him when I most need it. But as mariners, when they have both wind and tide against them, cannot

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say, "If I see a clergyman offending, I will cover him with my cloak." But, surely, he meant such offences as are frailties and infirmities, no scandalous enormities. Such unsavoury salt is good for nothing, no, not for the dunghill, Luke xiv. 35; because as the savour is lost which makes it useful, so the fretting is left which makes it useless, whereby it is so far from being good compost to fatten ground, that it doth rather embarren it. Let Baal therefore plead for itself, nothing can be said in their excuse, if (what was the main matter) their crimes were sufficiently proved.

But as to the point, hear what the royalists at Oxford say for their friends, whilst they conceive themselves to take just exceptions at the proceedings against these ministers:—

(1.) Some of their faults were so foul, that the foulness of them* is all that can be pleaded for them. For, being capital, the persons deserved to be outed of *life*, not of *living*; which leaves a suspicion of imperfect proof.

(2.) The witnesses against them were seldom deposed on oath, but their bare complaints believed.

(3.) Many of the complainers were factious people, (those most accusing their sermons who least heard them,) and who since have deserted the church, as hating the profession of the ministry.

(4.) Many were charged with delivering false doctrine, whose positions were sound, at the least disputable: such those accused for preaching that "baptism washeth away original sin;" which the most learned and honest in the Assembly in some sense will not deny; namely, that in the children of God it cleanseth the condemning, and final peaceable commanding power of original sin, though the stain and blemish thereof do still remain.

(5.) Some were merely outed for their affections to the king's cause; and what was malignity at London was loyalty at Oxford.

make the desired port in a straight line, and therefore are fain to fetch a compass; semnably, I, desiring to gratify my brethren and not destroy myself, was fain to go about, that in any measure I might with safety do it: and there was no *compassing* of it without *compacing* it, no reaching the end without going out of the way. First, therefore, I did acknowledge, what indeed could not be concealed, and what in truth must be confessed, viz., that some of the ejected clergy were guilty of foul offences; to whom, and to whom alone, the name of Baal and 'unsavoury salt' did relate. Nor was it a wonder, if, amongst ten thousand and more, some were guilty of scandalous enormities. This being laid down, and yielded to the violence of the times, I wrought myself by degrees (as much as I durst) to insert what followeth, in vindication of many others, rigorously cast out for following, in their affections, their preceding judgments and consciences; and no scandal could justly be charged upon them, pleading for them as ensueth." Fuller here quotes five paragraphs, which occur in this very page (459) of his Church History; and very properly adds: "This, being written by me some ten [years since,] (in the paroxysm of the business,) and printed some four years since, was as much as then I durst say for my brethren, without running myself into apparent danger."—EDIT. * WHITE'S "Century," p. 1.

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Yea, many moderate men of the opposite party much bemoaned such severity, that some clergymen, blameless for life and orthodox for doctrine, were only ejected on the account of their faithfulness to the king's cause. And as much corruption was let out by this ejection, (many scandalous ministers deservedly punished,) so at the same time the veins of the English church were also emptied of much good blood, (some inoffensive pastors,) which hath made her body hydropical ever since, ill humours succeeding in the room, by reason of too large and sudden evacuation. But others of a more violent temper excused all, the present necessity of the cause requiring it. All pulpits in the Parliament-quarters must be made like the whole earth before the building of Babel, "of one language and of one speech," or else all may be destroyed by the mixture of other doctrines. And better a mischief to few, than an inconvenience to all. Safer that some (suppose unjustly) suffer, than that the success of the whole cause should be endangered.

Then (November 19th) came forth a book called "The First Century," containing the names of a hundred divines sequestered for their faults, with a promise of a second; which to my knowledge never came forth: whether because the author of the former was sensible that the subject was generally odious, or because the death of Mr. White, licenser thereof, prevented any addition, or whether because dissuaded from the design, suspecting a retaliation from Oxford. Sure, I have been informed, that, when some solicited his Majesty for leave to set forth a book of the vicious lives of some Parliament-ministers, his Majesty blasted the design; partly because recrimination is no purgation, partly lest the public enemy of the protestant religion should make an advantage thereof.

To supply the vacant places, many young students (whose Orders got the speed of their Degrees) left the universities. Other ministers turned Dualists and Pluralists; it being now *charity*, (what was formerly *covetousness,)* to hold two or three benefices. These could plead for themselves the practice of Mr. Sanders, the martyr,* who held two livings at good distance, because he could not resign one but into the hands of a papist,—as these men would not surrender them to "malignants." Many vicarages of great cure, but small value, were without ministers, (whilst rich matches have many suitors, they may die virgins that have no portions to prefer them,) which was often complained of, seldom redressed, it passing for a current maxim, it was safer for people to fast than to feed on the poison of "malignant" pastors.

* Fox's "Acts and Monuments," p. 1494, in *anno* 1555.

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35—41. *Dissenting Brethren first appear in the Assembly. The Cause of their first departing the Land. Are kindly entertained in Holland. How qualified to find out the Truth. Their two chief Ground-Works. Co-ordination of Churches. The Manner of their Church-Service.* [*They*] *are always for new Lights.*

Let us now look a little into the Assembly of Divines, where we shall not find them (as we might justly expect) "all of one tongue and of one language," there being some not concurring with the major part, and therefore styled "Dissenting Brethren." I know the Scotch writers call them "of the Separation;" but, because mollifying terms are the best poultices to be applied to the first swellings of church-differences, we decline these words of distaste. They are also commonly called Independents, though they themselves (if summoned by that name) will return no *Vous avez* thereunto, as to a word odious and offensive in the common sound and notation thereof. For Independency, taken for "absolute subsistence," (1.) Without relation to God, is profane and blasphemous; (2.) Without relation to king or state, is seditious and treacherous; (3.) Without relation to other churches, is proud and ambitious; (4.) Without relation to particular Christians, is churlish and uncharitable. These "Dissenting Brethren," or "Congregationalists," were but five in the Assembly, though many more of their judgments dispersed in the land; namely, (1.) Thomas Goodwin, bred first in Christ's-College, then Fellow of Catherine-Hall in Cambridge: (2.) Philip Nye, who had his education in Oxford: (3.) William Bridge, Fellow of Emmanuel-College in Cambridge,—all three still alive: (4.) Sidrach Simpson, of Queen's-College in Cambridge: (5.) Jeremiah Burroughs, of Emmanuel-College in Cambridge, both deceased.

It is our unhappiness, that, in writing their story, we have little save what we have collected out of the writings of pens professedly engaged against them; and, therefore, the less credit is to be given thereunto. However, in this "Narration" there is nothing of my own; so that, if any falsehoods therein, they must be charged on *their* account *whom* the reader shall behold cited in the margin. Otherwise I confess my personal respects to some of the aforenamed Dissenters for favours received from them.

Some ten years since, "the sinful corruptions" (to use their own language*) "of the worship and government in this church, taking hold on their consciences," unable any longer to comport therewith, they deserted their native country. This we believe the true cause of their departure; not what some suggest,† that one for debt, and another for danger, (to answer some ill-interpreted words concerning

* "Apologetical Narration," p. 2. † MR. EDWARDS in his "Answer to the Apologetical Narration."

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the Scots,) were forced to forsake the land.* And although I will not say they "left not a hoof" of their estates behind them here, they will confess they conveyed over the most considerable part thereof. Many wealthy merchants and their families went over with them; so that of all exiles, (for so they style themselves,) these may seem most like voluntary travellers for good company; though, of all travellers, most like to exiles.

Their reception beyond the seas in Holland was fair and civil; where the States (who, though they tolerate—own not—all religions) were interpreted to acknowledge them and their churches by many signs of their favour. (1.) By granting them their own churches to assemble in for Divine worship; where their own countrymen met also the same day, but at different hours, for the same purpose. (2.) By permitting the ringing of a bell to call people to their public meetings;† which loudly sounded the States' consent unto them, as not allowed to such clandestine sects which shelter themselves rather under the permission than protection thereof. (3.) By assigning a full and liberal maintenance annually for their ministers, as also wine for their communions. Nor can there be a better evidence of giving the right hand of fellowship, than to give the full hand of liberality. A moiety of this people fixed at Rotterdam, where they landed; the other travelled up higher, for better air, to Wianen; and thence, soon after, removed to Arnheim, a sweet and pleasant city; no part of Holland (largely taken‡) affording more of England therein,—resembled, in their letters to their friends, to "Hertford, or Bury in Suffolk."

Then fall they to consult of church discipline, professing themselves a mere *abrasa tabula*, with virgin judgments, longing only to be married to the truth. Yea, they "looked upon the word of Christ" (reader, it is their own expression§) "as unpartially and unprejudicedly, as men made of flesh and blood are like to do in any juncture of time that may fall out; the place they went to, the condition they were in, and company they went with, affording no temptation to bias them any way."

And first they lay down two grand ground-works, on which their following fabric was to be erected: (1.) Only to take what was held forth in God's word; leaving nothing to church-practice or human prudence, as but the iron legs and clay toes of that statue whose head and whole body ought to be of pure scripture-gold. (2.) Not to make their present judgment binding unto them for the future. Their adversaries cavil hereat, as a reserve able to rout all the

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," pp. 629—631.—EDIT. † "Apologetical Narration," p. 7. ‡ Otherwise Arnheim is in Guelderland. § "Apologetical Narration," p. 3.

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armies of arguments which are brought against them; that, because "one day teacheth another," they will not be tied on Tuesday morning to maintain their tenets on Monday night, if a new discovery intervene.

In pursuance of these principles, they pitched on a middle way, (as generally the posture of truth,) betwixt presbytery, as too rigorous, imperious, and conclusive, and Brownism, as too vague, loose, and uncertain. Their main platform was, that churches should not be subordinate, parochial to provincial, provincial to national, (as daughter to mother, mother to grandmother,) but co-ordinate, without superiority, except seniority of sisters, containing no powerful influence therein. Thus the church, formerly like a chain, with links of dependency on one another, should hereafter become like a heap of rings, each entire in itself, but (as they thought) far purer than was ever seen before.

The manner of their church-service, according to their own relation,* was performed in form following: (1.) Public and solemn prayers for kings and all in authority. (2.) Reading the scriptures of the Old and New Testament, with exposition thereof on occasion. (3.) Administration of the two sacraments, baptism to infants, and the Lord's supper. (4.) Singing of psalms, and collection for the poor every Lord's day. (5.) For public officers they had pastors, teachers, and ruling elders, (not lay but ecclesiastic persons,) and deacons. As for church-censures, they resolved only on admonition and excommunication; the latter whereof was never handselled in their church,† as no reason that the rod (though made) should be used where the children are all quiet and dutiful. "Synods they account useful, and in some cases necessary; yet so that their power is but official, not authoritative, whereby they may declare the truth, not enjoin obedience thereunto." Or, take it in the language of one of their grandees: ‡ *Actus regiminis a synodis debent porrigi non peragi;* the latter belonging to the liberty of several congregations. Their adversaries object, that none can give-in an exact account of all their opinions, daily capable of alteration and increase. Whilst such countries, whose unmovable mountains and stable valleys keep a fixed position, may be easily surveyed; no geographer can accurately describe some part of Arabia, where the flitting sands, driven with the winds, have their frequent removals; so that the traveller findeth *a hole* at his return, where he left *a hill* at his departure. Such the uncertainty of these Congregationalists in their judgments. Only they plead for themselves, it is not "the wind of every doctrine," Eph. iv. 14; but the sun of the truth, §

* "Apologetical Narration," p. 8. † *Ibid.* p. 9. ‡ *Responsio Jo. Norton,* p. 114. § MR. COTTON'S preface to Mr. Norton's book.

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which, with its new lights, makes them renounce their old, and embrace new, resolutions.

42—47. *A Schism in Rotterdam Church. A second Schism in the same Church. The Practice of Arnheim Church. The five Exiles return Home; gather Churches in England. The Presbyterians offended.*

Soon after a heavy schism happened in the church of Rotterdam, betwixt Mr. Bridge and Mr. Simpson, the two pastors thereof; "insomuch that the latter rent himself," saith one,* "from Mr. Bridge's church, to the great offence thereof;" though more probable, as another reporteth,† "Mr. Simpson [was] dismissed with the consent of the church." However, many bitter letters passed betwixt them, and more sent over to their friends in England, full of invectives, blackness of the tongue always accompanying the paroxysms of such distempers. Their Presbyterian adversaries make great use hereof to their disgrace.‡ If such infant-churches, whilst their hands could scarce hold any thing, fell a-scratching, and their feet spurning and kicking one another, before they could well go alone, how stubborn and vexatious would they be when arrived at riper years!

This schism was seconded with another in the same church; wherein they deposed one of their ministers, (Mr. Ward, I conceive, his name,) which was beheld as a bold and daring deed,—especially because herein they consulted not their sister-church at Arnheim, which publicly was professed mutually to be done in cases of concernment. Here the Presbyterians triumph in their conceived discovery of the nakedness and weakness of the Congregational way; which, for want of ecclesiastical subordination, is too short to reach out a redress to such grievances. For, seeing *par in parem non habet potestatem*, "equals have no power over their equals," the aggrieved party could not right himself by any appeal unto a superior. But such consider not the end, as well as the beginning, of this difference; wherein the church of Arnheim interposing, not as a judge to punish offenders, but as a brother to check the failings of a brother,§ matters were so ordered that Mr. Ward was restored to his place, when both he and the church had mutually confessed their sinful carriage in the matter. But enough, if not too much, hereof, seeing every thing put in a pamphlet is not fit to be put in a chronicle.

More concord crowned the congregation at Arnheim, where Mr. Goodwin and Mr. Nye were pastors; wherein, beside those church ordinances formerly mentioned, actually admitted and exercised,

* Mr. Edwards, *ut prius*, p. 35. † Mr. John Goodwin in answer to Mr. Edwards, p. 238. ‡ P. 245. § "Apologetical Narration," p. 21.

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some others stood candidates and fair probationers on their good behaviour; namely, if under trial they were found convenient. Such were, (1.) The holy kiss, 1 Cor. xvi. 20. (2.) Prophesyings, 1 Cor. xiv., when private Christians, at fit times, made public use of their parts and gifts in the congregation. (3.) Hymns, Eph. v. 19, and Col. iii. 16; and which, if no better divinity than music, might much be scrupled at. (4.) Widows, as essential she-ministers in the church, 1 Tim. v. 9; which if it be so, our late civil wars in England have afforded us plenty for the place. (5.) Anointing of dying people, as a standing apostolical ordinance, James v. 14.

Other things were in agitation, when now the news arriveth that the Parliament sitting at Westminster had broken the yoke of ceremonies, and proclaimed a year of jubilee to all tender consciences. Home then they hasted with all convenient speed. For, only England is England indeed, though some parts of Holland may be like unto it. Over they came in a very good plight and equipage, which the Presbyterians (and those, I assure you, are quick-sighted when pleased to pry) took notice of. "Not a hair of their head singe-ed, nor any smell of the fire" of persecution "upon their clothes." However, they were not to be blamed, if setting their best foot forward in their return, and appearing in the handsomest and cheerfullest fashion for the credit of their cause, and to show that they were not dejected with their sufferings.

Presently they fall upon gathering of congregations, but chiefly in or about the city of London. Trent may be good, and Severn better, but O! the Thames is the best for the plentiful taking of fish therein. They did pick (I will not say steal) hence a master, thence a mistress of a family, a son out of a third, a servant out of a fourth parish; all which met together in their Congregation. Some prevented calling by their coming, of *old* parishioners to become *new* church-members; and so forward were they of themselves, that they needed no force to compel, nor art to persuade them. Thus, a new inn never wanteth guests at the first setting up, especially if hanging out a fair sign, and promising more cleanness and neatness than is in any of their neighbours.

The Presbyterians found themselves much aggrieved hereat. They accounted this practice of the Dissenting Brethren but ecclesiastical felony; for, at the best, that they were but spiritual interlopers for the same. They justly feared, if this fashion continued, the falling of the roof, or foundering of the foundations, of their own parishes; whence so many corner-stones, pillars, rafters, and beams were taken by the others to build their Congregations. They complained that these new pastors, though slighting tithes and set maintenance, yet so ordered the matter, by gathering their churches,

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that these "gleanings of Ephraim became better than the vintage of Abiezer."

48—50. *Dissenting Brethren crave a Toleration; opposed by others; but favoured by the Parliament.*

Not long after, when the Assembly of Divines was called, these five Congregationalists were chosen members thereof, but came not up with a full consent to all things acted therein; as accounting that the pressing of an exact concurrence to the Presbyterian government was but a kind of a conscience-prison, whilst accurate conformity to the Scotch Church was the very dungeon thereof. *A regimine ecclesiastico*, say they,* *uti nunc in Scotiâ viget, longiùs distamus, quippe quòd (ut nobis videtur) non tantùm a scripturis, sed ab ecclesiarum Reformatarum suorumque theologorum sententiis (qui sub episcoporum tyrannide diù duriterque passi sunt) plurimùm distat.* No wonder, therefore, if they desired a toleration to be indulged them, and they excused for being concluded by the votes of the Assembly.

But the Presbyterians highly opposed their toleration; and such who desired most ease and liberty for their sides when bound with episcopacy, now girt their own government the closest about the consciences of others. They tax the Dissenting Brethren for singularity; as if these men, like "the five senses of the church," should discover more in matter of discipline than all the Assembly besides, —some moving their ejection out of the same, except in some convenient time they would comply therewith.

Hopeless to speed here, the Dissenters seasonably presented "an apologetical Narrative to the Parliament," styled by them "the most sacred refuge or asylum for mistaken and misjudged innocence."† Herein they petitioned pathetically for some favour, whose conscience could not join with the Assembly in all particulars; concluding with that pitiful close, (enough to force tears from any tender heart,) that they pursued no other interest or design but a subsistence (be it the poorest and meanest) in their own land, as not knowing where else, with safety, health, and livelihood, to set their feet on earth;‡ and subscribed their names:

THOMAS GOODWIN, JEREMIAH BURROUGHS,
PHILIP NYE, WILLIAM BRIDGE.
SIDRACH SIMPSON,

If, since, their condition be altered and bettered, that they (then wanting where to set their feet) since lie down at their length in the fat of the land; surely they have returned proportionable gratitude

* In their epistle to the reader, prefixed to Mr. Norton's book. † "Apologetical Narration," p. 2. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 31.

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to God for the same. Sure it is, that at the present these petitioners found such favour with some potent persons in Parliament, that they were secured from farther trouble; and, from lying at a posture of defence, are now grown able not only to encounter but invade all opposers, yea, to open and shut the door of preferment to others; —so unsearchable are the dispensations of Divine Providence in making sudden and unexpected changes, as in whole nations, so in private men's estates, "according to the counsel of his will."

51, 52. *New-England Churches, Congregationalists. The Rest referred to Mr. Norton's Book.*

Such as desire further instruction in the tenets of these Congregationalists, may have their recourse to those many pamphlets written *pro* and *con* thereof. The worst is, some of them speak so loud, we can scarce understand what they say,—so hard is it to collect their judgments, such the violence of their passions. Only I will add, that, for the main, the churches of New-England are the same in discipline with these Dissenting Brethren.

Only I will add, that, of all the authors I have perused concerning the opinions of these Dissenting Brethren, none to me was more informative than Mr. John Norton, (one of no less learning than modesty,) minister in New-England, in his answer to Apollonius, pastor in the church of Middleburgh.

53—60. *Mr. Herle succeedeth Prolocutor to Dr. Twisse. Mr. Selden's puzzling Queries. Erastians, why so called, and what they held. The Erastians in the Assembly, favourably listened to. The Assembly shrewdly checked. The Scotch Discipline in vain strived for. Coercive Power kept in the Parliament. A.D.* 1644.

Look we now again into the Assembly of Divines, where we find Dr. Cornelius Burgess, and Mr. Herbert Palmer, the assessors therein; and I am informed by some, more skilful in such niceties than myself, that two at the least of that office are of the quorum essential to every lawful assembly. But I miss Dr. William Twisse their Prolocutor, lately deceased. He was bred in New-College in Oxford; good with the trowel, but better with the sword, more happy in polemical divinity than edifying doctrine. Therefore he was chosen by the States of Holland to be Professor of Divinity there; which he thankfully refused.* Mr. Charles Herle, Fellow of Exeter-College of Oxford, succeeded him in his place; one so much Christian, scholar, and gentleman, that he can unite in affection with those who are disjoined in judgment from him.

* See his dedication to them in his book called *Vindiciæ Gratiæ.*

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The Assembly met with many difficulties; some complaining of Mr. Selden, that, advantaged by his skill in antiquity, common-law, and the oriental tongues, he employed them rather to pose than profit, perplex than inform, the members thereof, in the fourteen queries he propounded: whose intent therein was to humble the *jure-divino*-ship of presbytery; which, though hinted and held forth, is not so made out in scripture, but, being too scant on many occasions, it must be pieced with prudential additions. This great scholar, not over-loving of any (and least of these) clergymen, delighted himself in raising of scruples for the vexing of others; and some stick not to say, that those who will not feed on the flesh of God's word cast most bones to others, to break their teeth therewith.

More trouble was caused to the Assembly by the opinions of the Erastians; and it is worth our inquiry into the first author thereof. They were so called from Thomas Erastus, a doctor of physic, born at Baden in Switzerland, lived professor in Heidelberg, and died at Basle, about the year 1583. He was of the privy council to Frederick, the first protestant Prince Palatine of that name; and this Erastus, like our Mr. Perkins, being lame of his right—wrote all with his left—hand; and, amongst the rest, one against Theodore Beza *De Excommunicatione;* to this effect,—that the power and excommunication, in a Christian state, principally resides in secular power, as the most competent judge when and how the same shall be exercised.*

Mr. John Coleman, a modest and learned man, beneficed in Lincolnshire, and Mr. John Lightfoot, well-skilled in rabbinical learning, were the chief members of the Assembly, who (for the main) maintained the tenets of Erastus. These often produced the Hebrew original for the power of princes in ecclesiastical matters. For though the New Testament be silent of the temporal magistrate's (princes then being pagans,) intermeddling in church-matters, the Old is very vocal therein, where the authority of the kings of Judah, as "nursing-fathers to the church," is very considerable.

No wonder if the Prince Palatine (constantly present at their debates) heard the Erastians with much delight, as welcoming their opinions for country-sake, (his natives, as first born in Heidelberg,) though otherwise in his own judgment no favourer thereof. But other Parliament-men listened very favourably to their arguments; (interest is a good quickener of attention!) hearing their own power enlarged thereby, and making use of their Erastians for a check to such who pressed conformity to the Scotch kirk in all particulars.

Indeed, once the Assembly stretched themselves beyond their

* THUANUS *in Obit. Vir. illustr. anno* 1583.

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own line, in meddling with what was not committed, by the Parliament, to their cognizance and consultation; for which they were afterward staked down, and tied-up with a shorter tedder. For though the wise Parliament made use of the presbyterian zeal and activity for the extirpation of bishops, yet they discreetly resolved to hold a strict hand over them; as not *coming by their own power* to advise, but *called* to advise with the Parliament. Nor were they to cut out their own work, but to make up what was cut to their own hands; and seeing a premunire is a rod as well for a presbyter as a prelate, (if either trespass on the state by their over-activity,) though they felt not this rod, it was showed to them, and shaken over them, and they shrewdly and justly shent for their over-meddling, which made them the wiser and warier for the time to come.

Indeed, the major part of the Assembly endeavoured the settling of the Scotch government in all particulars; that, though Tweed parted their countries, nothing might divide their church-discipline; and this was laboured by the Scotch commissioners with all industry and probable means to obtain the same; but it could not be effected, nor was it ever settled by Act of Parliament. For as, in heraldry, the same-seeming lions in colour and posture, *rampant* and *langued* alike, are not the self-same, if the one be armed with nails and teeth, the other deprived of both; so cannot the English be termed the same with the Scotch presbytery,—the former being in a manner absolute in itself, the latter depended on the State in the execution of the power thereof.

Insomuch that the Parliament kept the co-ercive power in their own hands, not trusting them to carry the keys at their girdle; so that the power of excommunication was not intrusted with them, but ultimately resolved into a Committee of eminent persons of Parliament, whereof Thomas earl of Arundel (presumed present because absent with leave beyond the seas) is the first person nominated.

61—65. *Uxbridge's fruitless Treaty. Mr. Love's Indiscretion. The Conference of Divines. Dr. Laney might not be heard. An Argument* ad Homines, *if not* ad Causas.

A treaty was kept at Uxbridge betwixt the Commissioners of the King and Parliament; many well-meaning people promising themselves good success thereby, whilst others thought this treaty was born with a dying countenance, saying there wanted a third to interpose to make their distances up by powerful persuasion, no hope of good in either without condescension in both parties. One may smile at their inference who presumed, that the King's Commissioners coming to Uxbridge, two parts of three, to meet those of the Parliament, would proportionably comply in their yieldings;

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a weak topical conjecture, confuted by the formerly going of the Parliament's Commissioners clean through to Oxford, and yet little condescension to their propositions.

Here Mr. Christopher Love (waiting on the Parliament Commissioners in a general relation) gave great offence to the royalists in his sermon; showing the impossibility of an agreement,* such the dangerous errors and malicious practices of the opposite party. Many condemned his want of charity, more of discretion, in this juncture of time, when there should be a cessation from invectives for the time being. But men's censures must fall the more lightly upon his memory, because since he hath suffered, and so satisfied here for his faults in this or any other kind.

With the Commissioners on both sides, certain clergymen were sent, in their presence to debate the point of church-government.

For the King.—Dr. Stewart, Dr. Gilbert Sheldon, Dr. Benjamin Laney, Dr. Henry Hammond, Dr. Henry Ferne.

For the Parliament.—Mr. Stephen Marshall, Mr. Richard Vines.

These, when the Commissioners were at leisure from civil affairs, were called to a conference before them.

Dr. Laney proffered to prove the great benefits which had accrued to God's church in all ages by the government by bishops; but the Scotch commissioners would in no wise hear him; whereupon the doctor was contentedly silent. Some discourses rather than disputes passed betwixt Dr. Stewart and Mr. Marshall, leaving no great impressions in the memories of those that were present thereat.

Only Mr. Vines was much applauded by his own party, for proving the sufficiency of ordination by presbyters; because ministers made by presbyterian government in France and the Low Countries were owned and acknowledged by our bishops for lawfully ordained for all intents and purposes, both to preach and sacramentize, and no re-ordination required of them. Thus, the goodness of bishops, in their charity to others, was made use of against themselves, and the necessity of the episcopal function.

66, 67. *Books made by the Assembly. The Assembly rather sinketh than endeth.*

To return to the Assembly: The monuments which they have left to posterity of their meeting are chiefly these: Articles of Religion drawn up by them; and a double Catechism, one the lesser, the other the greater, whereof at first very few were printed for parliament-men, meaner folk not attaining so great a treasure; beside their Directory; whereof hereafter.

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 631.—Edit.

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As for the conclusion of this Assembly, it dwindled away by degrees, though never legally dissolved; many of them, after the taking of Oxford, returning to their own cures; and others, living in London, absented themselves, as disliking the managing of matters. Such as remained, having survived their great respect, and being too few to maintain the dignity of an Assembly, contented themselves with the notion of a Committee, chiefly employed to examine *their* abilities and good affections *who* were presented to livings; till at last, as in philosophy *accidentia non corrumpuntur sed desinunt*, they vanish with the parliament. And now the execution of the archbishop of Canterbury comes next under our pen; whose trial, being most of civil concernment, is so largely done in a book of that subject, that by us it may be justly omitted.

68—70. *The Archbishop prepares for Death, and preacheth his own Funeral Sermon. Questioned about the Assurance of his Salvation, and dieth. A.D.* 1645.

Next followed the execution of the archbishop of Canterbury, June 10th; Sheriff Chambers, of London, bringing over-night the warrant for the same, and acquainting him therewith. In preparation to so sad a work, he betook himself to his own, and desired also the prayers of others, and particularly of Dr. Holdsworth, fellow-prisoner in that place for a year and half; though all that time there had not been the least converse betwixt them. On the morrow he was brought out of the Tower to the scaffold, which he ascended with a cheerful countenance, (as rather to gain a crown, than lose a head,)* imputed by his friends to the *clearedness*—by his foes to the *searedness*—of his conscience. The beholders that day were so divided betwixt bemoaners and insulters, it was hard to decide which of them made up the major part of the company.

He made a sermon-speech, taking for his text the two first verses of the twelfth chapter of the epistle to the Hebrews: "Let us run with patience the race which is set before us; looking unto Jesus the Author and Finisher of our faith, who, for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God." Craving leave to make use of his notes, (for the infirmity of his aged memory,) he dilated thereon about half an hour; which discourse, because common, (as publicly printed,) we here forbear to insert. For the matter, he protested his own innocence and integrity, as never intending any subversion of laws and liberty, no enemy to parliaments, (though a misliker of some miscarriages,) and a protestant in doctrine and discipline, according to the established laws of the land. Speech ended, he

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 641.—EDIT.

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betook himself awhile to his prayers, and afterwards prepared himself for the fatal stroke.

Sir John Clotworthy, a member of the House of Commons, being present, interrogated him concerning his assurance of salvation, and whereon the same was grounded. Some censured this interruption for uncivil and unseasonable, as intended to ruffle his soul with passion, just as he was fairly folding it up, to deliver it into the hands of his Redeemer. But the archbishop calmly returned, that his assurance was evidenced unto him by that inward comfort which he found in his own soul. Then lying down on the block, and praying, "Lord, receive my soul!" the executioner dexterously did his office, and at one blow severed his head from his body. Instantly his face (*ruddy* in the last moment) turned *white as ashes*; confuting their falsehoods who gave it out, that he had purposely painted it, to fortify his cheeks against discovery of fear in the paleness of his complexion. His corpse was privately interred in the church of Allhallows Barking without any solemnity, save that some will say, *He* had (in those days) a fair funeral, *who* had the Common-Prayer read thereat.

71—84. *His Birth in Reading, Breeding in Oxford. He chargeth through all Church-Preferments. Charged unjustly to be a Papist; yet endeavouring a Reconciliation betwixt Rome and England; over-severe in his Censures; over-meddling in State-Matters; conscientious in keeping a Diary; temperate and chaste; an Enemy to Gallantry in Clergymen's Clothes; not partial to his Kindred; no Whit addicted to Covetousness. The grand Causer of the Repairing of Churches, principally of St. Paul's; his personal Character.*

He was born *anno* 1573, of honest parents, at Reading in Berkshire; a place, for the position thereof, almost equally distanced from Oxford, the scene of his breeding, and London, the principal stage of his preferment. His mother was sister to sir William Webb, (born also at Reading,) salter, and, *anno* 1591, lord mayor of London. Here the archbishop afterwards built an almshouse, and endowed it with two hundred pounds *per annum*, as appeareth by his own diary; which, if evidence against him for his faults, may be used as a witness of his good works.* Hence was he sent to St. John's-College in Oxford, where he attained to such eminency of learning, that one since hath ranked him amongst the greatest scholars of our nation.† He afterwards married Charles Blount, earl of Devonshire, to the lady Rich; which proved (if intended an advantage under his feet, to make him

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," pp. 632, 641.—EDIT.

† DR. HEYLIN in his last edition of his "Microcosm."

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higher in the notice of the world) a covering to his face, and was often cast a rub in his way, when running in his full speed to preferment, till, after some difficulty, his greatness at the last made a shift to stride over it.

In some sort he may be said to have served in all offices in the church, from a common soldier, to a kind of general therein. There was neither order, office, degree, nor dignity in college, church, or university, but he passed through it.

(1.) ORDER: Deacon, Priest, Bishop, Archbishop.

(2.) OFFICE: Scholar, Fellow, President, of St. John's-College; Proctor and Chancellor of Oxford.

(3.) DEGREE: Bachelor and Master of Arts, Bachelor and Doctor of Divinity.

(4.) DIGNITY: Vicar of Stanford, Parson of Ibstock, Prebendary of Westminster, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, Dean of Gloucester, Bishop of St. David's in Wales, Bath and Wells, and London, in England, and, finally, Archbishop of Canterbury.

It was said of Dr. George Abbot, his predecessor, that he suddenly started to be a bishop, without ever having a pastoral charge; whereas this man was a great traveller in all climates of church-preferment, sufficient to acquaint him with an experimental knowledge of the conditions of all such persons who at last were subjected to his authority.*

He is generally charged with popish inclinations; and the story is commonly told and believed of a lady, (still alive,) who, turning papist, and being demanded of the archbishop the cause of her changing her religion, tartly returned, "My lord, it was because I ever hated a crowd." And being desired to explain her meaning herein, "I perceived," said she, "that your lordship and many others are making for Rome as fast as ye can, and therefore, to prevent a press, I went before you."† Be the tale true or false, take

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 641.—EDIT.

† In his *Examen Historicum*, Heylin is extremely indignant against Fuller for relating this story; but the latter confirms his account by the following fact: "This sarcasm was put upon him by a lady now living in London, and a countess; whose husband's father [Charles Blount, created earl of Devon] the archbishop married, and thereby brought much trouble and molestation to himself. No Œdipus needeth to unriddle the person, easily spelled by putting the premisses together." In endeavouring to throw discredit on common fame and report, Heylin proceeded to retaliate, by a tale concerning a person of the name of FULLER, which, on account of the native facetiousness of our author, was by many of his contemporaries erroneously applied to him, though the grossness of the chief allusion in it obviously accords with an age anterior to that of Charles I. "I have heard," says Heylin, "a tale of a lady too, to whose table one Mr. Fuller was a welcome though a frequent guest; and being once asked by her *whether he would please to eat the wing of a woodcock*, he would needs put her to the question, *how her ladyship knew it was a wood*-COCK, *and not a wood*-HEN. And this he pressed with such a troublesome importunity, that at last the lady answered, with some show of displeasure, that the wood-*cock*

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"Papist" for a *Trent-Papist*, embracing all the decisions of that Council, and surely this archbishop would have been made fuel for the fire before ever of that persuasion: witness his book against Fisher, wherein he giveth no less account of his sincerity than ability to defend the most dominative points wherein we and the papists dissent.

However, most apparent it is by several passages in his life, that he endeavoured to take up many controversies betwixt us and the church of Rome,* so to compromise the difference, and to bring us to a vicinity, if not contiguity therewith;—an impossible design, (if granted lawful,) as some, every way his equals, did adjudge. For composition is impossible with such who will not agree except all they sue for, and all the charges of their suit, be to the utmost farthing awarded unto them. Our reconciliation with Rome is clogged with the same impossibilities: she may *be gone to*, but will never *be met with*; such her pride or peevishness as not to stir a step to obviate any of a different religion. Rome will never so far un-pope itself as to part with her pretended supremacy and infallibilty, which cuts off all possibility of protestants' treaty with her; if possibly, without prejudice to God's glory and the truth, other controversies might be composed: which done, England would have been an island as well in religion as situation, cut off from the continent of foreign protestant churches, in a singular posture by itself, hard to be imagined, but harder to be effected.

Amongst his human frailties, choler and passion most discovered itself. In the Star-chamber, (where, if the crime not extraordinary, it was fine enough for one to be sued in so chargeable a court,) he was observed always to concur with the severest side, and to infuse more vinegar than oil into all his censures; and also was much blamed for his severity to his predecessor,—easing him against his will, and before his time, of his jurisdiction.

But he is most accused for over-meddling in state-matters; more than was fitting, say many, than needful, say most, for one of his profession. But he never more overshot himself than when he did impose the Scotch Liturgy, and was ἀλλοτριο-αρχιεπίσκοπος over a free and foreign church and nation.† At home, many grumbled at

was *Fuller*-headed, *Fuller*-breasted, *Fuller*-thighed, and, in a word, every way *Fuller*. Whether this tale be true or false, I am not able to say; but *being generally believed*, I have set it down also." Part of Fuller's reply, in his "Appeal of injured Innocence," (p. 634,) is, "My tale was *true* and *new*, never printed before; whereas his is *old* (made, it seems, on one of my name, printed before I was born) and *false*, never by man or woman retorted on me. I had rather my name should make many causelessly merry, than any justly sad; and seeing it lieth equally open and obvious to praise and dispraise, I shall as little be elated when flattered—'*Fuller* of wit and learning,' as dejected when flouted—'*Fuller* of folly and ignorance.'"—EDIT.

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," pp. 635—637.—EDIT. † *Idem*, p. 640.—EDIT.

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him for oft making the shallowest pretence of the crown deep enough (by his powerful digging therein) to drown the undoubted right of any private patron to a church-living. But courtiers most complained that he persecuted them, not in their proper places, but —what in an ordinary way he should have taken from the hands of inferior officers—that he, with a long and strong arm, reached to himself over all their heads. Yet others plead for him, that he abridged their bribes, not fees, and it vexed them that he struck their fingers with the dead palsy, so that they could not (as formerly) have a *feeling* for church-preferments.

He was conscientious, according to the principles of his devotion: witness his care in keeping a constant Diary of the passages in his life. Now, *he* can hardly be an ill husband *who* casteth up his receipts and expenses every night; and such a soul is or would be good, which enters into a daily scrutiny of his own actions. But such who commend him in making, condemn him in keeping, such a Diary about him in so dangerous days. Especially he ought to untongue it from talking to his prejudice, and should have garbled some light, trivial, and joculary passages out of the same. Whereas, sure, the omission hereof argued not his carelessness, but confidence, that such his privacies should meet with that favour, of course, which in equity is due to writings of that nature.

He was temperate in his diet, and (which may be presumed the effect thereof) chaste in his conversation.* Indeed, in his Diary, he confessed himself lapsed into some special sin with E. B., for which he kept an anniversary humiliation. Indeed his adversary † makes this note thereon, "Perchance he was unclean with E. B.;" which is but an uncharitable suspicion. Now, an exact Diary is a window into his heart who maketh it; and, therefore, pity it is any should look therein, but either the friends of the party, or such ingenuous foes as will not (especially in things doubtful) make conjectural comments to his disgrace. But, be E. B. male or female, and the sin committed of what kind soever, his fault whispers not so much to his shame, as his solemn repentance sounds to his commendation.

He was very plain in apparel, and sharply checked such clergymen whom he saw go in rich or gaudy clothes, commonly calling them of the church-triumphant. Thus, as Cardinal Wolsey is reported the first prelate who made silks and satins fashionable amongst clergymen; so this archbishop first retrenched the usual wearing thereof. Once, at a Visitation in Essex, one in Orders (of good estate and extraction) appeared before him very gallant in habit; whom Dr. Laud, then bishop of London, publicly reproved, showing to him

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," pp. 632, 641.—EDIT. † MR. PRYNNE in "the Breviate of his Life," p. 30.

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the plainness of his own apparel. "My lord," said the minister, "you have better clothes at home, and I have worse:" whereat the bishop rested very well contented.

He was not partial in preferring his kindred, except some merit met in them with his alliance. I knew a near kinsman of his in the university, scholar enough, but somewhat wild and lazy, on whom it was late before he reflected with favour, and that not before his amendment. And generally persons promoted by him were men of learning and abilities, though many of them Arminians in their judgments; and I believe they will not be offended with my reporting it, seeing most of them will endeavour to justify and avouch their opinions herein.

Covetousness he perfectly hated. Being a single man, and having no project to raise a name or family, he was the better enabled for public performances, having both a price in his hand, and a heart also to dispose thereof for the general good.* St. John's in Oxford, wherein he was bred, was so beautified, enlarged, and enriched by him, that strangers, at the first sight, knew it not; yea, it scarce knoweth itself, so altered to the better from its former condition; insomuch that almost it deserveth the name of Canterbury-College, as well as that which Simon Islip founded, and since hath lost its name, united to Christ-Church. More buildings he intended, (had not the stroke of one axe hindered the working of many hammers,) chiefly on churches, whereof the following passage may not impertinently be inserted.

It happened that a Visitation was kept at St. Peter's in Cornhill, for the clergy of London. The preacher, discoursing of the painfulness of the ministerial function, proved it from the Greek deduction of Διάκονος or "Deacon," so called from κόνις "dust," because he must *laborare in arenâ, in pulvere*, "work in the dust," do hard service in hot weather. Sermon ended, bishop Laud proceeded to his Charge to the Clergy, and observing the church ill-repaired without, and slovenly kept within, "I am sorry," said he, "to meet here with so true an etymology of *Diaconus*, for here is both dust and dirt too, for a deacon (or priest either) to work in. Yea, it is dust of the worst kind, caused from the ruins of this ancient house of God; so that it pitieth his servants to see her in the dust," Psalm cii. 14. Hence he took occasion to press the repairing of that and other decayed places of Divine worship; so that from this day we may date the general mending, beautifying, and adorning of all English churches, some to decency, some to magnificence, and some (if all complaints were true) to superstition.

But the church of St. Paul's, the only cathedral in Christendom

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 641.—EDIT.

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dedicated to that apostle, was the master-piece of his performances. We know what one satirically said of him, that "he plucked down Puritans and property, to build up Paul's and prerogative." * But let unpartial judges behold how he left—and remember how he found—that ruinous fabric; and they must conclude, that, though intending more, he effected much, in that great design. He communicated his project to some private persons, of taking down the great tower in the middle to the spurs, and rebuilding it in the same fashion (but some yards higher) as before. He meant to hang as great and tunable a ring of bells, as any in the world, whose sound, advantaged with their height and vicinity of the Thames, must needs be loud and melodious. But, now he "is turned to his dust," and all "his thoughts have perished;" yea, that church, formerly approached with due reverence, is now entered with just fear—of falling on those under it; and is so far from having its old decays repaired, that it is daily decayed in its new reparations.

He was low of stature, little in bulk, cheerful in countenance, (wherein gravity and quickness were well compounded,) of a sharp and piercing eye, clear judgment, and, abating the influence of age, firm memory.† He wore his hair very close; and though, in the beginning of his greatness, many measured the length of men's strictness by the shortness of their hair, yet some will say, that since, out of antipathy to conform to his example, his opposites have therein indulged more liberty to themselves. And thus we take our leave of him, whose estate (neither so great as to be envied at, nor so small as to be complained of) he left to his heir and sister's son, Mr. John Robinson, merchant of London,—though fain first to compound with the Parliament before he could peaceably enjoy the same.

85—92. *The Birth and Breeding of Mr. Dod. One peaceable in our Israel. Improveth all to Piety. Youth will away. God seen at the first Hand in Nature, but at the second in Art. An innocent Deceiver. Excellent Hebrician. Farewell, old Puritan.*

The same year with this archbishop, died another divine, (though of a different judgment,) no less esteemed amongst men of his own persuasion; namely, Mr. John Dod, who, in the midst of troublesome times, quietly withdrew himself to heaven. He was born at Shotledge in Cheshire, the youngest of seventeen children; bred in Jesus-College in Cambridge. At a disputation at one Commencement he was so facetiously solid, (wild yet sweet fruits, which the stock brought forth before grafted with grace,) that Oxford-men, there present, courted him home with them, and would have planted him in their university, save that he declined it.

* Lord F. † See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 641.—EDIT.

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He was a passive nonconformist, not loving any one the worse for difference in judgment about ceremonies, but all the better for their unity of affections in grace and goodness. He used to retrench some hot spirits when inveighing against bishops, telling them how God under that government had given a marvellous increase to the gospel; and that godly men might comfortably comport therewith, under which learning and religion had so manifest an improvement. He was a good Decalogist, and is conceived, to his dying day, (how roughly soever used by the opposite party,) to stick to his own judgment of what he had written on the fifth commandment, *of obedience to lawful authority.*

Some riotous gentlemen, casually coming to the table of sir Anthony Cope, in Hanwell, were half-starved in the midst of a feast, because refraining from swearing (meat and drink to them!) in the presence of Mr. Dod; of these one after dinner ingenuously professed, that he thought it had been impossible for himself to forbear oaths so long a time. Hereat Mr. Dod (the flame of whose zeal turned all accidents into fuel) fell into a pertinent and seasonable discourse (as better at occasionals) of what power men have, more than they know of themselves, to refrain from sin, and how active God's restraining grace would be in us to bridle us from wickedness, were we not wanting to ourselves.

Being stricken in years, he used to compare himself to Samson when his hair was cut off. "I rise," saith he, "in a morning as Samson did, and think, I will go out as at other times, go, watch, walk, work, study, ride, as when a young man. But, alas! he quickly found an alteration; and so do I, who must stoop to age, which hath clipped my hair and taken my strength away," Judges xvi. 20.

Being at Holdenby, and invited by an honourable person to see that stately house built by sir Christopher Hatton, the master-piece of English architecture in that age, he desired to be excused, and to sit still looking on a flower which he had in his hand. "In this flower," saith he, "I can see more of God than in all the beautiful buildings in the world." And at this day, as his flower is long since withered, that magnificent pile, that fair flower of art, is altogether blasted and destroyed.

It is reported, he was but coarsely used of the Cavaliers; who, they say, plundered him of his linen and household-stuff,* though, as some tell me, if so disposed, he might have redeemed all for a very small matter. However, the good man still remembered his old maxim,—"Sanctified afflictions are good promotions:" and I have been credibly informed, that, when the soldiers brought down his sheets out of the chamber into the room where Mr. Dod sat by the

* In a list written by Mr. Clark.

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fire-side; he, in their absence to search after more, took one pair and clapped them under his cushion whereon he sat, much pleasing himself after their departure that he had, as he said, plundered the plunderers, and by a lawful felony saved so much of his own to himself.

He was an excellent scholar, and was as causelessly accused, as another John of his name, (Mr. John Fox, I mean,) for lacking of Latin. He was also an exquisite Hebrician; and, with his society and directions, in one vacation, taught that tongue unto Mr. John Gregory, that rare linguist, and chaplain of Christ's-Church, who survived him but one year; * and now they both together praise God in that language which glorified saints and angels use in heaven.

He was buried at Fauseley in Northamptonshire, with whom the Old Puritan may seem to expire, and in his grave to be interred; humble, meek, patient, hospitable, charitable as in his censures of—so in his alms to—others. Would I could truly say but half so much of the next generation!

SECTION VI.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL ROGER PRICE, ESQUIRE, HIGH SHERIFF OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

SEAMEN observe, that the water is the more troubled the nearer they draw-on to the land, because broken by repercussion from the shore. I am sensible of the same danger the nearer I approach our times, and the end of this History.

Yet fear not, sir, that the least wrong may redound to you, by my indiscretion in the writing hereof; desiring you only to patronize what is acceptable therein, and what shall appear otherwise is left on my account to answer for the same.

1—8. *The Directory drawn up by the Assembly; to which the Dissenting Brethren at last assent. A discreet and charitable Preface. The Directory enforced by Ordinance of Parliament. A good Price, if well paid. A second Ordinance, to back the former. The King's Proclamation contrary to the Parliament's Ordinance. Arguments pro and con to the Directory.*

YOU may know, that, amongst the most remarkables effected by the Assembly of Divines, the compiling of "the Directory" was

* Dying at Kidlington, March 13th, 1646, and was buried in Christ-Church, Oxford.

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one; which although composed in the former year, yet, because not as yet meeting with universal obedience, it will be seasonable enough now to enter on the consideration thereof. The Parliament intending to abolish the Liturgy, and loath to leave the land altogether at a loss, or deformity in public service, employed the Assembly in drawing up a model of Divine worship. Herein no direct form of prayer, *verbis conceptis*, was prescribed, no outward or bodily worship enjoined, nor people required in the Responsals, more than in Amen, to bear a part in the service; but all was left to the discretion of the minister, not enjoined what—but directed to what purpose—he ought to order his devotions, in public prayer and administering sacraments.

"The Dissenting Brethren," commonly called "Independents," were hardly persuaded to consent to a Directory. Even *libera custodia*, though it be the best of restraints, is but a restraint; and they suspected such a Directory would, if enforced, be an infringing of the Christian liberty. However, they consented at last, the rather because a preface was prefixed before it, which did much moderate the matter, and mitigate the rigorous imposition thereof.

In this preface, respectful terms are (no less discreetly than charitably) afforded to the first compilers of the Liturgy, allowing them "wise and pious, in redressing many things which were vain, erroneous, superstitious, and idolatrous;" affirming also that many godly and learned men of that age "rejoiced much in the Liturgy at that time set forth;" but adding, withal, that they would rejoice more, had it been their happiness to behold this present Reformation; they themselves were persuaded, that these first Reformers (were they now alive) would join with them in this work of advancing the Directory.

The Assembly-work of the Directory thus ended, the Lords and Commons began therewith, prefixing an Ordinance thereunto, (made much up of forms of repeal,) laying down the motives inclining them to think the abolishing of the Common-Prayer and establishment of this Directory necessary for this nation. First. The consideration of the many inconveniences risen by that book in this kingdom. Secondly. Their Covenant-Resolution to reform religion according to God's word and the best Reformed churches. Thirdly. Their consulting with the learned, pious, and reverend divines for that purpose.

The benefit of printing the Directory was bestowed on Mr. Roborough and Mr. Byfield, Scribes to the Assembly; who are said to have sold the same for some hundreds of pounds. Surely, the stationer who bought it did not, with the dishonest chapman, first decry the worth thereof, and then boast of his pennyworth, Proverbs xx. 14. If since he hath proved a loser thereby, I am confident,

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that they who sold it him carried such a chancery in their bosoms as to make him fair satisfaction.

Now, because it was hard to turn people out of their old track, and put them from a beaten path, (such was, call it constancy or obstinacy, love or doting, of the generality of the nation, on the Common-Prayer,) the Parliament found it fit, yea, necessary, to back their former Ordinance with a second,* dated twenty-third of August, 1645, and entitled "An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons, for the more effectual putting in execution the Directory," &c. Wherein Directions were not only given for the dispersing and publishing of the Directory, in all parishes, chapelries, and donatives, but also for the calling-in and suppressing of all Books of Common-Prayer, and several forfeitures and penalties to be levied and imposed upon conviction before Justices of Assize, or of Oyer and Terminer, &c.

But, in opposition hereunto, the king at Oxford set forth a proclamation, (bearing date the thirteenth of November, 1645,) enjoining the use of "Common-Prayer according to the law, notwithstanding the pretended Ordinances for the new Directory." Thus, as the waves, commanded one way by the tide, and countermanded another with the wind, know not which to obey; so people stood amused betwixt these two forms of service; "line upon line, precept upon precept," Isaiah xxviii. 10, being the easiest way to edify; whilst line against line, precept against precept, did much disturb and distract.

The King and Parliament being thus at difference, no wonder if the pens of the chaplains followed their patrons, and engaged violently *pro* and *con* in the controversy. I presume it will be lawful and safe for me to give-in a breviate of the arguments on both sides, reserving my private opinion to myself, as not worthy the reader's taking notice thereof; for as it hath been permitted in the height and heat of our civil war, for trumpeters and messengers to have fair and free passage on both sides, pleading the privilege of the public faith; (provided they do not interest themselves like parties, and as spies forfeit their protection, so subjecting themselves justly to the severest punishment;) so historians, in like manner, in all ages have been permitted to transmit to posterity an unpartial account of actions, preserving themselves neuters in their indifferent relations.

AGAINST THE LITURGY.

(1.) SAD experience hath made it manifest that the Liturgy used in England, notwithstanding the

FOR THE LITURGY.

SUCH offence, if any, was taken, not given; and they must be irreligious mistakes which stand

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 642.—EDIT.

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religious intentions of the compilers thereof, hath proved an offence to many godly people.

(2.) Offence thereby hath also been given to the Reformed churches abroad.

(3.) Mr. Calvin himself disliked the Liturgy, in his letter to the Lord Protector; charitably calling many things therein *tolerabiles ineptias.*

(4.) The Liturgy is no better than confining of the Spirit; tying it to such and such words, which is to be left alone to its own liberty; "use praying and have praying;" the extemporary gift is improved by the practice thereof.

(5.) It being a compliant with the papists, in a great part of their service, doth not a little confirm them in their superstition and idolatry.

(6.) It is found by experience that the Liturgy hath been a great means to make an idle and an unedifying ministry.

in opposition to such religious intentions.

No foreign church ever in print expressed any such offence; and if some particular man have disliked it, as many and as eminent have manifested their approbation thereof.

Mr. Calvin is but one man. Besides, he spake against the first draught of the Liturgy, *anno primo* of king Edward VI.; which afterwards was reviewed in that king's reign, and again in the first of queen Elizabeth.

The same charge lieth against the Directory, appointing, though not the words to be prayed with, the matter to be prayed for. Poor liberty to leave the Spirit, only to supply the place of a vocabulary, or a *copia verborum!* And seeing sense is more considerable than language, the prescribing thereof restraineth the Spirit as much as appointing the words of a prayer.

It complieth with the papists in what they have retained of antiquity, and not what they have superadded of idolatry; and therefore more probably may be a means of converting them to our religion, when they perceive us not possessed with a spirit of opposition unto them, in such things wherein they close with the primitive times.

The users of the Liturgy have also laboured in preaching, catechising, and study of divine learning. Nor doth the Directory secure any from laziness; seeing

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(7.) It is tedious to the people, with the unnecessary length; taking up an hour, at least, in the large and distinct reading thereof.

(8.) Many ceremonies, not only unprofitable, but burdensome, are therein imposed on people's consciences.

(9.) Divers able and faithful ministers have, by the means of the Liturgy, been debarred the exercise of their ministry, and spoiled of their livelihood, to the undoing of them and their family.

nothing but lungs and sides may be used in the delivery of any extemporary prayer.

Some observers of the Directory, to procure to their parts and persons the repute of ability and piety, have spent as much time in their extemporary devotions.

This is disproved by such who have written volumes in the vindication thereof. But, grant it true; not a total absolution, but a reformation thereof, may hence be inferred.

The Directory, if enforced to subject the refusers to penalties, may spoil as many, and as well-deserving of their ministry and livelihood.

Such as desire to read deeper in this controversy, may have their recourse to the manifold tractates written on this subject.

9—11. *A Query for Conscience' sake. A Word in due Season. A Farewell to the Subject.*

But, leaving these disquiets, the Common-Prayer daily decreased, and Directory by the power of Parliament was advanced. Here some would fain be satisfied, whether the abolishing of the main body of the Common-Prayer extendeth to the prohibition of every expression therein; I mean not such which are the numerical words of scripture, (whereof no question,) but other ancient passages, which, in the primitive times, were laudably (not to say necessarily) put in practice.

I know a minister who was accused for using the *Gloria Patri*, (conforming his practice to the Directory in all things else,) and threatened to be brought before the Committee. He pleaded the words of Mr. Cartwright in his defence, confessing the *Gloria Patri* founded on just cause, that men might make their open profession in the church of the Divinity of the Son of God, against the detestable opinion of Arius and his disciples. "But now," saith he, "that it hath pleased the Lord to quench that fire, there is no such cause why those things should be used."* "But seeing," said the

* His Reply against Whitgift, p. 107, sect. 4.

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minister, "it hath pleased God for our sins to condemn us to live in so licentious an age, wherein the Divinity both of Christ and the Holy Ghost is called frequently and publicly into question, the same now, by Mr. Cartwright's judgment, may lawfully be used, not to say can[not] well be omitted." I remember not that he heard any more of the matter.

It is now high time to take our farewell of this tedious subject, and leave the issue thereof to the observation of posterity. The best demonstration to prove whether Daniel and his fellows (the children of the captivity) should thrive better by plain pulse, (to which formerly they had been used,) or the new diet of diverse and dainty dishes, was even to put it to the trial of some days' experiment, Daniel i. 13, and then a survey taken of their complexions, whether they be impaired or not; so when the Directory hath been practised in England ninety years, (the world lasting so long,) as the Liturgy hath been, then posterity will be the competent judge whether the face of religion had the more lively, healthful, and cheerful looks under the one, or under the other.

12—16. *Archbishop Williams strangely altered; born in Wales, of good Parentage; bred in St. John's, and Proctor of Cambridge. The Lord Egerton's Boon to this his Chaplain, the Means of his speedy and great Preferment.*

The next news, engrossing the talk of all tongues, was about Dr. Williams, archbishop of York, no less suddenly than strangely metamorphosed from a zealous royalist into an active parliamentarian. Being to relate the occasion thereof, we will enter on the brief history of his life, from the cradle to the grave, repeating nothing formerly written, but only adding thereunto.

None can question the gentility of his extraction, finding him born at Aberconway, in Carnarvonshire in Wales; of a family rather ancient than rich. His grandfather had a good estate, but aliened (it seems) by his heirs; so that this doctor, when lord-keeper, was fain to repurchase it. Surely, it was of a considerable value, because he complaineth in his letter to the duke,* (who encouraged him to the purchase,) that he was forced to borrow money, and stood indebted for the same.

He was bred in St. John's-College in Cambridge, to hold the scales even with St. John's in Oxford, wherein archbishop Laud had his education. Dr. Gwinne was his tutor; his chiefest, if not his only, eminency, and afterwards the occasion of his preferment. For as this tutor made his pupil Fellow—this pupil made the tutor Master—of the college. Next was Mr. Williams made proctor

* "Cabala."

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of the university, excellently performing his Acts for the place in so stately a posture, as rather out of duty, thereby to honour his mother university, than desire to credit himself, as taking it only in his passage to a higher employment.

He was chaplain (or counsellor, shall I say?) to Thomas Egerton, lord chancellor; who imparted many mysteries of that place unto him. Here an able teacher of state met with as apt a scholar,—the one not more free in pouring forth, than the other capable to receive, firm to retain, and active to improve, what was infused into him. So dear was this doctor to his patron, that this lord, dying, on his death-bed desired him to choose what most acceptable legacy he should bequeath unto him. Dr. Williams, waving and slighting all money, requested four books, being the collections of the lord's industry, learning, and experience, concerning,—(1.) The Prerogative Royal. (2.) Privileges of Parliaments. (3.) The proceedings in Chancery. (4.) The power of the Star-chamber. These were no sooner asked than granted; and the doctor afterwards copied out these four books into his own brains: books, which were the four elements of our English state, and he made an absolute master of all the materials, that is, of all the passages therein, seeing nothing superfluous was therein recorded.

By the duke of Buckingham, (whom he had married to the daughter of the earl of Rutland,) he presented these books to king James. Then did his Majesty first take notice of his extraordinary abilities, soon after preferring him, by the duke's mediation, to the deanery of Westminster, bishop of Lincoln, and keeper's place of the Great Seal, till he lost the last in the first of king Charles, as hath formerly been related.

17—32. *The original Breach betwixt the Duke and Lord-Keeper; not contented with his own Wish; enlarged out of the Tower, and made Archbishop of York. His pleasant Answer to the King. Retires into North Wales, and sinks by Degrees into Disfavour. Incensed with great Affronts. Takes a Commission from the Parliament. Condemned by all Royalists. Human Inconstancy. His Acts of Charity. Purged from unjust Aspersion. A perfect Anti-Papist. Favourer of some Nonconformists. The Character of his Person. His savoury Speech. His Death on our Lady-day.*

I dare confidently avouch, what I knowingly speak, that the following passage was the *motus primò primus* of the breach betwixt him and the duke. There was one Dr. Theodore Price, a Welshman, highly beloved both by bishop Williams and bishop Laud; so that therein the rule did not hold, "Those that agree in one third

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agree among themselves;" these two prelates, mutually mortal enemies, meeting in the love of this doctor. Now, the archbishopric of Armagh in Ireland falling vacant, bishop Williams moved the duke for Dr. Price, his countryman; to whom the duke answered, that king James had by promise fore-disposed the place on the bishop of Meath, Dr. James Usher, one whose deserts were sufficiently known. Not satisfied herewith, bishop Williams by his own interest endeavoured to bring Dr. Price into the place. The duke, understanding that he who formerly professed a subordination to, at the least a concurrence with, his desires, should now offer to contest with him, resolved, that seeing the lord keeper would not own himself to stand by his love, the world should see he should fall by his anger; and this ministered the first occasion to his ruin. And when once the alarum was sounded of the duke's displeasure, no courtier so deaf and drowsy but did take the same, and all things concurred to his disadvantage. This is that Dr. Theodore Price who afterwards died a professed catholic, reconciled to the church of Rome.*

Yet after his resigning the Seal, fair preferment was left unto him, could he have confined his large heart thereunto. I meet with a passage in a letter from this lord keeper to the duke, wherein† he professeth, calling God to witness, that the lord keeper, troubled with many miseries wherewith sudden greatness is accompanied, envied the fortunes of one Dr. Williams, late dean of Westminster. Be this a truth or a compliment, what he formerly envied now he enjoyed, returned to a plentiful privacy; not only of the deanery of Westminster, but bishopric of Lincoln, which he held with the same. But, alas! when our desires are forced on us by our foes, they do not delight but afflict. The same step is not the same step, when we take it *ascendendo* in hopes to higher preferment, and when we light upon it *descendendo*, or are remitted unto it as falling from higher advancement. The bishop was impatient for being less than he had been; and there wanted not those secret enemies to improve his discontents to his disgrace, almost destruction, as fining in the Star-chamber, and long imprisoning in the Tower.

Now (A.D. 1640) came that Parliament so much wished-for, that many feared it would never begin, and afterwards (O the mutability of desires, or change of things desired!) the same feared it would never have an end. Then is bishop Williams sent for out of the Tower, brought to parliament, advanced to the archbishopric of York, and is the *antesignanus* of the episcopal party, to defend it in the House of Lords (as best-armed with his power and experience) against a volley of affronts and oppositions.

Once when his Majesty saw him earnest in the defence of epis-

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 656.—EDIT. † "Cabala, or *Scrinia Sacra*," part 1. p. 59.

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copacy, then opposed by parliament, "My lord," said the king, "I commend you that you are no whit daunted with all disasters, but are zealous in defending your Order." "Please it your Majesty," returned the archbishop, "I am a true Welshman; and they are observed never to run away, till their general do first forsake them. No fear of my flinching whilst your Highness doth countenance our cause." But soon after he was imprisoned about the bishops' protestation to the parliament, and with great difficulty obtained his liberty; as was afore observed.

Retiring himself into North Wales, (where his birth, estate, alliance, but chiefly hospitality, did make him popular,) he had a great—but endeavoured a greater—influence on those parts. It gave some distaste, that in all consultations he would have his advice pass for an oracle, not to be contested with, much less controlled by any. But vast the difference betwixt his Orders in Chancery, armed with power to enforce obedience, and his counsel here, which many military men (as in their own element) took the boldness to contradict; buff coats often rubbed and grated against this prelate's silk cassock, which (because of the softer matter) was the sooner fretted therewith. Indeed, he endeavoured as much as might be to preserve his country from taxes,—an acceptable and ingratiating design with the people, but sometimes inconsistent with the king's present and pressing necessities. All his words and deeds are represented at Oxford (where his court-interest did daily decline) to his disadvantage, and some jealousies are raised of his cordialness to the royal cause.

At last some great affronts were put upon him, (increased with his tender resenting of them,) being himself, as I have been informed, put out of Commission, and another placed in his room: a disgrace so much the more insupportable to his high spirit, because he conceived himself much meriting of his Majesty, by his loyalty, industry, ability, and expense in his cause, who hitherto had spared neither care nor cost in advancing the same, even to the impairing of his own estate.

But now he entereth on a design, which had I line and plummet, I want skill to manage them in measuring the depth thereof. He sueth to the parliament for favour, and obtained it; whose general in a manner he becomes in laying siege to the town and castle of Aberconway, till he had reduced it to their service, and much of the town to his own possession.*

And now *meruit sub parliamento in Wallia* is the wonder of all men. I confess he told his kinsman, (who related it to me,) that if he might have the convenience to speak with his Majesty but one half-hour, (a small time for so great a task,) he doubted not but to

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 651.—EDIT.

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give him full satisfaction for his behaviour. Sure it is, those of the royal party, and his own Order, who could not mine into his invisible motives, but surveyed only the sad surface of his actions, condemn the same as irreconcilable with the principles he professed. And though hereby he escaped a composition for his estate in Goldsmiths' Hall, yet his memory is still to compound (and at what rate I know not) with many mouths, before a good word can be afforded unto it. But these, perchance, have never read the well-Latined "Apology" in his behalf. And although some will say, that they that need an apology come too near to fault, the word (as commonly taken) sounding more of excuse than defence; yet, surely, in its genuine notation it speaks, not guilt, but always greatness of enemies and opposers.

Of all English divines since the Reformation, he might make the most experimental sermon on the apostle's words, "By honour and dishonour, by ill report and good report;" though the method not so applicable as the matter unto him, who did not close and conclude with the general good esteem, losing by his last compliance his old friends at Oxford, and, in lieu of them, finding few new ones at London.

Envy itself cannot deny, but that, whithersoever he went, he might be traced by the footsteps of his benefaction. Much he expended on the repair of Westminster-Abbey church;* and his answer is generally known, when pressed by bishop Laud to a larger contribution to St. Paul's, that he would not rob Peter to pay Paul. The library of Westminster was the effect of his bounty; and so was a chapel in Lincoln-College in Oxford, having no other relation thereunto than as the namesake of his bishopric:† so small an invitation will serve to call a coming charity! At St. John's in Cambridge he founded two fellowships, built a fair library, and furnished it with books; intending more, had his bounty then met with proportionable entertainment. But benefactors may give money, but not grateful minds, to such as receive it.

He was very chaste in his conversation,‡ whatsoever a nameless author hath written on the contrary: whom his confuter hath styled, *aulicus e coquinariâ*, or "the courtier out of the kitchen," and that deservedly for his unworthy writings, out of what dripping-pan soever he licked this his sluttish intelligence. For most true it is, (as I am certainly informed from such who knew the privacies and casualties of his infancy,) this archbishop was but one degree removed from a misogynist; yet, to palliate his infirmity to noble females, he was most complete in his courtly addresses.

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," pp. 654, 655.—EDIT. † I believe he also was visitor thereof. ‡ See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 652.—EDIT.

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He hated popery with a perfect hatred; and though oft declaring freedom and favour to imprisoned papists, as a minister of state, in obedience to his office; yet he never procured them any courtesies out of his proper inclinations. Yea, when Dr. ———, the new bishop of Chalcedon, at the end of king James's reign, first arrived in England, he gave the duke of Buckingham advice,* (in case other circumstances conveniently concurred,) that the Judges should presently proceed against him, and hang him out of the way, and the king cast the blame on archbishop Abbot or himself, prepared (it seemeth) to undergo his royal displeasure therein.

Not out of sympathy to nonconformists, but antipathy to bishop Laud, he was favourable to some select persons of that opinion.† Most sure it is, that in his greatness he procured for Mr. Cotton of Boston a toleration, under the Broad Seal, for the free exercise of his ministry, notwithstanding his dissenting in ceremonies, so long as done without disturbance to the church. But as for this bishop himself, he was so great an honourer of the English Liturgy, that, of his own cost, he caused the same to be translated into Spanish, and fairly printed, to confute their false conceit of our church,‡ who would not believe that we used any Book of Common-Prayer amongst us.§

He was of a proper person, comely countenance, and amiable complexion, having a stately garb and gait by nature, which (suppose him prouder than he should be) made him mistaken prouder than he was. His head was a well-filled treasury, and his tongue the fair key to unlock it. He had as great a memory as could be reconciled with so good a judgment; so quick his parts, that his extempore performances equalized the premeditations of others of his profession. He was very open, and too free in discourse, disdaining to lie at a close guard, so confident of the length and strength of his weapon.

Thus take we our farewell of his memory, concluding it with one of his speeches, (as savoury, I believe, as ever any he uttered,) wherein he expressed himself to a grave minister coming to him for institution in a living. "I have," saith he, "passed through many places of honour and trust, both in church and state, more than any of my Order in England this seventy years before. But were I but assured that by my preaching I had converted but one soul unto God, I should take therein more spiritual joy and comfort, than in all the honours and offices which have been bestowed upon me."

He died, as I take it, *anno* 1649; sure I am, on the 25th of

* "Cabala," part. i. p. 81. † See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 659.—EDIT. ‡ "Cabala," part i. p. 79. § See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 65.—EDIT.

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March, leaving a leading case, (not as yet decided in our law,) whether his half-year's rents (due after sunrise) should go with his goods and chattels, unto his executor, or fall to his heir. The best was, such the providence of the parties concerned therein, that, before it came to a suit, they reasonably compounded it amongst themselves.

33. *A List of Parliament-Ordinances touching Religion. A.D.* 1646.

Come we now to present the reader with a list of the principal Ordinances of the Lords and Commons, which respected church-matters. I say "principal;" otherwise, to recite all which wear the countenance of an ecclesiastical tendency (some of them being mingled with civil affairs) would be over-voluminous. Yea, I have heard, that a great antiquary * should say, that the Orders and Ordinances of this Parliament, in bulk and number, did not only equal, but exceed, all the laws and statutes made since the Conquest. It will be sufficient, therefore, to recite titles of those most material, going a little backward in time, to make our History the more entire.

"*Die Martis, August* 19, 1645.—Directions of the Lords and Commons (after Advice had with the Assembly of Divines) for the Election and Choosing of Ruling Elders, in all the Congregations and in the Classical Assemblies for the City of London and Westminster, and the several Counties of the Kingdom. For the speedy Settling of the Presbyterial Government."

"*Die Lunæ, Oct.* 20, 1645.—An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons, together with Rules and Directions concerning Suspension from the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in Cases of Ignorance and Scandal. Also the Names of such Ministers and others that are appointed Triers and Judges of the Ability of Elders in the twelve Classes within the Province of London."

"*Die Sabbathi, March* 14, 1645.—An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons for keeping of scandalous Persons from the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the enabling of the Congregation for the Choice of Elders, and supplying of Defects in former Ordinances and Directions of Parliament concerning Church-Government."

"*Die Veneris, June* 5, 1646.—An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons for the present Settling (without further Delay) of the Presbyterial Government in the Church of England."

"*Die Veneris, August* 28, 1646.—An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons for the Ordination of Ministers by the Classical Presbyters within their respective Bounds, for the several Congregations in the Kingdom of England."

* Sir Simons D'Ewes.

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"*Die Sabbathi, Jan.* 29, 1647.—An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons for the speedy Dividing and Settling of the several Counties of this Kingdom into distinct Classical Presbyteries, and Congregational Elderships."

34—43. *An Order for the Fifth Part for Ministers' Wives and Children. The Copy thereof. Several Ways endeavoured to frustrate this Order. First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Evasions. Remember the Poor. A.D.* 1647.

Great now was the clamorous importunity of the wives and children of ministers sequestered, ready to starve for want of maintenance. I had almost called them the widows and orphans of those ministers; because, though their fathers were living to them, their means were not living to their fathers, and they left destitute of a livelihood. Indeed, there was an Ordinance of Parliament made, 1644, empowering their Commissioners in the country to appoint means (not exceeding a fifth part) to the wives and children of all sequestered persons; but, seeing clergymen were not therein expressed by name, such as enjoyed their sequestrations refused to contribute any thing unto them. Whereupon the House of Commons, compassionately reflecting on the distresses of the foresaid complainers, made an Order in more particular manner for the clergy, and (seeing it is hard to come by) I conceive it a charitable work, here to insert a copy thereof:—

"*Die Jovis, Nov.* 11, 1647.—That the wives and children of all such persons as are or have been or shall be sequestered, by Order of either House of Parliament, shall be comprehended within the Ordinance that alloweth a fifth part for Wives and Children, and shall have their fifth part allowed unto them; and the Committee of Lords and Commons for Sequestration, and the Committee of plundered Ministers, and all other Committees, are required to take notice hereof, and yield obedience hereunto accordingly.

"H. ELSING,

"*Clericus Parliamenti Domûs Communis.*"

But covetousness will wriggle itself out at a small hole. Many were the evasions whereby such clergymen, possessed of their livings, do frustrate and defeat the effectual payment of the fifth part to the aforesaid wives and children. Some of which starting-holes we will here present, not to the intent that any should unjustly hide themselves herein, but that for the future they may be stopped-up, as obstructing the true performance of the Parliament's intended courtesy.

First. They plead, that, taxes being first deducted, tithes are so badly paid, they cannot live and maintain themselves if they must

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still pay a fifth part out of the remainder. Such consider not, if themselves cannot live on the whole grist, how shall the families of such sequestered ministers subsist on the toll.

Secondly. If the foresaid minister hath a wife without children, or children without a wife, or but one child, they deny payment, as not within the letter (though the equity) of the Order; though one child is as unable to live on nothing, as if there were many more.

Thirdly. If the sequestered minister hath any temporal means of his own, or since his sequestration hath acquired any place wherein he officiateth, (though short of a comfortable subsistence,) they deny payment of a fifth part unto him.

Fourthly. They affright the said sequestered minister, threatening to new article against him for his former faults. Whereas, had he not been reputed a malignant, not a fifth part, but all the five parts were due unto him.

Fifthly. Many who have livings in great towns, (especially vicarages,) disclaim the receiving of any benefits in the nature of tithes, and accept them only in the notion of benevolence. Then they plead nothing due to the sequestered minister, out of *the free gratuities* which only are bestowed upon them.

Sixthly. They plead, that nothing can be demanded by virtue of the said Ordinance, longer than the sitting of the said Parliament which made it; which long since is dissolved. Now, though this be but a dilatory plea, (themselves enjoying the four parts by virtue of the same order,) yet, though it doth not finally blast, it doth much set back the fifth part, and, whilst the same groweth, the ministers' wives and children starve.

Lastly. Of late, since the setting-forth of the proclamation that "all who disquiet *their* peaceable possession *who* are put into livings by the parliament's order, should be beheld as enemies to the state;" such sequestered ministers who only sue the refusers to pay the fifth part, unblamable in all things else, are threatened (though, they humbly conceived, contrary to the true intent of the proclamation) with the foresaid penalty if they desist not in their suit. Many more are their subterfuges, beside vexing their wives with the tedious attendance to get orders on orders; so that, as one truly and sadly said, "The fifths are even paid at sixes and sevens."

I am sorry to see the pitiful and pious intentions of the Parliament so abused and deluded by the indirect dealings of others; so that they cannot attain their intended ends for the relief of so many poor people, seeing, no doubt, therein they desired to be like the Best of beings, who as closely applieth his lenitive as corrosive plasters, and that his mercy may take as true effect as his justice. Sure, if the present authority (when at leisure from higher employment) shall be

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pleased to take the groans of these poor souls into its consideration, the voice of their hungry bowels will quickly be turned to a more pleasant tune,—from barking for food, to the blessing of those who procured it. Nor let any censure this a digress from my History; for, though my estate will not suffer me with Job to be eyes to the blind, and feet to the lame, Job xxix. 15, I will endeavour what I can to be a tongue for the dumb.*

SECTION VII.

TO THE NOBLE LADY ELEANOR ROE, RELICT TO THE HONOURABLE SIR THOMAS ROE.

MADAM,

I FIND that my namesake, Thomas Fuller, was pilot in the ship called "the Desire," wherein captain Cavendish surrounded the world.†

Far be it from me to compare these my weak undertakings to his great adventures. Yet I may term this my book "the Desire," as wherein I desire to please and profit all, justly to displease none. Many rocks and storms have I passed, by God's blessing; and now am glad of so firm an anchorage as a Dedication to your Ladyship.

I believe, madam, none of your sex in our nation hath travelled farther than yourself. Yet this Section of our History may afford you a rarity not seen before. I know you have viewed the tomb of St. Polycarpus; but here the hearse is presented unto you of one whose death cannot be paralleled in all particulars.

1. *Great Alterations by the Visiters in Oxford.* 24 Charles I. *A.D.* 1648.

LATELY certain Delegates from the university of Oxford pleaded their privileges before the Committee of Parliament, that they were only visitable by the king, and such who should be deputed by him. But their allegations were not of proof against the paramount power of Parliament, the rather because a passage in an article at

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 483.—EDIT.

† HACKLUYT'S "Voyages," part iii., p. 825.

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the rendition of Oxford was urged against them, wherein they were subjected to such a visitation.* Whereupon many Masters were ejected their places, new Heads of Houses made, and soon after new Houses to those Heads, which produced great alteration.

2. *Clergymen meeting in the Isle of Wight.*

Come we now to the church-part of the treaty in the Isle of Wight, as the sole ecclesiastical matter remaining. Here appeared, of the divines chosen by the king, James Usher, archbishop of Armagh; Brian Duppa, bishop of Salisbury; Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Henry Ferne. As for Dr. Brownrigg, bishop of Exeter, when on the way, he was remanded by the Parliament, because under restraint; and it was reported that Dr. Prideaux, bishop of Worcester, wanted (the more the pity!) wherewith to accommodate himself for the journey. Mr. Stephen Marshall, Mr. Joseph Caryll, Mr. Richard Vines, and Mr. Lazarus Seaman, were present there by appointment from the Parliament.

3. *All Matters managed in Writing.*

It was not permitted for either side personally to speak; but, partly to prevent the impertinencies of oral debates, partly that a more steady aim might be taken of their mutual arguments, all things were transacted *in scriptis*. His Majesty consulted with his chaplains when he pleased. The king's writings were publicly read before all, by Mr. Philip Warwick; and Mr. Vines read the papers of his fellow-divines, the substance whereof we come here to present.

4. *The Effect of his Majesty's First Paper.*

His Majesty began October 2nd; the effect of whose first paper was to prove,—

(1.) That the apostles, in their own persons, by authority derived from Christ, exercised their power in ordinations, giving rules and censures, John xx. 21.

(2.) That Timothy and Titus, by authority derived from the apostles, did or might actually exercise the same power, in the three branches specified, Titus i. 5.

(3.) That the angels of the seven churches were so many *personæ singulares* of such as had a prelacy, as well over pastors as people, Rev. ii., iii.

From the premisses, his Majesty inferred, that our bishops succeed to the function of the persons afore-named; the rather, because the same plainly appeareth out of the history of the primitive church, the writings of Ignatius, and other ancient authors.

* See the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 644.—EDIT.

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In conclusion, his Majesty desired to be satisfied from them what were the substantials of church-government, appointed by Christ and his apostles, and in whose hands they are left, and whether they bind to a perpetual observation thereof, or may upon occasion be altered in whole or in part.

5—8. *The Parliament-Divines' Answer thereunto.*

The next day, October 3rd, the parliament-divines put-in their answer to the king's paper, wherein they confessed, that the places of scripture cited by him proved, in those persons by him named, a power respectively to do the three things specified. But they utterly denied that the foresaid persons were bishops as distinct from presbyters, or exercised the government in that sense.

(1.) To the instance of the apostles they answered, that they had an extraordinary calling, and so nothing thence can be inferred to prove modern bishops.

(2.) That Timothy and Titus were evangelists; and the first is expressly so termed, 2 Tim. iv. 5; nor could they be bishops, who resided not in one diocess, but often removed from place to place.

(3.) That the denomination of "the angels of the churches," being allegorical, no firm argument can be taken thence, nor weight laid thereon. Besides, those Epistles of St. John, though directed to one, were intended for the whole body of the church.

They denied that the apostles were to have any successors in their office, affirming but two standing officers in the church,—presbyters, deacons. They cited Philippians i. 1, 1 Tim. iii. 8, for the proof thereof; where there is no mention of bishops as distinct from presbyters, but of the two Orders only, of bishops or presbyters, and deacons.

As for the succeeding ages to the apostles, seeing scripture reacheth not unto them, they can but beget a human faith, which is uncertain and fallible. Besides, such the darkness of those times, in respect of church history, that little certainty can be thence extracted. Yet it appeareth in Clement himself, that he useth the same word for "bishop" and "presbyter;" and as for Ignatius's Epistles, little credit is to be given unto them.

Lastly. There is a great difference between primitive episcopacy and the present hierarchy, as much enlarged in their power and privileges by many temporal accessions, whereof no shadow or pretence in scripture. In conclusion, they humbly besought his Majesty to look rather to the original of bishops in holy writ, than to their succession in human history.

As to the point of substantials in church-government, appointed

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by Christ, (wherein his Majesty desired satisfaction,) the return was short and general, that such substantials were in the scripture, not descending to any particulars: whether out of policy, foreseeing it would minister matter of more debate, or obedience to the Parliament, as alien from the work they were designed for, who were only to oppose episcopacy, as qualified in the Bill presented to his Majesty.

9—18. *The King's Rejoinder to the Parliament Divines.*

Three days after, (October 6th,) the king gave-in his answer to this first paper of the divines: wherein he acknowledged that the word *episcopus*, denoting "an overseer," in the general sense, agreeth as well to presbyters, as ministers; in which respect they are sometimes in scripture confounded, both meeting in the joint function of overseeing God's flock. But, soon after, common usage (the best master of words) appropriated *episcopus* to the "ecclesiastical governor," leaving *presbyter* to signify "the ordinary minister or priest," as in the ancient Fathers and Councils doth plainly appear.

As to the extraordinary calling of the apostles, he confessed their unction extraordinary, consisting in their miraculous gifts, which soon after ceased when churches were planted; but he urged their mission to govern and teach to be ordinary, necessary, and perpetual in the church,—the bishops succeeding them in the former, the presbyters in the latter function.

Their evasion, that Timothy and Titus were evangelists, and not bishops, is clearly refuted by Scultetus, Gerard, and others; yea, (as his Majesty is informed,) is rejected by some rigid presbyters, as Gillespie, Rutherford, &c. Besides, that Timothy and Titus were bishops, is confirmed by the consentient testimony of antiquity, (St. Jerome himself recording them made by St. Paul's ordination,) as also by a catalogue of twenty-seven bishops of Ephesus, lineally succeeding from Timothy, as is avouched by Dr. Reynolds against Hart.

If the angels mentioned in the Revelation were not singular persons who had a prelacy over the church, whether were they the whole church, or so many individual pastors therein, or the whole college of presbyters, or singular presidents of those colleges? for into so many opinions these few are divided amongst themselves, who herein divide themselves from the ancient interpretation of the church-government.

Concerning ages succeeding the apostles, his Majesty confesseth it but a human faith, which is begotten on human testimonies; yet so that, in matter of fact, it may be infallible, as by the credit of history we infallibly know that Aristotle was a Greek philosopher.

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The objected obscurity of church-history in primitive times is a strong argument for episcopacy; which, notwithstanding the darkness of those times, is so clearly extant by their unquestionable catalogues.

It is plain out of Clement, elsewhere, even by the confession of one, not suspected to favour the hierarchy,* that he was accounted a bishop as distinct from presbyter. As for Ignatius's Epistles, though some, out of partial disaffection to bishops, have endeavoured to discredit the whole volume of them, without regard of ingenuity or truth; yet sundry of them, attested by antiquity, cannot with any forehead be denied to be his, giving testimony of the prelacy of a bishop above a presbyter.

As for the difference between primitive episcopacy and present hierarchy, his Majesty did not conceive that the additions granted by the favour of his royal progenitors for the enlarging of the power and privileges of bishops, did make the government substantially to differ from what it was; no more than arms and ornaments make a body really different from itself when it was naked and divested of the same.

Whereas they besought his Majesty to look rather to the original than succession of bishops, he thought it needful to look at both; the latter being the best clue, in such intrinsic cases, to find out the former.

Lastly. He professed himself unsatisfied in their answer concerning the perpetual and unalterable substantials of church-government, as expecting from them a more particular resolution therein than what he had received.

19—32. *The Return of the Parliament-Divines to the King.*

October 17th, eleven days after, the parliament-divines put-in their answer to his Majesty's last paper. Herein they affirmed, they saw not by what warrant this writ of partition of the apostles' office was taken forth; that the governing part should be in the hands of the bishops, the teaching and sacramentizing in the presbyters, scripture making no such enclosure or partition-wall. Besides, the challenge of episcopacy is grown to more than it pretended to in ancient times; some Fathers † acknowledging that bishops differed from presbyters only in matter of ordination.

The abettors, say they, of this challenge, that they might resolve it at last into scripture, ascend by the scale of succession, going up the river to find the head, which, like the head of Nile, cannot be found. Such who would carry it higher endeavour to imp it into

* VEDELIUS, *Exc.* viii. *in Ignatium*, cap. 3. † St. Chrysostom, St. Jerome, and, of moderns, bishop Bilson.

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an apostolical office, and at last call it a Divine institution, not by force of any express precept, but implicit practice of the apostles.

They also returned, that his Majesty's definition of episcopal government is extracted out of the bishops of later date than scripture-times.

Concerning the ages succeeding the apostles. However episcopal government was generally current, yet the superscription thereof was not judged Divine, by some of those who were themselves bishops, or lived under that government.

As they firmly believed, (as to matter of fact,) that Chrysostom and Augustine were bishops, as that Aristotle was a philosopher; so they would rather call such a belief (grounded upon human testimonies uncontrolled) "certain" than "infallible."

The darkness of the history of the church in the times succeeding the apostles had an influence on the catalogue-makers, who derived the series of the succession of bishops, taken much from tradition and reports. And it is a great blemish of their evidence, that, the nearer they come to the apostles' times, (wherein this should be most clear, to establish the succession firm at the first,) they are most doubtful and contradictory one to the other.

They granted a succession of men to feed and govern those churches, who by ecclesiastical writers, in compliance with the language of their own times, were called "bishops," but not distinct from presbyters. So that if such a succession from the primitive times *seriatim* were proved, they would either be found more than bishops, as apostles and extraordinary persons; or less, as merely first presbyters, not having the three essentials to episcopal government insisted on by his Majesty.

As for Ignatius, he cannot distinctly be known in Ignatius's Epistles, such their insincerity, adulterate mixture, and interpolations; and, take him in gross, he is the patron of such rites as the church in that age never owned.

They professed, that, in their last answer, they related not to a school-nicety, *utrum episcopatus sit ordo, vel gradus;* the question being stated by popish authors, to whom they had no eye or reference.

They humbly moved his Majesty, that the regiments of human testimonies on both sides might be discharged the field, and the point of dispute tried alone by dint of holy scripture.

They honoured the pious intentions and magnificence of his royal progenitors, acknowledging the ornamental accessions to the persons made no substantial change in the office; but still it remained to be proved, that primitive episcopacy and present hierarchy are the same.

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They affirmed also, that the power of episcopacy under Christian and Pagan princes is one and the same, though the exercise be not; but acknowledging the subordination thereof to the sovereign power, with their accountableness to the laws of the land.

They conclude with thanks to his Majesty's condescension in vouchsafing them the liberty and honour in examining his learned reply; praying God, that a pen in the hand of such abilities might ever be employed in a subject worthy thereof.

Some days after, his Majesty returned his last paper; wherein he not only acknowledgeth the great pains of these divines to inform his judgment, according to their persuasions, but also took especial notice of their civilities of the application, both in the beginning and body of their reply.

However, he told them they mistook his meaning when they ——* of a writ of partition, as if his Majesty had cantoned-out the episcopal government, one part to the bishops, another to the presbyterians alone; whereas his meaning was, that the office of teaching is common to both alike, but the other of governing peculiar to bishops alone.

33. *Tanta Fides, quantus Author.*

I know not what truth there was in (and, by consequence, what belief is to be given to) *their* intelligence *who* have reported and printed, that, in order to a pacification, his Majesty condescended,—

(1.) That the office of ordination for the space of three years should not be exercised by the bishops without the assent of the presbytery; and, if this did not please,

(2.) That it should be suspended until twenty of his own nomination, consulting with the synod, (assembled by the appointment of the Houses,) should determine some certainty touching some ecclesiastical government.

(3.) That, in the mean time, the presbytery should be settled for experiment-sake.

(4.) That though he would not suffer bishops' lands to be sold and alienated from the church, yet he permitted them to be let out for ninety-nine years, paying a small price yearly in testimony of their hereditary right for the maintenance of bishops.

(5.) That, after that time expired, they should return to the crown, to be employed for the use of the church.

Here some presumed to know his Majesty's intention, that he determined with himself, in the interim, to redeem them by their own

* See Fuller's explanation of this (otherwise) unaccountable hiatus in the narrative, in the "Appeal of injured Innocence," p. 341.—EDIT.

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revenues, and to refund them to ecclesiastical uses, which is proportionable to his large heart, in matters of that nature.*

34—38. *The King fetched from the Isle of Wight, and condemned at London.* Extremum hunc concede mihi. *He heareth the last Sermon; and receives the Communion. Is patient when affronted.*

Many now did hope for a happy agreement betwixt the king and Parliament, when Divine Providence, whose ways are often above reason, but never against right, had otherwise ordered it; and seeing it was God's will, it shall be ours to submit thereunto. O what can a day bring forth! Prov. xxvii. 1; especially some pregnant day in the crisis of matters, producing more than what many barren years before beheld. The king's person is seized-on and brought up to London, arraigned before a select Committee for that purpose, indicted, and, upon his refusal to own their authority, finally condemned. But these things belong to the historian of the state; and this subject in itself is not so amiable and tempting as to invite us to trespass in the property of others, in courting the prosecution thereof.

My cue of entrance is to come in where the state-writer doth go out, whose pen hath always followed the confessors into the chambers of dying people; and now must do its last devoir to my gracious master, in describing his pious death and solemn burial.

Having received in himself the sentence of death, Dr. Juxon, bishop of London, preached privately before him, at St. James's, on the Sunday following, January 28th; his text, Romans ii. 16: "In the day when God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ according to my gospel."

Next Tuesday, January 30th, being the day of his dissolution, in the morning alone he received the communion from the hands of the said bishop. At which time he read, for the second lesson, the twenty-seventh chapter of St. Matthew, containing the history of the death and passion of our Saviour. Communion ended, the king heartily thanked the bishop for selecting so seasonable and comfortable a portion of scripture,—seeing all human hope and happiness are founded on the sufferings of our Saviour. The bishop modestly disavowed any thanks due to himself, it being done merely by the direction of the church of England, whose Rubric appointeth that chapter the second morning-lesson for the thirtieth of January.

His hour drawing nigh, he passed through the park to Whitehall.

* For he gave the duke of Richmond the entire revenues of the archbishopric of Glasgow in Scotland, to hold them until he should furnish him with lands of the same value, expressing then his resolution to restore them to the church.

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As he always was observed to walk very fast, so now he abated not any whit of his wonted pace. In his passage a sorry fellow (seemingly some mean citizen) went abreast along with him, and, in an affront, often stared his Majesty in the face, which caused him to turn it another way. The bishop of London, though not easily angered, was much offended hereat, as done out of despiteful design, to discompose him before his death, and moved the captain of the guard he might be taken away; which was done accordingly.

39—42. *His last Question, and Speech falsely printed. Trouble well prevented. His Corpse carried to Windsor.*

Entering on the floor of death, he asked of colonel Tomlinson, who attended there, whether he might have the liberty to dispose of his own body, as to the place and manner of the burial thereof. The colonel answered, that he could give his Majesty no account at all therein.

His Majesty held in his hand a small piece of paper, some four inches square, containing heads whereon in his speech he intended to dilate; and a tall soldier looking over the king's shoulders read it, as the king held it in his hand. As for the speech which passeth in print for the king's, though taken in short-hand by one eminent therein, it is done so defectively, it deserveth not to be accounted his speech, by the testimony of such as heard it. His speech ended, he gave that small paper to the bishop of London.

After his death, the officers demanded the paper of the bishop; who, because of the depth of his pocket, smallness of that paper, and the mixture of others therewith, could not so soon produce it as was required. At last he brought it forth; but therewith the others were unsatisfied, (jealousy is quick of growth,) as not the same which his Majesty delivered unto him; when presently the soldier, whose rudeness (the bad cause of a good effect) had formerly over-inspected it in the king's hand, attested this the very same paper, and prevented farther suspicions, which might have terminated to the bishop's trouble.

On the Wednesday se'nnight after, (February 7th,) his corpse, embalmed and coffined in lead, was delivered to the care of two of his servants, to be buried at Windsor;—the one Anthony Mildmay, who formerly had been his sewer, as I take it; the other John Joyner, bred first in his Majesty's kitchen, afterwards a parliament-captain, since by them deputed (when the Scots surrendered his person) cook to his Majesty. This night they brought the corpse to Windsor, and digged a grave for it in St. George's chapel, on the south side of the communion-table.

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43—50. *The Lords follow after it. The Governor's Resolution. The Lords, with much searching, find a Vault. The Description thereof. One of the Order buried therein. Presumed to be King Henry VIII. The leaden Inscription on his Coffin. The Corpse deposited.*

But, next day, Thursday, February 8th, the duke of Richmond, the marquess of Hertford, the earls of Southampton and Lindsey, (others, though sent to, declining the service, so far was their fear above their gratitude to their dead master,) came to Windsor, and brought with them two votes, passed that morning in Parliament; wherein the ordering of the king's burial, for the form and manner thereof, was wholly committed to the duke of Richmond, provided that the expense thereof exceeded not five hundred pounds. Coming into the castle, they showed their commission to the governor, colonel Wichcot, desiring to inter the corpse according to the Common-Prayer Book of the church of England; the rather, because the Parliament's total remitting the manner of the burial to the duke's discretion, implied a permission thereof. This the governor refused, alleging, it was improbable that the Parliament would permit the use of what so solemnly they had abolished, and therein destroy their own act.

The lords returned, that there was a difference betwixt destroying their own act, and dispensing with it, or suspending the exercise thereof; that no power so bindeth up its own hands as to disable itself, in some cases, to recede from the rigour of their own acts, if they should see just occasion. All would not prevail, the governor persisting in the negative, and the lords betook themselves to their sad employment.

They resolved not to inter the corpse in the grave which was provided for it, but in a vault, if the chapel afforded any. Then fall they a-searching, and in vain seek for one in king Henry the eighth's chapel, (where the tomb intended for him by cardinal Wolsey lately stood,) because all there was solid earth. Besides, this place, at the present used for a magazine, was unsuiting with a solemn sepulture. Then with their feet they tried the choir, to see if a sound would confess any hollowness therein, and at last, directed by one of the aged poor knights, did light on a vault in the middle thereof.

It was altogether dark, as made in the midst of the choir, and an ordinary man could not stand therein without stooping, as not past five feet high. In the midst thereof lay a large leaden coffin, (with the feet towards the east,) and a far less on the left side thereof. On the other side was room, neither to spare nor to want, for any other coffin of a moderate proportion.

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That one of the Order was buried there, plainly appeared by perfect pieces of purple velvet (their proper habit) remaining therein; though some pieces of the same velvet were fox-tawny, and some coal-black, (all eye of purple being put out therein,) though all originally of the same cloth, varying the colour, as it met with more or less moisture, as it lay in the ground.

Now, a concurrence of presumptions concluded this great coffin to contain the corpse of king Henry VIII., though there was neither arms nor any inscription to evidence the same.

(1.) The place exactly corresponds to the designation of his burial, mentioned in his last will and testament.*

(2.) The small coffin, in all probability, was his queen's, Jane Seymour's, by whom, in his will, he desired to be buried; and the room on the other side seems reserved for his surviving wife, queen Catherine Parr.

(3.) It was never remembered, nor recorded, that any subject of that Order was interred in the body of that choir, but in by-chapels.

(4.) A hearse stood over this vault, in the days of queen Elizabeth, which (because cumbering the passage) was removed in the reign of king James.

I know a tradition is whispered from mouth to mouth, that king Henry's body was taken up and burned, in the reign of queen Mary, and could name the knight (her Privy Counsellor, and then dwelling not far off) muttered to be employed in this inhuman action. This prevailed so far on the lord Herbert's belief, that he closeth his History of King Henry VIII. with these suspicious words: "To conclude, I wish I could leave him in his grave." But there is no certainty hereof, and more probable that here he quietly was reposed. The lead coffin, being very thin, was at this time casually broken, and some yellow stuff, altogether scentless, like powder of gold, taken out of it, (conceived some exsiccative gums wherewith he was embalmed,) which the duke caused to be put in again, and the coffin closed up.

The vault thus prepared, a scarf of lead was provided, some two feet long and five inches broad, therein to make an inscription. The letters the duke himself did delineate, and then a workman called to cut them out with a chisel. It bare some debate, whether the letters should be made in those concavities to be cut out, or in the solid lead betwixt them. The latter was concluded on, because such vacuities are subject to be soon filled up with dust, and render the inscription less legible; which was, "KING CHARLES, 1648." The plumber soldered it to the coffin, about the breast of the corpse, within the same.

* See it in the end of king Henry the Eighth's reign, "Church History," vol. ii. p. 118.

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All things thus in readiness, Friday, February 9th, the corpse was brought to the vault, being borne by the soldiers of the garrison. Over it a black velvet hearse-cloth, the four labels whereof the four lords did support. The bishop of London stood weeping by, to tender that his service which might not be accepted. Then was it deposited in silence and sorrow in the vacant place in the vault, (the hearse-cloth being cast in after it,) about three of the clock in the afternoon; and the lords that night (though late) returned to London.*

* About twenty years ago, in consequence of some excavations which became needful at the interment of the Duchess of Brunswick, in St. George's chapel, Windsor, this vault was discovered by the workmen; though, according to Lord Clarendon, the most diligent search had been instituted for it in vain, on the accession of king Charles II., who expressed a strong filial desire to pay due funeral honours to the mortal remains of his royal father. When this discovery was announced to the Prince Regent, (afterwards king George IV.,) his royal Highness intimated his wish and intention to be present at the opening of the tomb, and personally to inspect the operations necessary to ascertain the identity of the body of the murdered monarch. The investigation, scientifically conducted, served in a very satisfactory manner to establish the conclusion,—that the decapitated body was that of king Charles I. The select company of spectators perceived and acknowledged its identity as soon as the attendants raised the head, (which it was evident had been dissevered from the trunk by a powerful instrument at one blow,) and as soon as the face was disencumbered of the cere-cloth, which had preserved the features remarkably entire. Sir Henry Halford, Bart., was one of those who had the honour to be summoned on that solemn occasion; and, at the command of his prince, composed a very lucid and elegant account, which was immediately circulated in the form of a pamphlet, but which has since been embodied in his small volume of "Essays and Orations." In that pamphlet, no reference is made to Fuller's plain narrative of the whole of the melancholy transaction; though, when compared with the facts detailed by Sir Henry, it proves to have been more accurate and copious than that which he has copied from Clarendon and Herbert.

With this recent examination of king Charles's tomb, is connected an incident, to which the Christian moralist must feel some reluctance to allude except for admonitory purposes; and which shows that any act, however praiseworthy and well-intended, may, by the reckless lampooner, be converted into an engine for the more adroit discharge of personal malevolence. It furnished the ribald wit of the late Lord Byron with a temptation (which his malignant genius could not resist) to exhibit his rancorous hostility to the Prince Regent, in a copy of verses, as remarkable for the coarseness of the allusions which they contain, as for the obvious injustice toward that illustrious personage; whose greatest offence then seemed to be,—that his former course of life had been nearly as gay and thoughtless, if not quite as vicious, as that of the noble lord himself! Yet his royal Highness, with all his faults, did not merit the censure which the epigram conveyed,—that, libidinous as Henry VIII., tyrannical as Charles I., in his royal person were concentrated the worst vices of those two monarchs. In matters both of law and equity, the accuser is required to come into court with clean hands; how much more is this necessary *in foro conscientiæ*, before the accusation is framed! Every other mode must be considered, not as the dignified reproof of the virtuous, but as the futile attempt of the wicked to correct the ungodly.—EDIT.

END OF THE CHURCH HISTORY.

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DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES.

PLATE I.—Frontispiece to Vol. I.

The west front of Lichfield Cathedral. The episcopal coat of arms on the left, and sir Elias Ashmole's on the right.

Fuller's inscription on the folio plate is: *Lichfieldensis ecclesiæ cathedralis (in agro Staffordiensi in Angliâ) facies occidentalis.*

His grateful inscription on Ashmole's arms is: *Eliæ Ashmole, Armigero, Mercurio-philo Anglico, accepta refundit T. F.*

PLATE II.—Vol. I. Page 17.

COATS OF ARMS OF THE PATRONS OF THE FIRST EDITION, TO WHOM THE VARIOUS SECTIONS OF THE HISTORY WERE DEDICATED.

The figure prefixed to every name denotes the number of the shield belonging to each individual, who was one of the original patrons; and the figure which follows refers to the page of the volume in which the dedication to that person occurs.

		PAGE
1.	Robert Abdy, of London, Esq.	17
2.	Mr. Simeon Bonnell, Merchant	27
3.	Theophilus Biddulph, of London, Esq.	30
4.	Thomas Bide, of London, Esq.	46
5.	Douse Fuller, of Hampshire, Esq.	65
6.	*Amico suo Gr. B.*	86
7.	*Thomæ Adamidi, Senatori Londinensi*	141
8.	Mr. William Christmas, Merchant, London	163
9.	Mr. Robert Christmas	163
10.	*Jacobo Langham, Armigero*	187
11.	*Baldwino Hamey, Medicinæ Doctori*	212
12.	*Simoni Archero, Equiti Aurato, antiquitatis Cultori, et in digmatographiâ exercitatissimo, necnon lectissimæ Dominæ Annæ. T. F.*	233

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13. *Johanni Fitz-James de Leuston, in Comitatu Dorset. Armigero* 285
14. *Domino Johanni Wyrley, de Wyrley-Hall, in Comitatu Stafford. Equiti Aurato* 318
15. Mr. John Robinson, of Milk-Street, London, Merchant 332
16. *Thomæ Hanson, Amico meo* 347
17. William Robinson, of the Inward Temple, Esq. 369
18. Clement Throckmorton, the elder, of Haseley, in Warwickshire, Esq..... 391
19. *Ricardo Seymere, Necessario meo* 406
20. Mr. Thomas Williams, of London, Merchant 416
21. Mr. William Vanbrugh 416
22. Sir Gerard Napier, of Dorsetshire, Baronet 472
23. Thomas Rich, late of London, Esq.* 501
24. John Ferrars, of Tamworth-Castle, Esq. 525

PLATE III.—Vol. I. Page 252.

THE NAMES AND ARMS OF FORTY SOLDIERS OF KING WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR, WITH AS MANY MONKS.

1. The brother to William Earl of Warren, with Monk Leofric.
2. William the Conqueror.
3. St. Ethelburge.
4. St. Ethelward, Bishop.
5. Robert Orford, the thirteenth Bishop of Ely.
6. Opsal, Captain of the Cross-bow men, with Monk Godfryde.
7. Belase, General of the Soldiers against Ely, with Monk Utwald.
8. Picot, Bridge-Master, with Monk Huskettle.
9. Argentine, Surgeon-General, with Monk Elfrick.
10. Gerard de Longo Campo, with Monk William.
11. Talbot, (often-time sent ambassador,) with Monk Duff.
12. Adam, Chief Marshal of the Army, with Monk Seda.
13. Guido de St. Leodigaro, with the holy Monk Adelmere.
14. Hastings, a soldier skilful in Navigation, with Monk Nigel.
15. Walter Lacey, Shield-Bearer to the Conqueror, with Monk Occam.

* Mr. Rich's coat of arms is taken from that of his relation, to whom the folio plate containing "the seals of arms of all the mitred abbeys in England," is thus inscribed: *Edwino Rich, Armigero, uni e Magistris Curiæ Cancellariæ, benefactori meo munifico, in gratitudinis tesseram. T. F.*

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16. Pamell, Captain of three hundred Footmen, with Monk Ednode.
17. Ahmude, Son of Alan, with Monk Burthrede.
18. Abraham Pechy, with Monk Ethelbert the elder.
19. Bardolph, Master of the Workmen, with Monk Recke.
20. Seward, an Englishman, Victualler of the Camp, with Monk Reoffine.
21. Fides de Furnival, a Lombard, with Monk Osulp.
22. Blount, Captain-General of the Foot-men, with Monk Willnote.
23. Brian Clare, an old Soldier, with Monk Cliton.
24. Hugh Mounteforti, Captain of the Horsemen, with Monk Odon.
25. Pagan ——, Standard-Bearer of the Horsemen, with Monk Athelgale.
26. Bigotte, Captain of three hundred Horsemen, with Monk Condulph.
27. Dunstan le Grosmuneus, with Monk Egbert.
28. Richard de Pontiful-Conis, with Monk Leoffric the younger.
29. Eucas de Novo Burgo, with Olane, the holy Monk of the Monastery.
30. Tucked, Captain of the Bowmen, with Monk Osbume.
31. Nigellus Hamtaindote, with Monk Donald.
32. Eustalius the black, with Monk Edwin.
33. Eustalius the white, Master of the Scoutmen, with Monk Swan.
34. Bigotte, third son of Bigotte, with Monk Edmund.
35. Robert Marshall, with Monk Renulph.
36. Beaumunde, Master of the Conqueror's horse, with Monk Gurthe.
37. Kenulphus, a German Soldier, with Monk Uskettle.
38. John of York, an Englishman, with Monk Felix.
39. John Malmaine, Standard-Bearer of the Footmen, with Monk Otho
40. Anthony Longsword, with Monk Alfred.
41. Luey, a Norman, Admiral to the Conqueror, with Monk Constantine.
42. Alexander Demorite-Vignite, with Monk David.
43. Lucarnalsus, Captain of the Billmen, with Monk Oswald.
44. Nasi, Captain of two hundred Footmen, with Monk Orme.

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PLATE IV.—Vol. I. Page 498.

Lichfield Cathedral. (Side view.) With a description of the various parts of the structure and its locality.

In the folio plate Fuller has repeated Ashmole's coat of arms, and has appended the following curious Latin verses; in one column of which he personates the weeping prophet, and in the other the smiling historian, grateful to his brother antiquarian, at whose expense the drawing had been finished, and the plate engraved. This is the only ornament of the kind which adorns Fuller's Church History; and the reason of this gratifying exception is to be found in the circumstance—that Ashmole was a Lichfield man, on whose mind the venerable structure, and the holy services connected with its former condition, had made an indelible impression.

Lichfeldensem ecclesiam
En, lector, pictam graphicè!
Quâ Sol in orbe Anglico
Asperit nil venustius:
At cujus nunc, proh dolor!
Deformitate splendidæ
Ruinæ vix superstites.

Sed qualis olim floruit
Ut innotescat posteris,
Tam sacro cadaveri
Hoc monumentum, sumptibus
Eliæ Ashmole *positum:*
Qui redivivum suscitat
Phœnicem e cineribus.

Sic deflevit *Sic gratulatur*
T. *F.*

PLATE V.—Frontispiece to Vol. II.

COATS OF ARMS OF THE PATRONS OF THE FIRST EDITION, TO WHOM THE VARIOUS SECTIONS OF THE HISTORY WERE DEDICATED.

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30.	Lady Ann Sadleir	166
31.	Lady Mary Fountaine	200
32.	Lady Elizabeth Powlet, of St. George-Hinton	238
33.	*Domino Thomæ Trevor, juniori, Equiti Aurato*	266
34.	Thomas Dockwray, of Bedfordshire, Esq.	284
35.	*Carolo Cheney, de Comitatu Buck. Armigero*	346
36.	Mr. Thomas Bowyer, of the Old Jewry, Merchant	390

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37. Sir Henry Wroth, Knight 409
38. William Honeywood, Esq. 478
39. Mrs. Anne Danvers, of Chelsea 502

IN VOL. III.

40. Mr. James Bovey, of London, Merchant..... 3
41. Daniel Harvey, Esq., High Sheriff of Surrey 29
42. The Master, Wardens, and all the Members of the honourable Company of Mercers, of London 61

PLATE VI.—Vol. II. Page 229.

SEALS OF ARMS OF THE MITRED ABBEYS IN ENGLAND.

1. Tavistock in Devonshire.
2. Glastonbury in Somersetshire.
3. Middleton in Gloucestershire.
4. Abingdon in Berkshire.
5. St. James's-abbey, Reading in Berkshire.
6. Battle-abbey in Sussex.
7. St. Augustine's-abbey, Canterbury in Kent.
8. St. Peter's-abbey, Gloucester.
9. Tewkesbury in Gloucestershire.
10. Winchcomb in Gloucestershire.
11. St. Alban's in Hertfordshire.
12. Westminster-abbey in Middlesex.
13. St. John's of Jerusalem.
14. Waltham-abbey in Essex.
15. St. John's-abbey, Colchester in Essex.
16. St. Edmund's Bury-abbey in Suffolk.
17. St. Benet's-in-the-Holme in Norfolk.
18. Thorney-abbey in Cambridgeshire.
19. Ramsey-abbey in Huntingdonshire.
20. Peterborough-abbey in Northamptonshire.
21. Crowland-abbey in Lincolnshire.
22. Shrewsbury-abbey in Shropshire.
23. Selby-abbey in Yorkshire.
24. St. Mary's-abbey, York.

*** Fuller regrets that he could not present his readers with the arms of the abbeys of Malmsbury in Wiltshire, of Hide juxta Winton,

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of Cirencester in Gloucestershire, of Bardney in Lincolnshire, and of Evesham in Worcestershire; a sight of which he was unable to procure.

PLATE VII.—Frontispiece to Vol. III.

COATS OF ARMS OF THE PATRONS OF THE FIRST EDITION, TO WHOM THE VARIOUS SECTIONS OF THE HISTORY WERE DEDICATED.

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43. Mr. Hamond Ward, of London, Merchant 93
44. Mr. Richard Fuller, of London, Merchant 93
45. The Lady Anne Archer, of Tanworth in Warwickshire..... 134
46. Matthew Gillye, Esq..... 198
47. *Thomæ Dacres, de Cheshunt, Armigero* 227
48. Edward Lloyd, Esq. 249
49. Mr. Peter Moroloys, of London, Merchant..... 280
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51. Samuel Mico, of London, Alderman 297
52. Thomas Shugborough, of Brydenbury in Warwickshire, Esq. 314
53. John Carey, of Stansted, in Hertfordshire, Esq..... 359
54. Henry Puckeringnewton, son and heir to Sir Henry Puckeringnewton, Baronet 402
55. *Domino Thomæ Fisher, Baronetto*..... 425

*** Mr. Giles Vandepit, of London, Merchant, has a vacant shield, Fuller not having been able to discover the existence of his coat of arms.

56. Mr. Edward Clegat, of London, Merchant 445
57. Mr. Peter Matthewes, of London, Merchant 445
58. Roger Price, Esq., High Sheriff of Buckinghamshire 479
59. The noble Lady Eleanor Roe, relict to the honourable Sir Thomas Roe 493

THE END.

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REVIEW.

THE republication, within the last few years, of all the principal works of this singular author, affords us an opportunity, by no means unwelcome, of canvassing his merits, and assigning him his proper niche in the temple of our literature. *He* cannot be unworthy of attention, *who* was a favourite author of COLERIDGE and LAMB, and of whom the former could write thus: "Next to Shakspeare, I am not certain whether Thomas Fuller, beyond all other writers, does not excite in me the sense and emotion of the marvellous."

Like TAYLOR, and BARROW, and SIR THOMAS BROWNE, he wrote with a vigour and originality, with a fertility of thought and imagery, and a general felicity of style, which, considering the quantity of his compositions, and the haste with which he produced them, impress us with wonder at his untiring activity and preternatural fecundity. He has scattered with careless prodigality, over the pages of his many works, thoughts and images, which, if collected, would have insured him a station beside those who have secured themselves a place, not only in the libraries, but in the pockets, of their readers; and who are not simply honoured with an occasional reference, but live in perpetual and familiar quotation.

The activity of Fuller's suggestive faculty must have been immense. Though his principal characteristic is wit,—and that too so disproportionately that it conceals in its ivy-like luxuriance the robust wisdom about which it coils itself,—his illustrations are drawn from every source and quarter, and are ever ready at his bidding. In the variety, frequency, and novelty of his illustrations, he strongly resembles two of the most imaginative writers in our language, JEREMY TAYLOR and EDMUND BURKE. In a boundless profusion of imagery of one kind or another, available on all occasions and on all subjects, and capable of clothing sterility itself with sudden freshness and verdure, they all resemble one another, and are almost unequalled among English prose writers. Fuller's imagination is often happily employed in embodying some strong apophthegm, or maxim

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of practical wisdom, in a *powerful and striking* metaphor; the very best form in which they can be presented to us. *There* occur in his writings many sentences of this kind, which would not be altogether unworthy of BACON, and in which, as in that far greater genius, we have the combination of solid truth, beautiful imagery, and graceful expression; where we know not which most to admire—the value of the gem, the lustre of the polish, or the appropriateness of the setting.

While much of the quaint literature of that age is now as little relished as the ruffs, wigs, and high-backed chairs of our great great-grandfathers, there is not a little which will be held in everlasting remembrance. Not only are the works of powerful (although often perverted) genius full of thoughts, and images, and felicities of expression,—which, being the offspring of truth and fancy, will be beautiful through all time,—but the aspect in which *the quaint* itself appears to us will depend upon the character of the individual writer, and the nature of the subjects. The constitution of Fuller's mind had such an affinity with the peculiarities of the day, that what was quaint in others seems to have been his natural element,—the sort of attire in which his active and eccentric genius loved to cloth itself. Allusions and images may appear odd, unaccountably odd, but in him they are evidently not far-fetched; they are spontaneously and readily presented by his teeming fancy. Even his puns and alliterations seem the careless, irrepressible exuberances of a very sportive mind, which was a fountain, not a forcing-pump. Thus his very quaintness is also nature: nature in him, though it would not be so in others; and we therefore read his most outrageous extravagancies with very different feelings from those with which we glance at the frigid conceits and dreary impertinencies of many of his contemporaries. Nor do we simply feel indulgence towards them as spontaneous; their very spontaneity insures them an elasticity and vivacity of expression, which we should seek in vain in writers whose minds had less affinity with the genius of the day.

He is almost wholly untainted by that vain pedantry which so deeply infects the style of many of the greatest writers of his age; more especially Burton, Jeremy Taylor, Donne, and Browne. His quotations are very rare, and generally very apt, introduced for use, not ostentation. Fuller's style is also free, to a great extent, from the Latinisms which form so large an element in that of many of his great contemporaries. Both in style and diction, he is much more idiomatic than most of them. The structure of his sentences is far less involved and periodic, while his words are in much larger proportion of Saxon derivation. Many, very many, of the good old English words now lost, may be found in his writings.

His Histories are not to be judged by the ordinary rules applied to that class of compositions. With *indolence in his researches*, Fuller cannot be justly taxed. Frequently compelled, in his capacity of chaplain to the royal army, to change his quarters, often writing without the advantage of books and access to documents, it was impossible that he should not fall into serious errors; but he diligently availed himself of such resources as were within his reach. Yet he possessed in great perfection many of the most essential conditions of excellence in that department of composition. His spirit of research, his love of minute investigation, his fine imagination, his boundless vivacity, his freedom from prejudice, his liberality and candour, would seem to have insured success; and that success would doubtless have been eminent, had he not given such license to his inordinate wit.

Though a sincere friend of the Church of England, he looked with sorrow (which in his "Church History" he took no pains to disguise) on the severities practised towards the Puritans; and every where adopts the tone of apology for their supposed errors, and of compassion for their undoubted sufferings. His candour and impartiality in treating some of the most delicate portions of our ecclesiastical history—as, for example, the Hampton-Court controversy, and the administration of Laud—are in admirable contrast with the resolute spirit of partizanship which has inspired most of the writers of the Church of England.

As we quoted, at the commencement of this article, the opinion entertained of our author by Coleridge, we shall conclude it by citing that of Charles Lamb, than whom there could not be a more competent judge. "The writings of Fuller," says he, "are usually designated by the title of quaint, and with sufficient reason; for such was his natural bias to conceits, that I doubt not, upon most occasions, it would have been going out of his way to have expressed himself out of them. But his wit is not always *lumen siccum*, a dry faculty of surprising; on the contrary, his conceits are oftentimes deeply steeped in human feeling and passion. Above all, his way of telling a story, for its eager liveliness, and the perpetual running commentary of the narrator happily blended with the narration, is perhaps unequalled."—*Edinburgh Review.*

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